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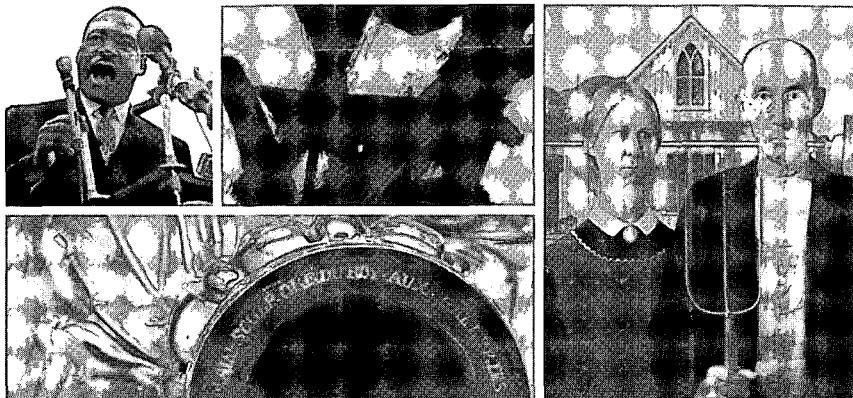
The American Historical Review



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The American Historical Review

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Cover Illustration: This image shows the *gopuram* (tower) of the Mariyamman Temple in Georgetown, Penang, built in a quintessentially Tamil style. Among the many colorful statues of deities in the 23-foot structure are different manifestations of the goddess Mariyamman, to whom the temple is dedicated. The temple was first constructed in 1833, although there is evidence that the site hosted a small shrine from as early as 1801. Tamil traders, craftsmen, and laborers began to arrive in the ports of Penang and Singapore immediately after their establishment by the English East India Company. For most of the nineteenth century, there was a steady, circular movement of Tamils back and forth across the Bay of Bengal; after 1870, this turned into migration on a much larger scale, to serve the needs of Malaya's expanding plantation agriculture. In "Tamil Diasporas across the Bay of Bengal," Sunil Amrith examines the cultural consequences of this changing pattern of mobility, and identifies the conditions that produced a growing sense of diasporic consciousness among Tamil communities in Malaya. Photograph by Sunil Amrith.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

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In This Issue

The June issue contains one stand-alone article, an *AHR* Roundtable, and an *AHR* Forum. There are also four featured reviews, followed by our usual extensive book review section.

Article

In "Tamil Diasporas across the Bay of Bengal," **Sunil S. Amrith** examines the history of Tamil migration to the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malaya since the beginning of the nineteenth century. He starts by showing that until the 1870s, Singapore and Penang hosted several overlapping communities of migrants and sojourners from the Tamil region: Hindu and Muslim traders, dockworkers, and laborers routinely moved back and forth across the Bay of Bengal. They brought their culture and religious practices with them, shaping public life in the Straits Settlements. With the advent of mass migration from rural South India to Malaya's plantations after the 1870s, however, the situation changed: movement across the Bay of Bengal increased dramatically, but the political and cultural boundaries of these migrants' lives contracted. The majority of the Tamil population in Malaya now resided on remote plantations, restrained and regulated by both their employers and the colonial state. Consequently, a more definite but also narrower sense of Tamil diasporic consciousness emerged as a result of this increased sense of immobility and control. The self-awareness of the Tamil diaspora in Southeast Asia was at once enabled and constrained by the gulf between port cities—with their expanding worlds of print media and public discussion—and the plantations. In this article, which offers a case study in the formation of modern diasporas, Amrith shows how the consciousness and cultures of displaced communities are always defined in terms of their interaction with "others."

AHR Roundtable

Academic historians tend to take a somewhat ambivalent view of the genre of biography. We acknowledge its importance and its venerability as a mode of historical writing. Most historians read biographies, and many use them as sources in their own research. And we certainly are aware of the public's continuing fascination with

biographies—their prominence on bestseller lists, the recent vogue of “Founders Chic,” and in general readers’ persistence in wanting their history delivered through popular biographies rather than other, more scholarly, or at least different, kinds of historical writing. The *AHR*, too, maintains a mixed view of the genre: in most cases we do not review biographies, except when they convey something new and important about a historical period or question. And we almost never publish articles of a biographical nature. Clearly, however, there is no reason why biography should not be treated as a legitimate mode of historical scholarship. Indeed, there seems to be a turn toward biography among many contemporary scholars, a turn that is fueled only in part by the desire to reach a wider reading public.

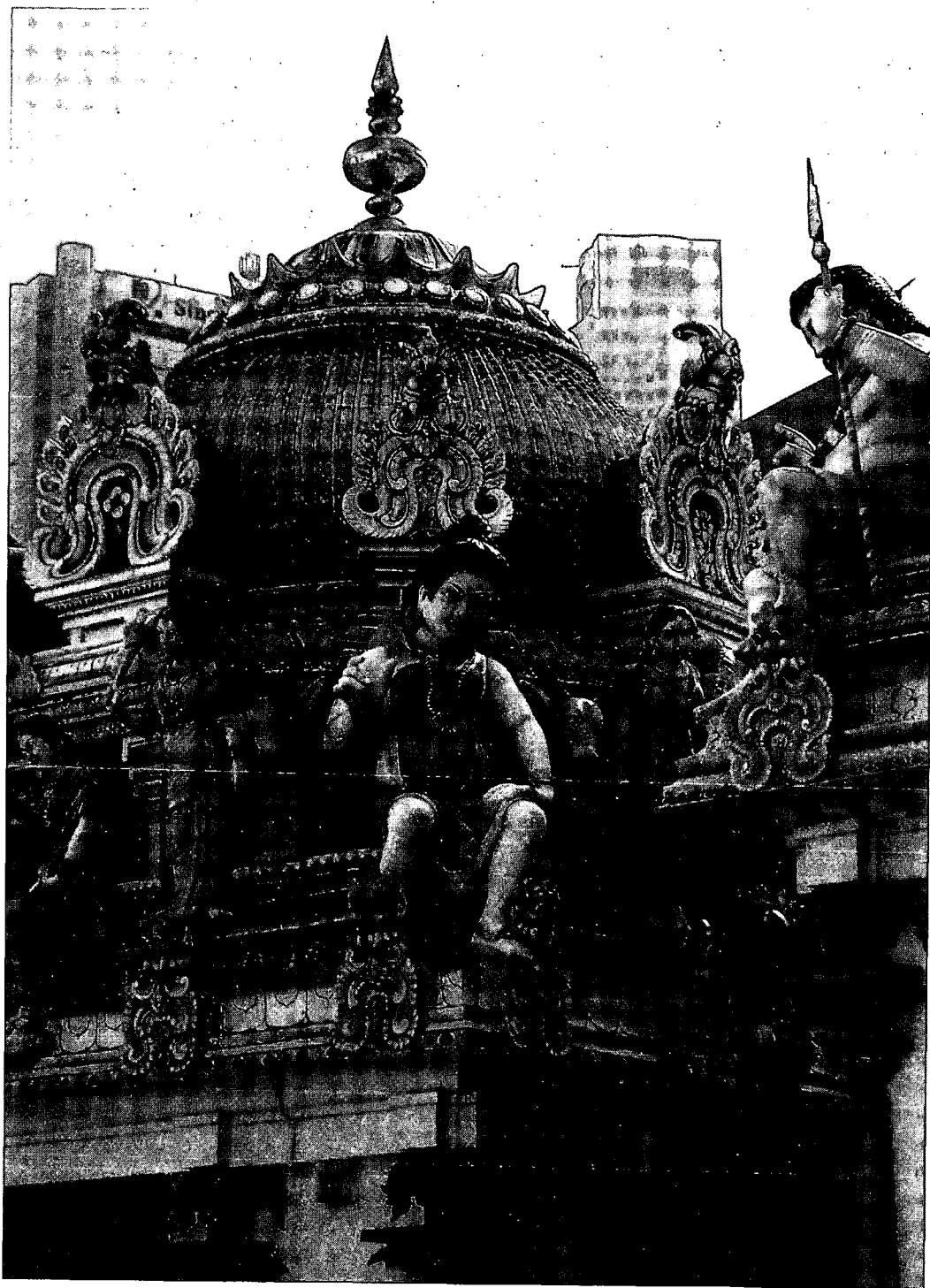
For this *AHR* Roundtable on “Historians and Biography,” we invited ten historians to write about their own experiences with the genre. A few have long experience as biographers; several are entirely new to the genre. And a couple take very novel approaches to thinking and writing about biography. An essay by **David Nasaw**, who is well-known for several important biographies of major American figures, introduces the Roundtable. In “Biography as History,” **Lois W. Banner** defends the legitimacy of biography as history and also argues against critics who deny the notion of a unified, individual personality as biography’s subject. In “‘Life Histories’ and the History of Modern South Asia,” **Judith M. Brown** discusses the approach she used in recounting the lives of M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, suggesting that biography can provide an avenue into the wider study of societies and institutions. **Kate Brown** takes an autobiographical turn in “A Place in Biography for Oneself,” reflecting on how her own experience growing up in a town in economic decline prompted her to turn her scholarly attention to post-industrial wastelands in Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, and the American West. “Writing Biography at the Edge of History,” by **Robin Fleming**, presents a biographical sketch of a nameless seventh-century Englishwoman who left no textual evidence, only physical remains. **Jochen Hellbeck**’s essay, “Galaxy of Black Stars: The Power of Soviet Biography,” is an example of multiple biographies, derived from the many life stories produced by ordinary people under the Soviet regime. **Alice Kessler-Harris** asks, “Why Biography?” and answers her own question by way of reflecting on her experience in researching and writing the biography of Lillian Hellman. **Susan Mann** explains the enduring importance of biography as a genre of historical writing about China in “Scene-Setting: Writing Biography in Chinese History.” In “Separations of Soul: Solitude, Biography, History,” **Barbara Taylor** offers an episode in the life of Mary Wollstonecraft as a way to explore the meaning of solitude in the eighteenth century. Finally, in “Rewriting the Lives of Eighteenth-Century Economists,” **Liana Vardi** argues that it is essential to appreciate the wider biographies of the Marquis de Mirabeau and Jacques Turgot for a full understanding of their economic theories.

***AHR* Forum**

Like the Roundtable, the *AHR* Forum on “Simon Schama’s *A History of Britain*” deals with a genre of historical representation about which historians are somewhat

ambivalent. Though it also appeared as a three-volume publication, *A History of Britain* is most widely known as a BBC television series in fifteen episodes. We asked three historians to consider this popular program, as well as the book. **Miri Rubin** looks at it from the perspective of a medieval historian; **Linda Levy Peck** as a specialist in the early modern period; and **Peter Stansky** as a historian of modern Britain. In his comment, **Simon Schama** discusses how he conceived and wrote the series and offers as well some thoughts on the medium of television for the presentation of history to a wider public.

October's issue will include two *AHR* Forums: one is on "Truth and Reconciliation in History," and the other takes a critical look at Taylor Branch's three-volume history *America in the King Years*.



Tamil merchants in Singapore constructed the Sri Mariyamman Temple in 1827. The original structure was added to and renovated on several occasions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is pictured here with Singapore's contemporary skyline in the background. Even today, the temple's location reveals much about the culturally and religiously plural landscape of Singapore in the nineteenth century: it is adjacent to the largest Tamil Muslim mosque in Singapore—also built in the early nineteenth century—and in close proximity to several Chinese places of worship from the same era, in the area of Singapore now known, ironically, as "Chinatown." Photograph by Sunil Amrith.

Tamil Diasporas across the Bay of Bengal

SUNIL S. AMRITH

IN BOTH ACADEMIC WRITING AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE, the term “diaspora” has come to denote almost any migrant group of shared origin.¹ As Engseng Ho puts it, “today, almost every ethnic group, country, or separatist movement has its diaspora”; this marks a significant expansion from the original use of the term to refer to the Jewish and later the Armenian and the African experiences.² Histories of diaspora have proliferated where once there were histories of migration, or immigration. As a term of analysis in the humanities and the social sciences, “diaspora” has usefully drawn our attention to the importance of transnational connections and flows. Diasporic histories do not view migration as a linear journey from source to destination, but emphasize the enduring links—imaginative, familial, economic, or political—maintained by mobile people with their lands of origin.³

As several million Tamil-speaking people moved back and forth across the Bay of Bengal in the century after 1850—in particular between the southeastern coast of India, the Straits Settlements, and the Malay Peninsula—diasporic communities were made and unraveled alongside other kinds of local and transnational communities.⁴ For most of the nineteenth century, until the 1870s, the connections between South India and Southeast Asia were characterized by constant circulation.⁵ Con-

The research for this article was made possible by the generous support of a Large Research Grant from the British Academy, and by supplementary travel grants from Birkbeck College and the University of London’s Central Research Fund. I have rehearsed rough sketches of these ideas before seminar audiences too numerous to list in Britain, Malaysia, and the United States: I am grateful to them all. For helpful conversations, practical assistance, advice, and inspiration, I would like to thank Megha Amrith, Shantha Amrith, Sugata Bose, Tim Harper, Khoo Salma Nasution, Sumit Mandal, Emma Rothschild, and A. R. Venkatachalapathy. The *AHR*’s anonymous readers provided insightful critical readings of the initial submission, which were invaluable in helping me to revise the piece for publication. I am solely responsible for any shortcomings in the article.

¹ For an admirably clear semantic history, see Stéphane Dufoix, *Diasporas*, trans. William Rordarmor (Berkeley, Calif., 2008). See also Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas* (London, 1997).

² Engseng Ho, “Empire through Diasporic Eyes: The View from the Other Boat,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no. 2 (2004): 210–246, 214.

³ Pioneering efforts in the Asian context include T. N. Harper, “Globalism and the Pursuit of Authenticity: The Making of a Diasporic Public Sphere in Singapore,” *Sojourn* 12, no. 2 (1997): 261–292, and Adam McKeown, “Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842–1949,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no. 2 (1999): 306–337. McKeown points out that at the heart of a diasporic perspective on human mobility is “attention to global connections, networks, activities and consciousness that bridge . . . more localized anchors of reference.”

⁴ Apart from the late-twentieth-century Tamil diaspora of refugees from the conflict in Sri Lanka, the Tamil diaspora has been very little studied. For one recent work that uses the term (although its focus is almost exclusively on questions of ritual), see Fred W. Clothey, *Ritualizing on the Boundaries: Continuity and Innovation in the Tamil Diaspora* (Columbia, S.C., 2007).

⁵ On the Bay of Bengal in the early modern period, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Connected His-

tiguous, sometimes overlapping communities of Tamil Muslim and Hindu traders, boatmen, dockworkers, and laborers sojourned in the port cities of Singapore and Penang (known, together with Melaka, as the Straits Settlements) and returned frequently to South India. Cultural symbols and religious practices circulated with them, shaping the urban landscape of the port cities of the Straits. Tamil sojourners in Southeast Asia formed local communities while maintaining oceanic connections. From the 1870s, Tamil migration to Southeast Asia underwent a transformation, with the arrival in Malaya of tens of thousands of young men from rural South India—most of them of low-caste Hindu or “untouchable” (*dalit*) background, many of them under indenture—to labor on the sugar and then the rubber plantations of the Malay Peninsula. This marked both an expansion and a narrowing of mobility across the Bay of Bengal: the number of journeys increased in the age of the steamship, but most Tamils in Malaya now lived and worked a world away from the openness of the port cities, enclosed and isolated on plantations.

It was out of this process of immobilization that a narrower, more clearly recognizable sense of Tamil diasporic consciousness emerged (and one that more closely approximates the models of diaspora prevalent in the social sciences).⁶ The colonial state identified plantation workers and urbanites alike as “Tamils”; the Tamil urban elite tried, as a consequence, to identify more directly with the masses on the rubber estates, and did so with reference to shared membership in a diasporic community. Confronted with a rising tide of Malay nationalism in the 1930s, Tamil intellectuals engaged in a profoundly self-conscious attempt to define the condition of living in diaspora. In the aftermath of the Second World War, increasingly exclusive definitions of sovereignty and citizenship on both sides of the Bay of Bengal closed down the space for diasporic modes of identification and assertion.

This is a new way of looking at a process that has been studied largely in terms of “the impact of Tamil immigration” on Malaysian history, with scholars sifting the “push” and “pull” factors underlying migration.⁷ A shift in focus to the distinctive features of Tamil circulation around the Bay of Bengal can suggest new ways of thinking about diaspora and diasporic consciousness. Two arguments in particular may have broader comparative relevance in relation to other South Asian diaspo-

stories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762; Om Prakash and Denys Lombard, eds., *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal, 1500–1800* (New Delhi, 1999). A valuable perspective on “circulation” as a particular kind of mobility in South Asian history can be found in the essays in Claude Markovits, Jacques Poucheпадass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Society and Circulation: Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750–1950* (New Delhi, 2003).

⁶ For a presentation of ideal-type “models” of diaspora, see Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, and Dufoix, *Diasporas*.

⁷ K. S. Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of Their Immigration and Settlement (1786–1957)* (Cambridge, 1969); Sinappah Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (Oxford, 1970); Amarjit Kaur, “Sojourners and Settlers: South Indians and Communal Identity in Malaysia,” in Crispin Bates, ed., *Community, Empire and Migration: South Asians in Diaspora* (Basingstoke, 2000), 185–205. Emigration to Southeast Asia has also been illuminated from the perspective of its impact on South Indian agrarian history: Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural Labor in the Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1965); C. J. Baker, *An Indian Rural Economy, 1880–1955: The Tamilnad Countryside* (Oxford, 1984); on transnational Chettiar business networks, see the seminal study by David Rudner, *Caste and Capitalism in Colonial India: The Nattukottai Chettiars* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994).

ras—the Punjabi, Bhojpuri, Sikh, and Telugu diasporas, to name but a few—and to the study of diasporas more broadly.⁸ The first is that Tamil diasporic consciousness was a product of the shifting balance between mobility and immobility across the seas: a sharper sense of diasporic consciousness emerged as a consequence of immobilization, rather than mobility. Diasporic connections, on this view, solidified when oceanic connections attenuated. Until the 1870s, the intensity of oceanic connections across the Bay of Bengal forestalled the sense of separation—between home and abroad—at the root of the diasporic experience.

The second broad argument here concerns the importance of “others” to the constitution of diasporic communities and diasporic consciousness. There is a tendency in the literature, particularly the literature on the Indian diaspora, to paint a very inward-looking picture of diasporic communities isolated from contact with others, and fixated upon reproducing social and cultural institutions from home.⁹ Yet diasporic consciousness is forged not only in distinction to nationalist and indigenous claims—as James Clifford rightly suggests—but also from the interaction between multiple diasporas.¹⁰ In the port cities of Southeast Asia, shaped to an unusual extent by mobility, being part of a diaspora was, by the 1930s, an essential part of what it was to be modern. However, emergent visions of diasporic modernity arose at the expense of other modes of identification across space and time, and of more local, improvised forms of community.

AT THE MOMENT OF EUROPEAN INCURSION into the Bay of Bengal, Tamil connections with Southeast Asia were intensive and widespread.¹¹ In early modern Melaka, Tamil residents not only were numerous, but had risen to positions of considerable power within the court. When Captain Francis Light founded the British settlement of Prince of Wales Island (Penang) in 1786, Tamil settlers, traders, and laborers were

⁸ Some of the earliest studies of the “Indian diaspora” were histories of indentured labor migration to the Indian Ocean and Caribbean colonies in the nineteenth century. See John D. Kelly, *A Politics of Virtue: Hinduism, Sexuality, and Countercolonial Discourse in Fiji* (Chicago, 1991); Marina Carter, *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius, 1834–74* (Delhi, 1995); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 1997). Another approach to the South Asian diaspora has been to focus on mercantile networks: Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge, 2000); more broadly, see Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, eds., *Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea* (New Delhi, 2000); Rajat Kanta Ray, “Asian Capital in the Age of European Domination: The Rise of the Bazaar, 1800–1914,” *Modern Asian Studies* 29, no. 3 (1995): 449–554; and Rudner, *Caste and Capitalism*. On India’s many regional diasporas, see, e.g., Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World* (Durham, N.C., 2006); Mark-Anthony Falzon, *Cosmopolitan Connections: The Sindhi Diaspora, 1860–2000* (Leiden, 2004). One work that expertly brings together these diverse threads of national, regional, and transnational history is Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in an Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

⁹ Cf. Judith Brown, *Global South Asians: An Introduction to the Modern Diaspora* (Cambridge, 2006); Brij Lal, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora* (Singapore, 2006).

¹⁰ James Clifford, “Diasporas,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 302–338.

¹¹ On the much longer history of Tamil connections with Southeast Asia, which may date to the second century A.D., see H. G. Quaritch Wales, “Archaeological Researches in Ancient Indian Colonization,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18, no. 1 (1940): 1–85; P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961).

among the first to arrive.¹² Tamil Muslim traders of the Marakkayar community, many of them married to local Malay women, played a significant role in Penang's trade in the produce of the Malay hinterland, Sumatran pepper, Burmese rice, and Coromandel cloths.¹³ Under their auspices, thousands of Tamil Muslim laborers arrived on Penang's shores each year, for a sojourn of months or years.¹⁴ As early as 1794, the Straits Settlements Factory Records contain evidence of both the magnitude and the circularity of South Indian migration to the Straits, reporting that "the vessels of the [Coromandel] Coast bring over annually 1,300 or 2,000 men who by traffic and various kinds of labor obtain a few dollars with which they return to their homes."¹⁵ By the 1820s, Tamil settlers constituted the largest single group in Georgetown, the urban settlement on Penang Island.¹⁶ In Penang, as in Singapore, new arrivals from the Coromandel Coast encountered an already diverse South Asian population, which included East India Company soldiers and convict laborers from Madras and Bengal, as well as a large and growing number of Chinese migrants.¹⁷

The character of this mobile, transient Tamil society that emerged in Penang and Singapore is accessible to us only through fragments and traces for the period before the 1870s. In part this is due to the absence of sources: only from the later 1870s do we have Tamil-language publications from the Straits Settlements, and the character of Tamil society attracted only stray remarks from English commentators, owing to a lack of interest, understanding, or both. But there are many other archives that speak to the vitality of the Tamil cultural presence in the Straits: the archives of architecture are particularly revealing, and with them the documentary trail of petitions and counter-petitions that remain in the Straits Settlements Records, regarding the sanctity of particular plots of land; the sharing of public space; and the competitive nature of sacred appropriations of the city.

Tamil cultural forms, and particularly forms of religious culture, traveled—or circulated—with the migrants; they marked their presence in Singapore and Penang from the outset. A newcomer from South India would have found instantly familiar elements of the urban landscape, manifested through the architecture of sacred sites. The distinctive styles of South Indian Islam shaped the sacred landscapes of the Straits Settlements. Among many examples, there stand, to this day, the *darghas* (shrines) to the saint of the South Indian town of Nagore, Shahul Hamid, on Telok Ayer Street in Singapore, and on Chulia Street in Penang. The Penang shrine was built in 1801, and the structure in Singapore during the late 1820s; both were replicas of the original *dargha*, the saint's burial place, in Nagore.¹⁸ Figures 2 and 3 show the presence of quintessentially "Tamil" styles of sacred architecture across the Bay of

¹² T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, 2 vols. (London, 1839), vol. 1.

¹³ Helen Fujimoto, *The South Indian Muslim Community and the Evolution of the Jawi Peranakan in Penang up to 1948* (Tokyo, 1989).

¹⁴ John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions and Commerce of Its Inhabitants*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1820), vol. 1.

¹⁵ British Library, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collection, India Office Records [hereafter IOR], IOR/G/34/6, Straits Settlements Factory Records [hereafter SSFR], vol. 6 (1794), August 1, 1794.

¹⁶ IOR, F/4/74020284, Prince of Wales Island, Census Department, 1823.

¹⁷ J. F. A. McNair, assisted by W. D. Bayliss, *Prisoners Their Own Warders: A Record of the Convict Prison at Singapore . . . Together with a Cursory History of the Convict Establishments at Bencoolen, Penang and Malacca from the Year 1797* (London, 1899); Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account*.

¹⁸ For a petition from Tamil Muslim merchants regarding the land for the Nagore shrines, see the



FIGURE 1: The Bay of Bengal region ca. 1800, showing the ports of departure on the Coromandel Coast. Detail from "Asia," in R. Brookes, *The General Gazetteer; or, Compendious Geographical Dictionary*, 8th ed. (Dublin, 1808). Courtesy of the University of Texas Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, available at http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/asia_1808.jpg.

Bengal. The *dargha* of Nagore also had a striking influence on the structure of the Masjid Jamae (or "Big Mosque"), the largest Tamil Muslim place of worship in Singapore.

Yet in moving, not only did the replicas absorb a wider range of architectural influences, both European (the Palladian features in the Singapore *dargha*) and from

National Archives of the United Kingdom [hereafter TNA], Public Record Office [hereafter PRO], CO 55/2, Proceedings of Committee of Investigation into the State of the Revenue, 1797–1798.

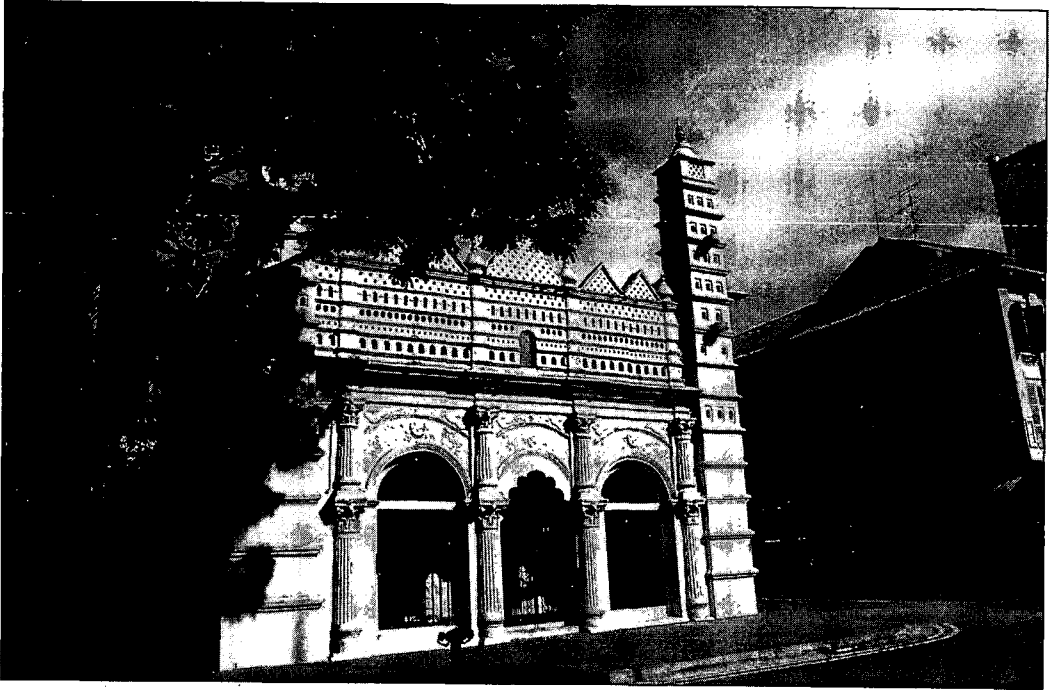


FIGURE 2: The Nagore Dargha, Telok Ayer Street, Singapore, built ca. 1828–1830. Photograph by Sunil Amrith.

the wider Islamic world, they also became active sites of devotion and healing, attracting local worshippers far beyond the Tamil Muslim community, just as the original shrine in Nagore had always attracted a majority of Hindu devotees.¹⁹ The narrative of his life intimately connected with the sea, Shahul Hamid was an apt patron saint for mobile peoples.²⁰

Tamil Hindu urban landscapes overlapped with Tamil Muslim ones. Numerous temples dedicated to South Indian deities emerged in Singapore and Penang in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Chettiar merchants established many of the early temples, plowing the profits from their already extensive Asian trading

¹⁹ Personal interviews in Nagore, September 2008. On the saint Shahul Hamid, see S. A. Shaikh Hassan Sahib Qadhiri, *The Divine Light of Nagore: The Whole History and Teachings of Nagore Great Saint* (Nagore, 1980). See also S. A. A. Saheb, "A 'Festival of Flags': Hindu-Muslim Devotion and the Sacralising of Localism at the Shrine of Nagore-e-Sharif in Tamil Nadu," in Pnina Werbner and Helene Basu, eds., *Embodying Charisma: Modernity, Locality and the Performance of Emotion in Sufi Cults* (London, 1998), 55–76.

²⁰ At the heart of Shahul Hamid's story is the sea. Central to his legend is the story of his journey from the plains of North India to Mecca, back via the Maldives and Adam's Peak in Ceylon, to his final settlement and death in Nagore. The narrative of his voyage is narrated again and again, as it was in my many conversations with his devotees, and is even translated into the terms of modern cartography in one of the most widely circulated Tamil texts about him, on sale in cheap editions in Tamil Nadu, Singapore, and Penang. See Janāp Kulām Kātiru Navalār, *Karuṇaik-kaṭal Nākūr Aṇṭavaravarkaḷiṇ Punīta Vāḷkkai Varalāru* (Chennai, 1963). A note on language: I have used the usual diacritical marks in transliterating Tamil sources. However, for names (of people, places, and rituals) that are widely known and frequently transcribed into English, I have used their more familiar forms (e.g., Nagapattinam rather than Nākapaṭṭiṇam; Ramasamy rather than Rāmacāmi; *thaipusam* rather than *taipūcam*).

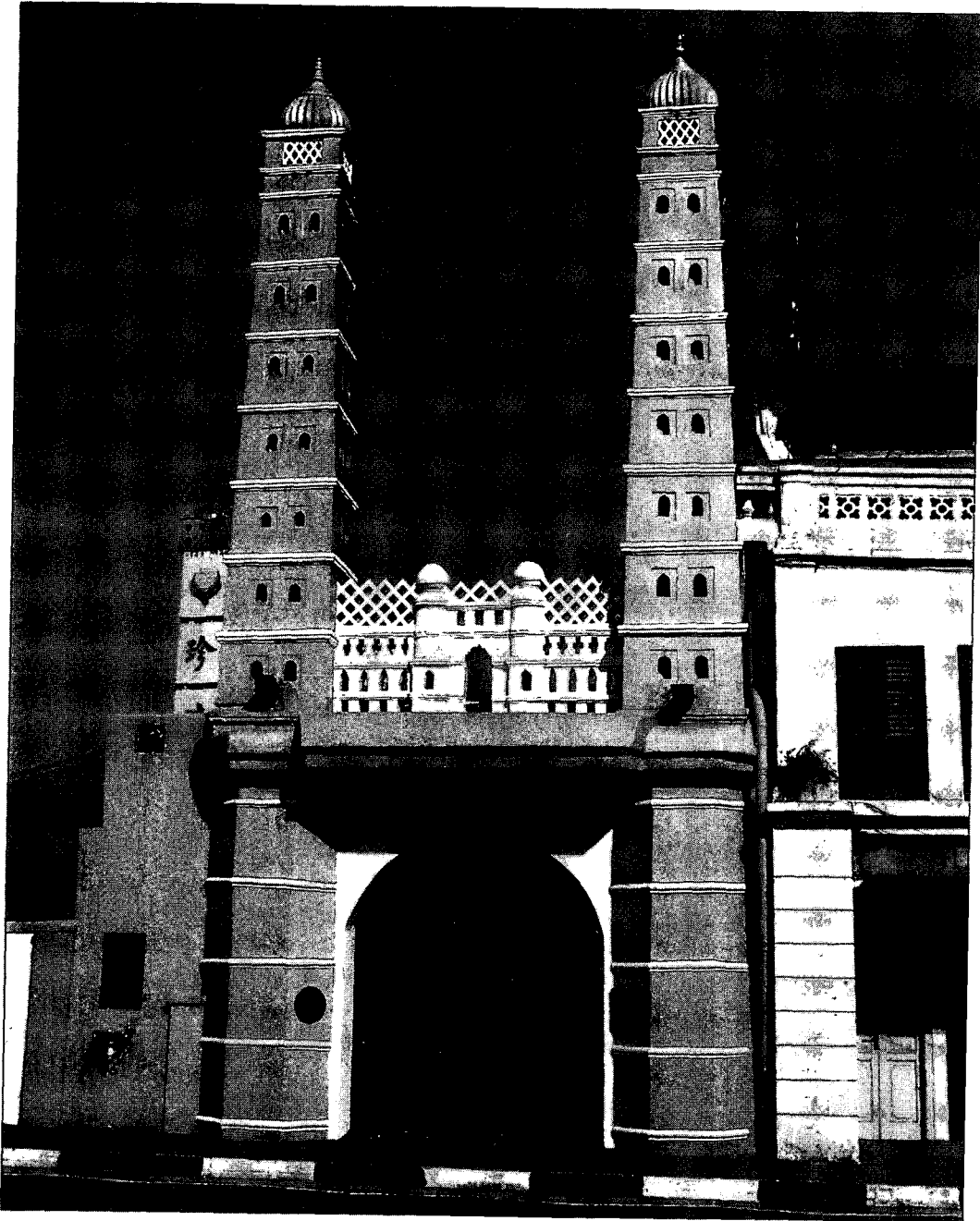


FIGURE 3: The Masjid Jamee (Chulia), South Bridge Road, Singapore, built in 1826. Photograph by Sunil Amrith.

networks into structures commemorating their favored deities.²¹ Some were little more than makeshift shrines, dedicated to local deities, but more permanent structures soon emerged. In 1827, Narayana Pillai, a Tamil building contractor who had

²¹ Clothey, *Ritualizing on the Boundaries*; on the culture of Chettiar capitalism, see Rudner, *Caste and Capitalism*.

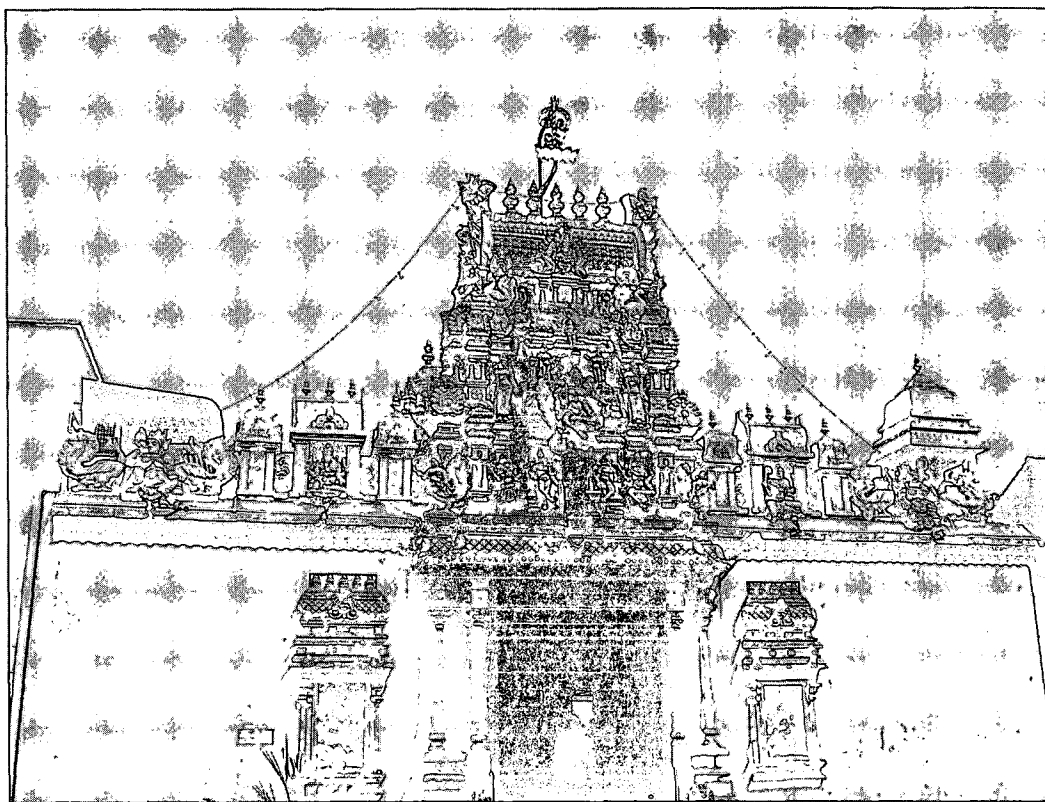


FIGURE 4: The Sri Mariyamman Temple, Queen Street, Penang, built ca. 1833. Photograph by Sunil Amrith.

arrived in Singapore with the colony's founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, erected the Sri Mariyamman Temple in Singapore, on land granted by the colonial authorities.²² A similar structure was erected on Queen Street, in Georgetown, by the 1830s.²³

The temples were erected at the heart of early clusters of Tamil settlement. In the words of one petition regarding the Mariyamman Temple in Singapore, the East India Company had given early Tamil Hindu settlers "sufficient ground for our occupation, and also for the Church, near the banks of the Fresh Water River, and [we] accordingly observed that place, and builded the houses and Church." But in a context marked by multiple migrant communities in flux, the Hindu "Church" was built in immediate proximity to another place of worship; the temple's sacralization of the land in terms of Hindu cosmology bordered upon the largest Tamil-Muslim mosque, the Masjid Jamae, which indicated a parallel but distinct spiritual connection—an Islamic one—between South India and the Straits Settlements. As early as 1827, a dispute arose between the trustees of the mosque and the temple as to the use of the public road between the two structures, generating much correspondence within the colonial archive.²⁴

²² National Archives of Singapore [hereafter NAS], Straits Settlements Records [hereafter SSR], Singapore Consultations (A), A 34, May 1827, "Petition from Hindoo Inhabitants of Singapore."

²³ Personal interviews in Penang, March–September 2007.

²⁴ NAS, SSR, A 34, May 1827, "Petition from Hindoo Inhabitants of Singapore"; "Petition from Mohammedan Inhabitants of Singapore Respecting the Hindu Temple Adjoining the Mosque."

On one level, a dispute of this kind suggests that the area of Tamil settlement in Singapore had become a microcosm of South Indian society, reflecting the physical juxtaposition, even sharing, of Hindu and Muslim places of worship, and the occasional conflicts between them over public space, both of which had characterized community relations in the Tamil country for centuries.²⁵ In some models of diasporic culture, this would represent a straightforward transfer of cultural practices and forms through the process of migration. But what is most striking about the circulation of Tamil cultural symbols—whether Hindu or Muslim—in Singapore and Penang is that they circulated amid many other sites, symbols, and practices. Religious performances were enacted before an audience of others: British soldiers and administrators, Chinese and Malay residents. In this context, circulating religious practices had to change in order to accommodate themselves to new ways of sharing public space.

From the 1830s, the colonial authorities began to formulate an improvised, still inchoate, public doctrine of toleration, which held that “traveling cultures” had to conform to certain norms of public behavior. Observing in 1834 a performance in Penang of the rite of *thaipusam*, James Low, chief military officer of Province Wellesley, wrote that “when people forsake their own country and voluntarily settle in another, they should be satisfied with the permission to celebrate their religious rites only which do not outrage the proper feelings of the other portions of the community, and which are not injurious to public morals, the decencies of life, and order.”²⁶ Decades later, in 1860, the trustees of the Mariyamman Temple in Singapore were denied permission to perform the rites of *thimithi* in public, the Governor’s Council declaring it their responsibility to “prevent the Peace of the Town being in any way disturbed.”²⁷ There was, however, a great deal more cultural mixing—or transculturation—than this public doctrine would recognize. At times, “Indian,” “Malay,” and “Chinese” modes of performance came together to the point where they were indistinguishable to the state. In Penang, a hybrid, localized variant of the Shi’a Muharram procession attracted followers from all communities—including Tamil Hindus, Tamil and Malay Muslims (overwhelmingly Sunni Muslims), and Chinese—and in 1867 became the occasion for the “Penang Riots,” involving rival alliances and brotherhoods that cut across the lines of community and religion.²⁸

The years around the mid-nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of journeys between the Straits Settlements and the Madras coast. To English observers, the Tamil connection with the arc of coasts around the Bay of Bengal appeared entirely natural, and governed by networks indigenous to Tamil society.²⁹ Never-

²⁵ The seminal work on Tamil Muslim communities remains Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700–1900* (Cambridge, 1989). For a North Indian comparison, see Sandria B. Freitag, *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

²⁶ James Low, *The British Settlement of Penang* (Singapore, 1836). *Thaipusam* is an annual celebration in honor of Murugan, son of Siva and Parvati, commemorating his defeat of Itumpan on Palani Hill.

²⁷ NAS, SSR, Miscellaneous Letters Out, 1800–1867, V 30 (1860), to Trustees, Hindoo Temple at Singapore. *Thimithi* is a Tamil fire-walking ceremony in honor of Draupadi, wife of the Pandava brothers in the *Mahabharata*.

²⁸ On Boria, see Fujimoto, *The South Indian Muslim Community*. On the “Penang Riots” of 1867, see *Report of the Penang Riots Commission* (Penang, 1867).

²⁹ Tamil Nadu State Archives, Chennai [hereafter TNSA], Madras Public Proceedings [hereafter

theless, the sheer number of boats making the voyage across the Bay of Bengal began to elicit official concern, and it is from the late 1840s that Tamil emigration begins to feature prominently in the Madras archives. A number of cases came to light in which seriously overcrowded "native vessels" were arriving on both coasts of the Bay of Bengal. As one observer wrote in 1848, "it is notorious the crowded manner in which the vessels arrive at Penang," and "the consequences this year have been very fatal, many of the passengers having died on the way."³⁰ Regulation, however, appeared an impossibility: so dispersed was the traffic, from small as well as larger ports, that if regulations were tightened in Penang, "Asiatics wishing a passage can readily embark from the adjacent Malay coast."³¹ Hindu and Muslim shipping merchants constituted the essential link between the port cities of the Straits and South India: they advanced to thousands of laborers the cost of their passage overseas, and linked them up with employers in Penang and Singapore.³²

By the end of the 1860s, the Chief Secretary of the Straits Settlements observed that there was

a regular cooly emigration from [the Madras] coast to Penang. Many ships belonging to Hindus and Mussulmen are employed in it, and the number of persons who are thus brought over is believed to average 4,000 per annum. Almost all the boatmen, caulkers, and laborers on boardships and in the town,—syces, watermen, and a large number of hawkers, traders and domestic servants, are men from the Madras Coast.³³

A number of these men must have participated directly in cultural performances that commemorated their sense of connection with the other coast of the Bay of Bengal—a connection that was perpetually reinforced by trips back home, and a constant stream of new arrivals. To take one example of many, groups of Penang boatmen, according to oral tradition, contributed a portion of their income to support annual celebrations of the saint of Nagore.³⁴ A central feature of Tamil cultural circulation around the Bay of Bengal is the sense of continuity it evokes between the two coasts of the Bay of Bengal. The streets of the Straits Settlements formed part of a continuous realm with the Tamil country. The sea was a means of connection as much as separation.

The 1870s saw a refinement and an elaboration of Tamil cultural expression in the Straits Settlements, through the medium of print. The introduction of the movable-type lithograph led to a proliferation of small-scale Tamil publishing in Singapore and Penang, beginning in around 1873, with the production of newspapers—

MPP], vol. 836, May 15, 1849, no. 7, from Governor, Prince of Wales Island, to Officiating Chief Secretary, Fort Saint George.

³⁰ Ibid., vol. 832, December 12, 1848, nos. 7–8, from Official Resident Councilor, Prince of Wales Island, to Fort Saint George.

³¹ Ibid., vol. 836, May 15, 1849, no. 7, Governor, Prince of Wales Island, to Officiating Chief Secretary, Fort Saint George.

³² Ibid., vol. 832, December 12, 1848, nos. 7–8, from Official Resident Councilor, Prince of Wales Island, to Fort Saint George.

³³ National Archives of India, New Delhi [hereafter NAI], Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce: Emigration Branch [hereafter RAC: Emigration], Proceedings 1–9, September 1871, J. W. Birch (Col Secy, SS) to the Chief Secy, Fort Saint George, July 1, 1870.

³⁴ Information from personal interviews in Penang (March–September 2007) and Nagore (September 2008).

most of them short-lived—and books, ranging from manuals of Islamic instruction to genealogies of saints, which connected the sacred landscapes of South India directly with the Straits Settlements, as well as backward and westward, to the Arabian peninsula.³⁵ The first Tamil-language newspaper in the Straits, *Taṅkainēcaṇ*, was edited by Muhammad Sa'id, and first published by the Jawi Peranakan Company in 1876; the same publishers started the first-ever Malay newspaper, *Jawi Peranakan*, with its deep commitment to popularizing the Malay language.³⁶ This indicates the extent to which the hybrid Tamil-Malay community of the Straits (known as the *jawi peranakan*) stood quite naturally astride the Tamil and the Malay cultural worlds.³⁷ Conversely, many of the early Tamil Muslim publishing houses were backed by Tamil Hindu capital.³⁸ Penang's first Tamil newspaper, *Vittiya Vicāriṇi* (published in 1883), reflected this age of circulation quite literally, as it moved back across the Bay of Bengal, to Nagore, along with its editor, the Tamil poet Ghulam Kadir Navalar.³⁹

If the division between Tamil Hindu and Tamil Muslim migrants to Southeast Asia stood among the many multiplicities of class, community, and language that characterized the mobile society of the Straits Settlements in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, it was not an impermeable nor always a clear boundary. In text, as in architecture, the impression—admittedly limited, given the scarcity of contemporary sources—is one of overlapping, continuous communities, each linked back and forth across the Bay of Bengal and nourished by the constant circulation of people and images, rather than any sense of a singular Tamil diaspora.

THE FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT in patterns of migration and capitalist development across the Bay of Bengal that began in the 1870s and gathered pace in the 1880s reshaped the boundaries of community and consciousness in the Straits Settlements. With the establishment of British control over most of the peninsula in the 1870s, the west coast of Malaya was opened to European capital, and to considerable investments in sugar and coffee plantations, followed late in the century by rubber. Unable to attract or coerce local Malay labor, and without access to the networks controlling Chinese labor, European planters looked across the Bay of Bengal for their supply of workers.⁴⁰

³⁵ Mukammatu Aptulkāṭiruppulavar, *Munājāttuttirattu* (Singapore, 1872); Mukammatu Cultān Maraikkāyar, *Patānanta Mālai* (Penang, 1890); Mukammatu Aptulkāṭiruppulavar, *Kirttanattirattu* (Singapore, 1896).

³⁶ E. W. Birch, "The Vernacular Press in the Straits," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4 (December 1879): 51–55.

³⁷ For an incisive analysis of one of the early Tamil Muslim newspapers in Singapore, *Cīṅkainēcaṇ*, see Torsten Tschacher, "Kling, Tamil, Indian: Being a Tamil-Speaking Muslim in Singapore" (forthcoming). I thank Dr. Tschacher for sharing a draft of the paper with me. Tschacher shows that while we do not know much about the extent of the newspaper's circulation, its list of subscribers alone spanned Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Siam, Vietnam, and India.

³⁸ Fujimoto, *The South Indian Muslim Community*.

³⁹ S. M. A. K. Fakhri, "Print Culture amongst Tamils and Tamil Muslims in Southeast Asia, c. 1860–1960" (Madras Institute of Development Studies Working Paper no. 167, February 2002). To the best of my knowledge, no issues of *Vittiya Vicāriṇi* survive, although they may be extant in private collections in Tamil Nadu.

⁴⁰ NAI, RAC: Emigration, Proceedings 1–9, September 1871, Harry St George Ord to the Earl of Kimberley, May 15, 1871. The Governor of Penang explained the situation quite clearly to the Colonial Secretary, writing that "From the poorness of the soil of the Malay Peninsula, cultivation can only be

FIGURE 5:
Distribution of Indian Population in Malaya, 1891–1911 (percentage of total)

	1891	1901	1911
Singapore	21.0	14.9	10.6
Penang	47.3	31.7	17.1
Melaka	21.1	1.0	2.8
Perak	19.9	29.4	27.9
Selangor	4.7	14.1	27.6
Other Malay States	3.4	5.6	14.0

SOURCE: Drawn from M. V. del Tufo, *A Report on the 1947 Census of Population* (Kuala Lumpur, 1947), Appendix C; and Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya*, 208.

From the 1870s, the magnitude of Tamil migration to Malaya increased manifold, and its distribution and composition changed; the position of the port cities with respect to the hinterland was transformed as a result. In 1848, at an estimate, 2,700 passengers had arrived in Penang from the ports of South India; for most of the 1860s, this number had risen to around 6,000.⁴¹ Twenty years later, in 1888, more than 22,000 people arrived in the ports of the Straits Settlements from South India; in 1911, that number was over 100,000.⁴² As more and more workers journeyed to the plantations of the hinterland, Singapore and Penang no longer provided homes to the majority of Tamil migrants to Malaya. In 1881, Singapore and Penang still accounted for 39,000 out of the 44,000 Indian migrants—the vast majority of them Tamil—who were estimated to live in Malaya; by 1901, the two cities' total population of 55,600 was matched by a plantation population of equal magnitude, mostly concentrated in Selangor and Perak. By 1931, only just over 100,000 of the 600,000 Indians in Malaya lived in the port cities.⁴³ Figure 5 illustrates quite starkly the changing distribution of Malaya's Tamil population between the cities and the plantations.

Tamil plantation workers' journey across the Bay of Bengal was one of confined mobility.⁴⁴ Tamil laborers began their journeys to Malaya at the emigration depot in Nagapattinam. After having their heads shaved and their clothes disinfected, the

carried on profitably when cheap labor can be obtained: the native Malay will not work as a field laborer, and the Chinese immigrants find other and more remunerative occupation."

⁴¹ TNSA, MPP, vol. 832, December 12, 1848, nos. 7–8, Appendix: "Ships Arriving in Prince of Wales Island"; Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya*, 304.

⁴² Calculated from Straits Settlements, *Reports on Indian Immigration* (Singapore and Penang), 1880–1911.

⁴³ Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya*, 183, 208.

⁴⁴ The next two paragraphs are based on the archival accounts in NAI, RAC: Emigration, Proceedings 12–15, March 1873, "Emigration from Madras Presidency to the Straits Settlements"; *ibid.*, Proceedings 38–48, February 1874, Letter no. 282, Karikal, April 1, 1873, from Captain B. Fischer (British Consular Agent, Karikal) to Protector of Emigrants, Madras; NAI, Revenue and Agricultural Department: Emigration Branch [hereafter RA: Emigration], Proceedings 19–21, January 1882, from Major A. T. Rolland, Superintendent of Police, Tanjore, to the Assistant Inspector-General of Police, Madras, Tanjore, November 12, 1880; *ibid.*, Proceeding 9, September 1886, from the Consular Agent, Pondicherry and Karikal, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, July 27, 1886; *ibid.*, Proceedings 10–13, June 1874, from JDM Coghill, Acting Colonial Surgeon, Province Wellesley, to the Magistrate of Police and CEO, Province Wellesley, November 16, 1873. See also Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya*, 89–103.

prospective emigrants would come before the local magistrate, and declare to him that they were migrating—and in some cases indenturing themselves—voluntarily.⁴⁵ After a voyage of six or seven days across the Bay of Bengal, packed on deck by the thousands, emigrants would arrive in Penang or Singapore, but often would not see the cities at all. From the quarantine stations at St. John's Island (Singapore) and Pulau Jerejak (Penang), they would be collected and taken directly to the plantations, where they would work for at least three years, or until their debts accumulated in the process of emigration had been paid off.

The plantations were enclosed cultural worlds, in which workers remained under the surveillance and supervision of the Tamil plantation foremen (*kankani*), who often originated from the same village or region as the workers. Through small estate temples dedicated to the local deities of the workers' South India homes, a sense of connection and continuity was established between rural South India and the plantations. Small estate Tamil schools prepared estate workers' children—of whom there were few, as the number of women who migrated was not large—for little more than a life on the plantations. Conditions on the plantations were notoriously harsh. Mortality rates were high, as a result of poor sanitary facilities and environmental conditions. Workers were often beaten, even tortured. Any purported violation of their terms of employment was punished harshly, as stipulated by the draconian labor code. Rupert Emerson, an American social scientist who visited Malaya in the 1930s, concluded that most Tamil laborers in Malaya “have lived out their brief Malayan lives within a radius of a few miles from the dingy ‘coolie lines’ in which they have slept.”⁴⁶ The gulf between the plantations and the culturally and socially open world of the port cities could hardly have been greater.

Although a range of Tamil recruiting agents, transnational firms, and plantation foremen remained essential to the process of channeling migrants across the Bay of Bengal, the colonial state and European planters established an unbreakable monopoly over the labor supply.⁴⁷ Nagapattinam was declared the only official port of emigration for Southeast Asia; shipping across the Bay of Bengal was dominated by the British India Steam Navigation Company, and planters began to control their labor supply directly, by dispatching existing laborers to their home villages to recruit more men (under what was known as the *kangany* system) by advancing money to their families.⁴⁸ Lacking the institutional structures of the Chinese brotherhoods (*kongsis*)—which integrated laborers in the hinterland with urban merchants, financiers, and revenue farmers—the urban Tamil elite turned to print, and the public sphere, to stake their claim to speak for the mass of Tamil migrant workers on the plantations, and tried to forge a Tamil diaspora in their own image, under their moral and political leadership. This led to a struggle over power, authority, and image that

⁴⁵ I examine this process in greater depth in an as yet unpublished article titled “Indians Overseas? Governing Tamil Migration to Malaya, 1870–1941.”

⁴⁶ Rupert Emerson quoted in K. A. Neelakandha Aiyar, *Indian Problems in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur, 1938).

⁴⁷ NAI, RA: Emigration, Proceedings 19–21, January 1882, from Major A. T. Rolland, Superintendent of Police, Tanjore, to the Assistant Inspector-General of Police, Madras, Tanjore, November 12, 1880. For a detailed discussion of the colonial regulation of migration to Malaya, see Amrith, “Indians Overseas?”

⁴⁸ Archives of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, BIS/7/13, Correspondence re. Negapatam Straits Mail and Coolie Contract, British India Steam Navigation Company Ltd 1901–1904.

would reshape the boundaries of the Tamil diaspora in Southeast Asia in the years to come.

From the early twentieth century, Indian professionals, civil servants, and merchants in Malaya had formed small associations, the first of which was the Taiping Indian Association, established in 1906, soon followed by the Selangor Indian Association in 1909.⁴⁹ By the 1920s, Indian associations had proliferated across the peninsula, the largest and most active being formed in Singapore in 1923. The overriding goal of the Indian Association—made up largely of English-speaking urban elites—was to increase the representation of Indians on the legislative councils of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. Alongside these umbrella organizations for the Indian community were social reform organizations directed specifically at the Tamil population, commercial associations, and associations based on the ties of locality.⁵⁰ More explicitly political associations emerged also, connected with the assertion of semiskilled labor on the railways, leading in 1924 to the first strike by Tamil labor in Malaya.⁵¹

Among the most significant outcomes of the flowering of associational life among Tamils and other South Asians in urban Malaya was the emergence of diaspora as the subject of debate, and as a political project. Out of the myriad of associations and societies—and particularly in the press—emerged a new awareness of being a Tamil diaspora in Southeast Asia, and a new set of conflicts over its internal and external boundaries and its political implications. Much of what was at stake emerges from a letter written to the Reverend C. F. Andrews—a veteran campaigner for the rights of Indians overseas, and a close friend and confidant of both Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore—by three Tamil railway workers from Sentul (on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur) in 1924. The railway workers wrote to Andrews, who had visited Malaya that year, “we live in a foreign country, hundreds of miles away from our motherland, among different races, with different culture and slowly but surely we lose our moral training.” They echoed, directly, the language of Indian reformers who lamented the “demoralization” of Indian labor overseas. Turning to a critique of the motivations of Indians who, like themselves, voyaged overseas to work, Andrews’s correspondents lamented that “we live for money, money and money alone.” The writers asked their “countrymen” in India “not that they should help us materially, but morally.” They asked for “the frequent visits to this country of some of our eminent countrymen of Congress fame.”

Reinforcing the concern of Indian reformers and nationalists that the condition of Indian labor overseas reflected on the dignity of India in the world, the Tamil railway workers wrote that their greatest shame lay in the fact that “not only to Europeans but to the Chinese, Malays, Eurasians and to a certain section of Ceylon

⁴⁹ Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore*, 82.

⁵⁰ The Tamils Reform Association was established in 1932 by G. Sarangapany. Commercial associations included the Nattukottai Chettiar Chamber of Commerce, the Penang Indian Muslim Chamber of Commerce, and Singapore’s Indian Chamber of Commerce. An example of a local association is the Kadayanallur Muslim Association, established for Tamil Muslim migrants from the Tirunelveli town of Kadayanallur; on the latter, see A. Nā. Meytūṇ (A. N. Maideen), *Neñcil Patinta Niṇaivuc Cuvatuṇal* (Singapore, 1989).

⁵¹ NAI, Department of Education, Health and Lands: Overseas Branch [hereafter EHL: Overseas], Proceedings 95–98 (B), September 1925, from Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya to Deputy Secretary, Government of India, August 12, 1925.

Tamils, Indians (especially the Indian Tamils) are nothing but a nation of coolies.”⁵² The writers’ concern illustrates, among other things, how powerfully the racial categories of the colonial census—“Tamil”—now grouped together urban elites and rural plantation workers, Muslims and Hindus, high caste and low caste, in a single representative category.⁵³ This heightened the competitive quest to speak for this now singular community of residents of Malaya.

By the end of the 1920s, the Tamil-language press in Singapore, Penang, and Kuala Lumpur was beginning to expand its reach; the press became an arena for intensive debate on the nature and the boundaries of the Tamil diaspora in Southeast Asia, and for competing claims to leadership over the community. Two newspapers in particular emerged to dominate the Tamil public sphere by 1930: *Tamil Nēcaṇ* was strongly influenced by the politics of Indian nationalism, and was edited by the Tamil Brahmin Narasimha Iyengar, who had arrived in Kuala Lumpur from Tiruchirapalli, after a sojourn in Rangoon.⁵⁴ *Munṇērram* (“Progress”), its main rival, was edited by G. Sarangapany, and projected a more strongly “Dravidian” message, drawing deeply on the ideas of “Periyar” E. V. Ramasamy and his radical Self-Respect Movement in Madras, which focused on caste and social reform. Ramasamy’s visit to Malay in 1929 was a catalyst for the development of a consciously reformist Tamil press under Sarangapany’s leadership. Whereas in the nineteenth century, Tamil Muslims on the boundary between the Tamil diaspora and the local Malay world had dominated the press, by the 1920s, Brahmin and elite non-Brahmin Tamils contended for leadership.⁵⁵ A new consciousness of the Tamil diaspora, with sharper internal and external boundaries, emerged from the pages of the Tamil newspapers of the 1930s, but a strong sense of ambiguity prevailed, as diasporic consciousness appeared to be torn between the many worlds of its imagination.⁵⁶

The first of the “worlds” evoked in the Tamil press of urban Malaya and Singapore was the world of Indian politics. Almost every issue of every Tamil newspaper printed in Singapore, Penang, or Kuala Lumpur in the 1930s published news and, later, photographs of Gandhi: his travels, his speeches, his actions, and his negotiations. The Penang-based Tamil Muslim newspaper *Dēca Nēcaṇ* matched extensive coverage of Gandhi with news of the All-India Muslim League.⁵⁷ National politics combined with wide coverage of Tamil regional politics, in the pages of *Munṇērram* in particular: the meetings of the Self-Respect Movement in Madras; the latest writ-

⁵² Ibid., Proceeding 1 (B), September 1924, from T. V. Thillainayagam, K. Mahalingam, and R. Aiyavoo to “C.F. Andrews of India,” July 25, 1924.

⁵³ See Charles Hirschman, “The Meaning and Measurement of Ethnicity in Malaysia: An Analysis of Census Classifications,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 3 (1987): 552–582.

⁵⁴ Rajeswary Ampalavanar, “Tamil Journalism and the Indian Community in Malaya, 1920–1941,” *Journal of Tamil Studies* 2, no. 2 (1970): 41–58.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Benedict Anderson’s analysis of the role of the daily newspaper in forging national consciousness—the sense of simultaneity and “mass ceremony” that it invoked within an imagined yet “inherently limited” community—remains a touchstone for any discussion of the colonial public sphere and its effects on the imagination of diasporic communities. Yet in the mobile waters of Southeast Asia, Anderson’s assumption that the only (or even the most important) “imagined community” was the national one seems misplaced: the Tamil press in urban Southeast Asia in the 1930s spoke of, and spoke to, many worlds—many “imagined communities”—at once. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1991).

⁵⁷ “Akila Intiya Muslim Lik,” *Dēca Nēcaṇ*, April 16, 1933.

ings and speeches of Ramasamy; even—much more locally—the proceedings of the Thanjavur municipal council.

At the same time, however, the newspapers distinctly evoked the world of “Indians overseas.” In writing of the condition of Indians in South Africa, Fiji, Ceylon, and Burma, the editors created a sense that Tamils in the Straits Settlements and Malaya formed part of a broader dispersion of Indian peoples overseas, who shared similar problems and struggled together for equal status and recognition in their lands of residence. The condition of Indians in South Africa attracted regular comment.⁵⁸ More immediately, and closer to home, the “loot and murder” faced by Indians in Burma, in the aftermath of urban riots and rural rebellion, evoked a sense of fear and threat.⁵⁹ A feature on the Indian diaspora in Fiji painted a picture of the community with a flurry of statistics: the 76,722 Indians there owned 110,000 acres of land, 776 shops, 196 motorized lorries, 6 music halls, 1 temple, and 2 newspapers.⁶⁰ The features on Indians around the world indicated the extent to which the Indian nationalist category of “Indians overseas”—a product of the debates of the 1900s and 1910s—had taken root. But the language of the newspapers also conveyed a sense of the diversity of this diaspora; the terms “Indians overseas,” “South Indian workers,” “South Indian coolies,” “Tamils,” the “Tamil world,” and “Indians in the empire” all appeared frequently, each evoking a community with subtly different boundaries.

Finally, the newspapers wrote of the local world: of Singapore and Penang, the towns and plantations of the Malay Peninsula. Implicitly and explicitly, the Tamil press coverage of local stories highlighted the vast gap between the city and the country, between urban Tamils and the plantation workers. In the context of a severe economic depression that left tens of thousands of Tamil rubber tappers out of work, many of whom were repatriated to India, the 1930s saw a renewed interest on the part of the urban elite in the conditions of Tamil labor on the plantations.⁶¹ Regular and detailed features ran on estate workers’ wages, on their “moral” condition—the “drink evil” loomed large—and on the future of Tamil migration to Malaya, which both the Indian and the Malayan governments sought to restrict and regulate after 1930.⁶² This moralistic coverage of plantation life contrasted with the detailed, even parochial, stories on urban Tamil society: the conventions and meetings of clubs and societies; the proceedings of the municipal council and of local sanitary boards; court cases; shipping timetables; advertisements for potions and balms, clothing and ci-

⁵⁸ See, for example, “Teṇṇāppirikka Intiyar,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, August 13, 1932; “Teṇṇāppirikka Intiyarkaḷ,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, October 15, 1932; “Teṇṇāppirikka Intiyarkaḷiṇ Kavalaikkītamāṇa Nilaimai,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, November 23, 1932.

⁵⁹ “Pamā,” *Muṇṇērram*, June 25, 1931; “Pamāvil Aṭāta Kollaiyum, Kolaiyum,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, April 20, 1932.

⁶⁰ “Pīji Intiyarkaḷ Nilaimai,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, September 10, 1932.

⁶¹ For a more detailed discussion of the political effects of the depression, see Amrith, “Indians Overseas?”

⁶² “Intiya Kavarmēṇ Ḑeṇṇiṇ Varutāntara Yatastu,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, January 2, 1932; “1930-vil Maleya Nāṭṭil Intiya Kūlikaḷiṇ Nilaimai,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, January 2, 1932; “Kaṭaṇ Kotuttu Vāṅkum Tolīlaik Kaṭṭupaṭutta Cipārcukaḷ,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, April 9, 1932; “Toṭṭai Kaḷḷu Kaṭaikaḷ,” *Tamiḷ Nēcaṇ*, May 3, 1932; “Rappar ūrpatti Kaṭṭuppaṭu,” *Dēca Nēcaṇ*, October 1, 1933; “Malēyāvukku Tolīlālarkaḷ,” *Dēca Nēcaṇ*, July 8, 1933.

gars, Parlophone records and the latest Tamil novels.⁶³ The progress of urban sanitation filled many column inches.⁶⁴

In many ways, however, it was on its boundaries that this emerging sense of Tamil diasporic consciousness was sharpest—that is to say, at the point where the Tamil diaspora encountered others. The diaspora's self-appointed spokesmen confronted an increasingly strident strand of Malay nationalism that, by the 1930s, excoriated both Tamil and Chinese diasporas in the public sphere, arguing that they were no more than foreigners without rights in a Malay land. Early in 1932, the Malay newspaper *Majlis* mounted an attack on “foreigners” in an editorial with far-reaching implications. The government should inform Indian and Chinese migrants to Malaya, the paper declared, “that the ‘protection’ of the Malays isn’t like the protection of the deer in the forest by the game warden, who sees to it that the deer isn’t killed by hunters but allows it to be preyed upon by other enemies such as the tiger and other carnivorous animals living in the same forest.”⁶⁵ The editors of *Tamil Nēcan* responded immediately, and in the process they defined more sharply the boundaries of the Tamil diaspora in Malaya.⁶⁶

The editors of *Tamil Nēcan* berated *Majlis* for its “childish” editorial, which they characterized as a rallying cry for the notion of “Malaya for the Malays.” The present bitterness they contrasted with a history of “friendship and brotherhood” between Malays and others in the land. It was “surprising,” however, that “Indians and Chinese who were born in Malaya” were suddenly “considered as foreigners.” *Tamil Nēcan* reminded its readers that it was migrants from South India and China who had “struggled to clear the forest . . . attacked by tigers and bitten by mosquitoes”; they had worked the tin mines and the rubber estates; they were overwhelmingly responsible for Malaya’s prosperity and development. Of particular concern to *Majlis* was the fact that Tamils and Chinese in Malaya maintained diasporic connections with their lands of origin or ancestry. The editors of *Tamil Nēcan* expressed dismay that *Majlis* impugned such “great personages” as Gandhi and Sun Yatsen in condemning the destabilizing effects of foreign political ideas on Malaya. *Majlis* appeared to think that “people can be blind and deaf to the world around them,” the Tamil editors argued; yet they asked whether one could really “sit idly and ignore” the world. It was precisely the many “worlds around them,” of course, that the Tamil press in Malaya had woven together in print for its readership. Indians and Chinese could never develop “love for the country” (*dēca pakti/bhakti*), the article concluded, “if they have no life in the country of their birth.” For those born in Malaya, there was “no law in God’s court” to discriminate between Malays and others.⁶⁷ The con-

⁶³ A more or less representative selection of articles: “Piṇaṅku Marutuvarkaḷ Potukkūṭṭam,” *Tamil Nēcan*, January 27, 1932; “Piṇaṅku Tamil Ilaiṇār Ārampa Makāṇaṭu,” *Tamil Nēcan*, February 3, 1932; “Cilaṅkūr Intiya Varttakar Caṅkam Kōlālumpūr,” *Tamil Nēcan*, March 23, 1932; “Māriyamman Kōvil Kēs Mudiṇu,” *Tamil Nēcan*, November 12, 1932; “Kōla Kaṅkācār Tamil Cīrtirutta Caṅkam,” *Dēca Nēcan*, October 1, 1933.

⁶⁴ “Cīṅkappūril putiya nīcal kuḷam,” *Munṇērram*, January 15, 1931.

⁶⁵ Cited in William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven, Conn., 1967), 171.

⁶⁶ The rapidity of *Tamil Nēcan*’s response suggests, among other things, that vernacular newspapers in different languages shared certain terms of reference by the early 1930s. It is likely that many Tamil journalists in Singapore or Penang in the 1930s would have been fluent in Malay; at the same time, the English-language press played a bridging role in the public sphere, often summarizing articles from the Chinese, Malay, and Tamil newspapers.

⁶⁷ “Malay Nāṭṭil Rājiya Urimaikaḷ,” *Tamil Nēcan*, April 20, 1932.

flict over the entitlements to citizenship in Malaya—diasporic as opposed to indigenous claims—posed stark choices for those caught between the two. Thus Tamil Muslims, and particularly those (the *jawi peranakan*) who had intermarried with Malay families over generations, found themselves targeted by Malay nationalists—deemed not to be *betul Melayu*, or “truly Malay”—while sitting outside the bounds of the Tamil diaspora as it now emerged.⁶⁸

The defense of the rights of Tamil residents in Malaya against the demands of indigenous nationalism soon transmuted into a broader, more assertive argument in favor of a specifically diasporic claim to citizenship. These arguments emanated primarily from Tamil commentators writing in English, often with an eye on parallel lines of argument coming from Anglophone Chinese leaders in Singapore and Penang.⁶⁹ At the heart of the argument was the proposition that Malaya’s entire history had been shaped by migration, and that entitlements to citizenship had to be founded upon that basis; before the great migrations from India and China, there was no *civitas*, only jungle. “Let us try to understand,” one Tamil journalist wrote in 1935, “that not long ago Malaya was nothing but a jungle land with only some scattered fishing villages, there was no civilization, culture or tradition.”⁷⁰ In search of a historical narrative to support their claims, a number of Tamil writers in Malaya began to invoke the notion of “Greater India,” the idea that Malaya and most of Southeast Asia was deeply shaped by Indian cultural influence (even Indian “colonization”) in order to argue that “Indians are not foreigners in this part of the world, and . . . their traditions are not alien to this land.”⁷¹ Conversely, Tamil writers began to challenge the Malay claim to indigeneity, arguing that “the correct meaning of the term ‘Malay’” is “an immigrant from Java or Sumatra belonging to the race called Malay.”⁷²

Central to the case that urban Tamils made for their entitlement to the rights of citizenship in Malaya was their argument by the early 1930s that fresh immigration from India to Malaya should be controlled, if not prevented altogether. In the aftermath of the economic depression that devastated the rubber industry after 1930, many Tamil leaders in Malaya argued that the number of fresh arrivals from India should be curtailed.⁷³ But the argument for such limits also shaped a growing distinction between the “local-born” (that is to say, Straits- or Malaya-born) and “foreign” (India-born) Tamils in Malaya. In the words of the Singapore-based Tamil Brahmin journalist R. B. Krishnan, there was a difference in “attitude and mental ability” between local-born Tamils and “their India-born brothers.” “Their native country is Malaya,” he wrote of the local-born, “and their interests, life and associations are entirely Malayan and local.” The “Malayan Indian,” he insisted, “has a

⁶⁸ Fujimoto, *The South Indian Muslim Community*.

⁶⁹ For an illuminating account of the Anglophone “domiciled” community in Singapore, see Chua Ai Lin, “Modernity, Popular Culture and Urban Life: Anglophone Asians in Colonial Singapore, 1920–1940” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2008).

⁷⁰ “Indian Land Settlement in Malaya,” *Indo-Malayan Review* 1, no. 2 (February 1934).

⁷¹ R. B. Krishnan, *Indians in Malaya: A Pageant of Greater India* (Singapore, 1936), 1. For a broad discussion of the “Greater India” idea and its relationship to colonial orientalist and ethnographic scholarship, see Susan Bayly, “Imagining ‘Greater India’: French and Indian Visions of Colonialism in the Indic Mode,” *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004): 703–744.

⁷² “Indian Land Settlement in Malaya.”

⁷³ NAI, EHL: Overseas, 1932, File no. 206-2/32—L.&O., Confidential Letter from the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya, April 3, 1933; Confidential Letter from Agent, Malaya, KL, November 17, 1933.

better and more tolerant outlook than his compatriot born in India. For example, he is ignorant of, or if not ignorant he contemptuously disregards, the silly notions of caste and creed held across the Bay."⁷⁴

In a letter to the editor of the *Straits Times*, the newspaper of Singapore's European elite, a Singapore-based Tamil writer made a strong case for Tamils in Malaya to rethink their connections with the other side of the Bay of Bengal.

So long as he considers himself to be a sojourner here, and allows only his carcass to move about here allowing his soul to cross the Indian waters and wait there anxiously for that blessed day when he can return, so long will he be looked upon with some suspicion and consequently never expect the status of a native or a domiciled citizen in this country.

Members of the Tamil diaspora in Malaya, he argued, "must boldly choose one of the two alternatives—and consequently stand for the chances a sojourner might get, or be a full-fledged citizen."⁷⁵ This was in practice an exceedingly difficult and painful choice for many to make.

THE BAY OF BENGAL CHANGED FUNDAMENTALLY as a regional arena during the 1930s. The global economic depression began to tear at the interconnected regional economy that had developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, involving flows of people, goods, and capital throughout the arc of coasts around the Bay of Bengal.⁷⁶ For the first time since the nineteenth century, an equal or greater number of people were returning to India from Malaya and Burma compared with the number of arrivals.⁷⁷ The Aliens Ordinance of 1930 introduced immigration controls in Malaya, aiming initially to restrict Chinese migration.⁷⁸ Some Indian government officials agreed with the Tamil writers in Singapore who were arguing that migration from India, too, ought to be controlled, if not stopped altogether.

In 1938, the government of India's Committee on Emigration, having failed to achieve its goal of improving the wages of Tamil migrant workers on Malaya's rubber estates, acted to ban state-assisted migration from India to Malaya altogether.⁷⁹ Without overstating the case, since migration between the two coasts of the Bay of Bengal resumed on a very large scale after 1933 and even continued after the ban in 1938, it is clear that freedom of movement across the sea had narrowed signif-

⁷⁴ Krishnan, *Indians in Malaya*, 27. John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan show that in the same period, prejudices also worked in the other direction: within India, nationalist discourse by the 1930s stigmatized "colonial-born" Indians, and deemed them to lie outside the bounds of the Indian nation in the making. Kelly and Kaplan, "Diaspora and Swaraj, Swaraj and Diaspora," in Dipesh Chakrabarty, Rochona Majumdar, and Andrew Sartori, eds., *From the Colonial to the Postcolonial: India and Pakistan in Transition* (New Delhi, 2007).

⁷⁵ "Indians in Malaya," *The Straits Times*, June 1, 1934. The correspondent signed off as "Forward," suggesting (as does the tone of the letter) that it may have been G. Sarangapany, editor of *Munṇēram* and *Tamil Muracu*.

⁷⁶ Christopher Baker, "Economic Reorganization and the Slump in Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 3 (1981): 325–349.

⁷⁷ IOR, V/24/1196–1197, from Government of Madras, *Emigration and Immigration Reports*, 1930–1938.

⁷⁸ TNA, PRO, CO 273/566/2, Unemployment in Malaya: Restriction of Chinese Immigration (1930).

⁷⁹ NAI, EHL: Overseas, 1938, File no. 44/38—L.&O., Minutes of the Standing Emigration Committee, February 13, 1939.

icantly by the end of the decade.⁸⁰ During the 1930s, however, significant numbers of women began to migrate to the port cities of the Straits Settlements for the first time, leading to the establishment of settled families. This applied more to Chinese than to Tamil communities; the gender ratio within Singapore's Tamil communities, for instance, remained at fewer than 400 women for every 1,000 men at the end of the decade.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the 1930s did see the arrival of more Tamil women in Singapore and Malaya, lending a more settled character to the population.⁸²

As transnational connections between South India and Southeast Asia attenuated, with the establishment of permanent families in Singapore and Malaya and the increasing restriction on migration, the connections across the Bay of Bengal resided increasingly in the imagination. Forms of diasporic religious expression had now to be contained within a public doctrine of toleration, in a public arena in which diasporic elites competed for mutual respect and recognition. Diasporic elites built on the norms governing appropriate ways of sharing public space, of expressing emotions, and of governing intra-community relations that originated in the nineteenth century. Any religious practices, and any strong expressions of public emotion that violated these norms, threatened to bring shame upon the community.

Lamenting that "migration" had not brought about "religious toleration," a Malayian Indian journal wrote of the "ugly scene enacted by a section of Penang's caste Hindus last month on the occasion of the opening of a new temple there," protesting the opening of the temple to *dalits*. "Thanks to the prompt intervention of the police," the journal reported, "the situation was quickly brought under control," but it warned that these "unhealthy religious feuds," if they were to persist, would "only make us the laughing stock of our sister communities in this land."⁸³ Only if the elements of diasporic consciousness were brought in line with the public doctrine of secularism, it seemed, could diaspora become the basis for a new kind of citizenship. The more radical of the Tamil reformers wrote in favor not only of intercaste marriage—a common theme of the Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu—but of interethnic marriage, as a way of breaking down the boundaries of race in Singapore.⁸⁴

To the extent that plantation workers and working-class urban Tamils were unable to partake of this new form of public disposition and comportment, the elites suggested, they would stand outside the bounds of citizenship. Yet working-class Tamils continued to assert their "right to the city" in diverse ways, not least by con-

⁸⁰ The emigration ban did not apply to those who could show that they had worked in Malaya previously, and in practice the documentary proof needed was very limited; given the circular nature of migration throughout the 1920s and 1930s, many Tamil workers were able to return after 1938 for a second (or third, or fourth) sojourn in Malaya.

⁸¹ C. A. Vlieland, *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census* (London, 1931); M. V. del Tufo, *A Report on the 1947 Census of Population* (Kuala Lumpur, 1947).

⁸² NAS, Oral History Department [hereafter OHD], A001211/20, A. Nagore MAIDEEN, interviewed by Rajendran Supramaniam, October 8, 1990. Maideen, a Tamil Muslim from Kadayannallur, went "home" to marry in the 1920s, and returned to Singapore with his wife; married women accompanying their husbands back to Singapore constituted perhaps the most common pattern of female migration to Singapore in the 1930s.

⁸³ "The Indian Agency," *Indo-Malayan Review: Journal of the Kinta Indian Association*, Ipoh 1, no. 4 (July 1933): 5–6.

⁸⁴ These arguments were expressed in assorted articles in Sarangapany's English-language periodical *Reform*, July–September 1936. Incidentally, Sarangapany practiced what he preached; he married Lim Boon Neo, a Straits Chinese woman.



FIGURE 6: Postcard featuring *thaipusam* festivities in Singapore, ca. 1927. Image reproduced courtesy of the National Archives of Singapore.

tinuing, even intensifying, their acts of public devotion.⁸⁵ *Thaipusam* and the fire-walking penance of *thimithi* continued to flourish despite the efforts of the reformists, who would “stand on the street corner and shout anti-religious slogans.”⁸⁶ L. Elizabeth Lewis, an American writer for *National Geographic Magazine*, visited Singapore in the early 1930s to witness the performance of the *thimithi* and *thaipusam* rites, and found that they were performed with an immense power of belief and devotion. Observed by “thronged” crowds of “Hindus, Chinese, Malays and others,” the *thimithi* ceremonies involved acts of willed pain and endurance. “The priests would sometimes strike the devotee several times,” Lewis observed, “and then give the wrist a stinging blow before releasing him” to “dash, bare-footed, across the red-hot coals into the pool of milk.” Observing *thaipusam* the same year, Lewis wrote that “faith in the efficacy of these ceremonies is absolute.” She described a “martyr” being prepared for his three-mile “pilgrimage” to the Tank Road Temple by “thrusting pins into his flesh. His chest, his back, his forehead and his thighs were entirely covered with small, shining, V-shaped pins.”⁸⁷ Similar processions took place in Penang and, perhaps most dramatically of all, in Kuala Lumpur, where they culminated in the Batu Caves (as they do to this day).⁸⁸

⁸⁵ The “right to the city” is from Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1968).

⁸⁶ NAS, OHD, A000081/28, Kanusamy, interviewed by Yeo Geok Lee, October 25, 1983.

⁸⁷ L. Elizabeth Lewis, “The Fire-Walking Hindus of Singapore,” *National Geographic Magazine* 59, no. 4 (April 1931): 513–522.

⁸⁸ “Pīṇāṅku Taippūca Makortcavam,” *Tamīl Nēcaṅ*, January 30, 1932; personal interviews in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Singapore, March–September 2007, March–April 2008. On the performance of *thaipusam* in contemporary Singapore and Malaysia, see Andrew C. Willford, *Cage of Freedom: Tamil Identity and the Ethnic Fetish in Malaysia* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2006), and Elizabeth Collins, *Pierced by Murugan’s Lance: Ritual, Power, and Moral Redemption among Malaysian Hindus* (DeKalb, Ill., 1997).

Lewis's horrified fascination with the rites was matched by that of the Tamil elite, who continued to rail against *thaipusam* with a mixture of exhortation and biting satire. Yet the act of claiming the public streets for the festival once each year established the power of a very different kind of diasporic consciousness from that projected in the newspaper columns by the literati; it linked the city with the plantation hinterland as hundreds or thousands of plantation workers spilled into the towns for the ceremonies; and it linked the South Indian landscape with the urban streets of Malaya in a way that the elites could not. Conservative Chettiar merchants, patrons of the Tank Road Temple in Singapore, stood against the reformists and intensified their sponsorship of these popular festivals in their own quest for leadership over the Tamil community of Singapore.⁸⁹ Interestingly, the flourishing of Tamil popular religiosity also created new kinds of connection between different diasporic imaginations. At some point in the 1930s—it is difficult to date precisely—a small but growing number of Chinese devotees began to participate in *thaipusam*, making their own meanings of the rite, and interpreting it in terms of their own cosmologies.⁹⁰

At the same time, the very conditions of urban life challenged boundaries of ethnicity and diasporic community, while creating other kinds of connection.⁹¹ The sources that speak to us of the conditions of everyday life in Singapore—oral histories; the records of the coroner's court, which reveal so much of the incidental detail of daily life—paint a picture of the ethnically and culturally mixed crowds that would engage in easy conversation, in many languages, in Singapore's coffee shops, where men ate among strangers and forged friendships.⁹² Tamils spoke to Chinese in Malay or even in Hokkien.⁹³ Communities lived cheek by jowl; at a house on 27-1 Sambau Street, to take just one instance, a Tamil couple, two single Chinese women, and two "Malabari" men from Kerala occupied the five rooms.⁹⁴ On the docks of Singapore and Penang, Tamils worked alongside "Malays, Bengalis and Chinese."⁹⁵ The sad cases of violent deaths following disputes over debts also suggest that the webs of indebtedness that bound the urban poor almost invariably transcended particular communities.⁹⁶

Even the boundaries of kinship were permeable; the economic distress occa-

⁸⁹ NAS, OHD, A000081/28, Kanusamy, interviewed by Yeo Geok Lee, October 25, 1983; Clothey, *Ritualizing on the Boundaries*.

⁹⁰ Personal interviews in Kuala Lumpur and Penang, March–September 2007, March–April 2008, November 2008.

⁹¹ Joel S. Kahn's brilliant work on cosmopolitanism in the Malay world makes this point convincingly. See Kahn, *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World* (Singapore, 2006).

⁹² James Warren pioneered the use of coroners' records to write Singapore's social history in *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore* (Oxford, 1988). NAS, OHD, A00193/12, Narayanasamy Ramasamy (Retired Mason), interviewed by Rajendran Supramaniam on May 28, 1990.

⁹³ Information on the languages of coffee shop conversation drawn from personal interviews in Singapore, Penang, and Kedah, March–September 2007, March–April 2008.

⁹⁴ NAS, Subordinate Courts, Coroner's Court: Coroner's Inquests and Enquiries, S/No. 20, January–March 1933. This was a murder case involving a Tamil couple; the National Archives of Singapore's rules on disclosure do not permit me to use the actual names of the individuals involved in cases dating from 1933 onward.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, S/No. 13, April–June 1937, case of "male adult Malabari, aged 40" who "cut throat whilst of unsound mind."

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, S/No. 7, January–March 1927, case of Veeraiyah, "18-year old Tamil."

sioned by the depression of the 1930s led to many adoptions, including the adoption of Chinese children by Tamil and Javanese families.⁹⁷ It should not surprise us that love could prevail over the pull of both ethnicity and kinship. One particularly tragic case that emerged from the coroner's archive involved a Tamil man, a clerk in the Public Works Department, who committed suicide after his lover, an actress and dancer from Sumatra, ran off to join a touring dance troupe. He had hoped to abandon his family, who lived on a rubber plantation in Klang, to marry her. He instructed his closest friend, a Chinese man, to "write to her in Romanized Malay [about] what happened to me"; his own suicide note was written in English.⁹⁸ At the horse races, in public coffee shops—many of them, indeed, owned by Tamil Muslims, as they are to this day—and at Anson Road Football Stadium, subaltern migrants of many origins, members of many diasporas, asserted their right to the city.⁹⁹

All of this is to suggest that particular diasporic visions were always limited and contingent. At their boundaries, diasporas constantly encountered other diasporas in the port cities of Southeast Asia. Life was lived in many languages. If language is at the heart of diasporic consciousness, then the polyglot experience of everyday life in the Straits Settlements indicates how malleable that consciousness may have been. There were probably few cities in the world where cinema houses screened films in as many languages, back to back, as Singapore.¹⁰⁰ One of the most evocative descriptions of this urban world of many diasporas in contact comes from the only great Tamil novel about the Southeast Asian experience of the first half of the twentieth century, P. Singaram's *Puyalilē Oru Tōṇi* (*A Boat in a Storm*). Although the setting for Singaram's novel was the Sumatran town of Medan, he could have been writing about any of Southeast Asia's port cities, especially Penang, where he lived during the Second World War. Singaram writes that in the crowd of Mosque Street in Medan, many melodies (*rākaṅka!*) and many tongues melded—above the dulcet tones of Malay were the sharp staccato sounds of Chinese, here filtered through the ears of a Tamil speaker.¹⁰¹

This seems a world away from J. S. Furnivall's memorable, and still influential, description of life in Southeast Asia's port cities.¹⁰² "The first thing that strikes the visitor," he wrote, "is the medley of peoples—European, Chinese, Indian and native." But, Furnivall pointed out, "it is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the marketplace,

⁹⁷ Ibid., S/No. 20, January–March 1933, case of murdered "Hailam woman"; S/Nos. 21–22, July–September, October–December 1933, death of "Javanese woman murdered by person or persons unknown."

⁹⁸ Ibid., S/No. 12, January–March 1937, suicide of "male Tamil clerk, Public Works Department."

⁹⁹ NAS, OHD, A001211/20, A. Nagore MAIDEEN, interviewed by Rajendran Supramaniam, October 8, 1990.

¹⁰⁰ The first Tamil "talkie" to play in Singapore, *Kalidas*, had a soundtrack partly in Telugu; the earliest Malay films were made by producers and directors from Madras and Bombay. For a brilliant account of Singapore's urban modernity in the interwar years, see Chua, "Modernity, Popular Culture and Urban Life."

¹⁰¹ P. Singaram, *Puyalilē Oru Tōṇi*, 2nd ed. (Chennai, 2005), 18–19.

¹⁰² For example, Carl Trocki's recent history of Singapore follows Furnivall's account closely in its discussion of ethnicity and community relations: Trocki, *Singapore: Wealth, Power and the Culture of Control* (London, 2006).

in buying and selling.”¹⁰³ They “met,” too, in the coffee shops and the football stadiums, and their transactions in the marketplace involved exchanges and translations not only of monetary value. There was space between each group’s “religion,” “culture,” and “language” for the interaction of many diasporic imaginations. Yet if we apply Furnivall’s description not to urban life but to the Bay of Bengal region as a whole, or even to other port cities such as Rangoon (the city Furnivall knew best), much more divided by race and scarred by the experience of interethnic violence, it retains force as a depiction of the segmentation and immobility that seemed more rigid by the 1930s.¹⁰⁴ The divide between the cities and the hinterlands grew sharper, and shaped the access that different groups had to different forms of moral and political community.

The Second World War and its aftermath completed the transformation of the world of the Bay of Bengal. Despite the resurgent, militarized connections between India and Malaya envisaged by the newly mobilized generation of Tamil workers in Malaya who took up arms with Subhas Chandra Bose’s Indian National Army to fight alongside the Japanese for India’s freedom, the war interrupted and disrupted a whole series of connections between India and Southeast Asia, some of them permanently.¹⁰⁵ Tamil migration to Malaya ceased during the war, and never reached anything like the levels of the 1920s, and the intensity of circulation, too, lessened. The nature of the connections between India and Southeast Asia changed completely, as the era of national frontiers, passport controls, and immigration restriction established itself once and for all after 1945.

THERE WERE MANY, OVERLAPPING COMMUNITIES that circulated between South India and Southeast Asia during the century or so under consideration. Writing of “Tamils in Southeast Asia,” we may be writing about Tamil Muslim merchants, boatmen, and food vendors; caste-Hindu moneylenders and traders; Brahmin administrators and writers; or lower-caste or *dalit* plantation workers. Over time, sections of these South Indian communities in the Straits Settlements came to share elements of a common diasporic consciousness, with shifting internal and external boundaries. Those boundaries were shaped by the constant interaction of Tamils and “others”—Malays, Chinese, and Europeans—across the Bay of Bengal.

The broader comparative relevance of this account of the Tamil diaspora may lie in its proposal of a more contingent, contextual model of diasporic formation—one that locates diasporic communities within a broader spectrum of transnational communities, each a product of the shifting currents of oceanic and urban history. Such a model may be used as a heuristic device, alongside others. It affords points of comparison as well as contrast with the “Chinese” model of diaspora, which em-

¹⁰³ J. S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge, 1948), 304.

¹⁰⁴ On the anti-Indian violence in Rangoon (and also in rural Burma) during the 1930s, the most important work remains Michael Adas, *The Burma Delta: Economic Development and Social Change on an Asian Rice Frontier, 1852–1941* (Madison, Wis., 1974). The experience of cultural pluralism in Rangoon as contrasted with Singapore or Penang would merit further examination.

¹⁰⁵ Many volumes have been written about the impact of the Second World War on Southeast Asia. For a masterful narrative history, see Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper, *Forgotten Armies: The Fall of British Asia, 1941–45* (London, 2004). On the Indian National Army, see Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*.

phasizes the importance of institutions—clan associations, brotherhoods (*kongsis*), charitable societies—to the development of diasporic networks; or the “Hadrami” consciousness of living in diaspora that, in Engseng Ho’s brilliant account, is centrally structured by genealogical representations of long-distance kinship.¹⁰⁶

In comparison with the experience of other Indian (or South Asian) diasporas around the world, there were at least two features of the mobility of Tamils across the Bay of Bengal that are distinctive. The first is the intensity and scope of circulation: the circulation of goods, things, people, and texts from coast to coast. At least until the 1920s, velocity of circulation—so different from the experiences of Indian migrant communities in the plantation colonies of the Indian and North Atlantic oceans—lent fluid boundaries to the Tamil diaspora in Southeast Asia, as new social groups and new ideas infused the diaspora and shifted its limits.¹⁰⁷ When, by the 1930s, circulation across the Bay of Bengal was limited, the boundaries of the Tamil diasporic community became firmer, and it came to resemble more closely other Indian diasporic communities, with a more fixed sense of its identity, a greater emphasis on cultural purity, and a more intense experience of nostalgia.

The second distinctive feature of the history of Tamil experience in the Malay Peninsula lies in the character of the port cities of Penang and Singapore. Both cities were more open, more cosmopolitan, with a greater mixture of peoples and languages, than almost any other land to which South Asians moved.¹⁰⁸ Crucially, South Indian migrants and sojourners had already shaped the public culture of both port cities long before the advent of mass migration to the plantations of the hinterland. It was because of the presence of multiple, interlocking diasporic public spheres, at the elite end of the spectrum, and a vibrant, multiethnic popular culture in the plebeian world, that the Tamil diaspora in the Straits Settlements was shaped—perhaps to an unusual extent—by interaction with “others.” Yet this openness reached only so far. The ambivalent place of the mass of Tamil plantation labor within the political imagination of the Tamil diaspora in urban Southeast Asia proved a constant limitation on the reach of Tamil diasporic consciousness in the interwar years.

Viewed more broadly, some of the conditions that produced a sharper sense of Tamil diasporic consciousness in the 1930s were global ones, and they reshaped what it meant to belong to a diaspora right across the Indian Ocean world and beyond: the rise of controls over mobility, entry, and exit; a sharper differentiation between insiders and outsiders in governing residence and employment; the rise of nationalisms that emphasized indigeneity as the basis for political rights and representation; the entrenchment of global labor markets that functioned through ethnic dif-

¹⁰⁶ Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley, Calif., 2006); McKeown, “Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas”; Philip Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Singapore, 2008); Carl A. Trocki, *Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Maurice Freedman, “Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3, no. 1 (1960): 25–48.

¹⁰⁷ There is a sharp contrast between the openness to cultural mixture of the Tamil reformers in Singapore and Penang and the Hindu revivalism that was found among the Indian diaspora in, for instance, Fiji, which tended to emphasize and consolidate the difference between the Hindu “self” and the foreign “other.” See Kelly, *A Politics of Virtue*, and Peter van der Veer, ed., *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora* (Philadelphia, 1995).

¹⁰⁸ Harper, “Globalism and the Pursuit of Authenticity.” For a longer-term perspective on the cultural openness of Southeast Asian cities, see Eric Tagliacozzo, “An Urban Ocean: Notes on the Historical Evolution of Coastal Cities in Greater Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Urban History* 33 (2007): 911–932.

ferentiation.¹⁰⁹ There is much potential, then, to write a connected as well as a comparative history of diasporas in this period, highlighting not only a convergence in the conditions and the painful choices faced by diasporas everywhere, but also the connections that emerged from the exchange of ideas about migration, citizenship, and diaspora. In the 1930s, Tamil diasporic elites in Southeast Asia deployed new frames of reference that reflected the development of a new sense of connection within and between diasporas: on the one hand, they saw themselves within the broader (nationalist) category of “Indians overseas”; on the other, they saw themselves—alongside their Chinese counterparts—as diasporic rather than “native” citizens of Malaya, but citizens all the same.

The transformations of sovereignty that swept Asia after the Second World War made both modes of identification more difficult. Ho makes the point succinctly when he writes that “the new, independent nation-states broke the diasporas straddling them into two: citizens and aliens.”¹¹⁰ This was precisely the situation confronting the Tamil diasporas of Southeast Asia. After 1947, the Tamil country had to find its place within the federal structure of India (eventually as the state of Tamil Nadu), which occasioned a sense of cultural loss as well as a short-lived movement for political autonomy.¹¹¹ Tamils in Malaya, at the same time, became a small minority within colonial and then independent Malaya/Malaysia; the majority of them remained poor, and outside the political negotiations that shaped the country’s future.¹¹²

These transformations in sovereignty found reflection in the nation-based academic traditions of area studies, which have made it—to this day—difficult to imagine political and cultural regions that transcend the stark divide between, in this case, “South Asian” and “Southeast Asian” history.¹¹³ Yet the Bay of Bengal represented an expansive space of interconnection, action, and imagination in its own right, until at least the 1930s. Restoring the Bay of Bengal as a region of analysis can remind us of why diasporic perspectives can be so illuminating in the first place—focusing on flows that cannot be contained by the borders of states, empires, or nations—even while showing us that such expansive and mobile regions produce many forms of community and consciousness that can transcend the limits of diaspora.

¹⁰⁹ For an important new perspective on the globalization of border controls, see Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York, 2008).

¹¹⁰ Ho, *Graves of Tarim*, 305.

¹¹¹ Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

¹¹² Willford, *Cage of Freedom*.

¹¹³ Willem van Schendel, “Geographies of Knowing, Geographies of Ignorance: Jumping Scale in Southeast Asia,” in Paul H. Kratoska, Remco Raben, and Henk Schulte Nordholt, eds., *Locating Southeast Asia: Geographies of Knowledge and Politics of Space* (Singapore, 2005), 275–307.

Sunil S. Amrith is a Lecturer in History at Birkbeck College, University of London, where he has taught since 2006, following a research fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. His research is on the history of the Bay of Bengal since the late eighteenth century, focusing currently on the history of migration and cultural circulation between South India and Southeast Asia. Amrith’s previous work was on the international exchange of ideas about health in Asia, and he is the author of *Decolonizing International Health: India and Southeast Asia, 1930–65* (Palgrave, 2006). He serves as one of the editors of *History Workshop Journal*.

AHR Roundtable **Historians and Biography**

Introduction

DAVID NASAW

"FOR A LONG TIME, ACADEMIC HISTORIANS have been somewhat ambivalent about the genre of biography. While most certainly recognize it as a legitimate and venerable mode of historical discourse, many are skeptical of the capacity of biography to convey the kind of analytically sophisticated interpretation of the past that academics have long expected." So wrote the editor of this journal in his invitation to historians to participate in this *AHR* Roundtable.¹

Biography remains the profession's unloved stepchild, occasionally but grudgingly let in the door, more often shut outside with the riffraff. Graduate students are warned away from writing biographies as their dissertations. Assistant professors are told to get tenure and promotion before taking on a biography. College and university libraries, including my own, adhere to collection protocols that discourage the purchase of biographies. And the leading journals in the field, this one included, "rarely, if ever, publish articles that are biographical in nature [and often refuse] to review biographical studies."²

This characterization of biography as a lesser form of history extends far and wide. Note, if you will, the tentative, often apologetic tone of some of the essays in this roundtable. Several contributors begin by critiquing biography as usual before explaining why theirs are not the usual. Judith Brown introduces her essay by insisting that she does not see herself "as a biographer, or these works as biographies, in the accepted sense of tracking and interpreting a life from the cradle to the grave, and, more problematically, of taking the individual as the only intellectual and analytical center of the argument."³ In doing so, she identifies the common denominators in the attack on biography as a degraded form of historical writing. "Biography is not history," Nick Salvatore was warned by a reference librarian thirty-five years ago, "because the question of periodisation is a given, as biography is framed by the birth and death of the subject."⁴

Despite the persistence of such critiques, historians rarely structure their biographies in this way or take their subjects "as the only intellectual and analytical center" of their arguments. In the "R" section of my bookcase are biographies of

¹ Robert Schneider to David Nasaw et al., personal communication, June 2007.

² Ibid.

³ Judith M. Brown, "'Life Histories' and the History of Modern South Asia," this issue, 588.

⁴ Nick Salvatore, "Biography and Social History: An Intimate Relationship," *Labour History* 87 (November 2004), <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lab/87/salvatore.html>, para. 2.

Eleanor Roosevelt by Blanche Wiesen Cook, Paul Robeson by Martin Duberman, Ronald Reagan by John Patrick Diggins, Jackie Robinson by Jules Tygiel. Each takes as its subject not the individual alone, but the individual in a particular historical context. Not one begins with a birth or ends with a death. Duberman, to cite but one example, opens *Paul Robeson* with a brief portrait of race relations in Princeton, New Jersey—the town and the university—and a mention of Grandfather Robeson's escape from slavery because his focus will be on “racism” and one man's attempts to find his way in a social world enveloped in and defined by it.⁵

Biographies by historians are, to borrow Salvatore's words, “rooted in ideas and events larger than the individual subject.”⁶ Historians are not interested in simply charting the course of individual lives, but in examining those lives in dialectical relationship to the multiple social, political, and cultural worlds they inhabit and give meaning to. “The proper subject of biography,” Oscar Handlin wrote two decades ago, “is not the complete person or the complete society, but the point at which the two interact. There the situation and the individual illuminate one another.”⁷

It is this attention to the individual that, for Handlin, a biographer and editor of biographers, sets biography off as “a mode apart” from history. “The biographer uses evidence from the past but focuses upon the individual and answers questions about personality and character that the historian usually does not ask.”⁸ Carl Rollyson, who is not a historian but the author of several biographies and studies of biographies, suggests that historians make poor biographers because they are ill-equipped, by the nature of their discipline, to write about individuals. “If you ask a historian to write a biography, you are more likely to get history. Biography puts characters first while history favors events.” To drive home his point, Rollyson references W. W. Brands's short biography of Woodrow Wilson and Michael Wreszin's biography of Dwight Macdonald, each of which he finds lacking. He criticizes Brands for not devoting enough space to Wilson's wives and their influence on his presidency. He faults Wreszin for excluding any mention of Macdonald's affairs with his students because, as Wreszin explained to Rollyson, they were “not germane to an understanding of why Macdonald was important and why people read him.”⁹

Historians who write biographies do not, it is true, put characters first or provide their readers with a full birth-to-grave, warts-and-all narrative. Like all writers of lives, fictional or real, they make choices as to what is trivial and peripheral and what is significant and worthy of inclusion. Their larger objective is not simply to tell a life story, though they often do that well, but to deploy the individual in the study of the world outside that individual and to explore how the private informs the public and vice versa.

⁵ Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, vol. 1: 1884–1933 (New York, 1992); Martin Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography* (New York, 1989); John Patrick Diggins, *Ronald Reagan: Fate, Freedom, and the Making of History* (New York, 2007); Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York, 1983).

⁶ Salvatore, “Biography and Social History,” para. 9.

⁷ Oscar Handlin, *Truth in History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 276; see also on this point Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* (New York, 1951), 58–59.

⁸ Handlin, *Truth in History*, 266.

⁹ Carl Rollyson, *Biography: A User's Guide* (Chicago, 2008), 48, 140–144. In a personal exchange with the author, Wreszin says that the primary reason he did not discuss these “affairs” was that he had no credible evidence they had ever taken place.

If Macdonald “had affairs with his students,” as Rollyson claims, and there is sufficient evidence to support this, then that aspect of his private life should be revealed, but only if it has some larger significance. Does knowing about these “affairs” provide us with another perspective from which to interpret Macdonald’s public life and work? Does it reveal something new and significant about the social, political, and cultural worlds Macdonald inhabited and gave meaning to? If so, then it belongs in the historian’s biography. If not, it can and should be left out.

Historians are constrained in ways that other writers of life studies are not. And there is nothing wrong with that. Historians are neither equipped for, nor capable of, nor, for the most part, interested in constructing individual portraits with the density and depth of characterization that are available to and prized by writers who are differently bound by their evidence and more comfortable with random, untethered psychologizing, interior monologues, and imagined dialogues. The work of a historian who writes a biography must ultimately be judged by the same standards that are applied to works in other historical genres. Whether the historian chooses to tell the story of eighteenth-century Bristol sailing vessels or twentieth-century lives, she is, as a historian, bound by her evidence and compelled to go beyond it, constrained by the conventions of the discipline to make connections, to give significance, to glimpse a larger whole through a smaller part, to construct a chronologic that both links and separates today’s events from yesterday’s.

DESPITE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CRITIQUES and the profession’s studied ambivalence, biography has been and continues to be a vital genre of historical writing. “Biography is once again in fashion,” writes Jo Burr Margadant in the introduction to *The New Biography*, “not only for a general reading public that never lost its taste for individual life stories, but also for academic historians who endlessly turn over the debris of earlier generations in search of fresh lessons to tell us about ourselves.”¹⁰ Liana Vardi opens her article in this roundtable by remarking on “the renewed vogue for scholarly historical biography.”¹¹ Five of the last eight presidents of the American Historical Association have written or edited biographical studies. In my own field, United States history, the Bancroft Prize has been awarded to a biography three times in the past eight years.

What are the reasons for this recent efflorescence of historians’ biographies? The most obvious one is that historians in search of an audience outside the academy have gravitated to biography because that is where the readers are. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., conceded as much in the editor’s notes to the series of American presidential biographies he edited. “Biography offers an easy education in American history, rendering the past more human, more vivid, more intimate, more accessible, more connected to ourselves.”¹²

While some historians have chosen to write biographies in the hope of attracting

¹⁰ Jo Burr Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 1.

¹¹ Liana Vardi, “Rewriting the Lives of Eighteenth-Century Economists,” this issue, 653.

¹² Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “Editor’s Note,” in John Patrick Diggins, *John Adams* (New York, 2003), xviii.

larger audiences, others have been drawn to the genre because of the dramatic expansion in the range of possible subjects. Biography is no longer restricted to the lives of the rich, powerful, famous, and infamous. There are infinite stories to be told of unknown, inarticulate, unlettered men, women, and children, and, as feminist, labor, and social historians have discovered, telling them offers a fruitful approach to re-examining, and perhaps reconfiguring, the categories of class, gender, and ethnicity as they interact at the level of the individual.¹³

Historians need not be frightened away from writing individual lives by the absence of organized archives or personal papers. In her contribution to this roundtable, Robin Fleming offers the example of “a different kind of early medieval biography,” one based not on written texts but on inferences drawn from the examination and interpretation of skeletal remains and grave goods. The results of her preliminary ventures toward a biography of “Eighteen” (the name Fleming gives her subject “because this is the number archaeologists assigned her”) are no less than astounding. We learn that “Eighteen” enjoyed a healthy childhood, died young, was buried with honor, and was a leper. The sources for writing her life were both limited and unconventional, but Fleming, as a historian, was uniquely positioned to make them speak. “There is that wrecked face, which is not the generic face of a generic leper, but the particular face of a very real woman, the dim outlines of whose life can be perceived if we think about it in the context of the lives of those other individuals whose real and particular skeletons surrounded her own.”¹⁴

Part of the allure of biography for historians in this first decade of the twenty-first century is that it allows, even encourages, us to move beyond the strictures of identity politics without having to abandon its ever-expanding and often useful categories. In the process of researching and writing about individual lives embedded in particular times and places, biographers discover and reveal the ways in which their subjects assume, discard, reconfigure, merge, and disassociate multiple identities and roles. As Margadant argues in her introduction to *The New Biography*, “a narrative strategy designed to project a unified persona has become for the new biographer nearly as suspect as claims to a ‘definitive’ biography. The subject of biography is no longer the coherent self but rather a self that is performed to create an impression of coherence or an individual with multiple selves whose different manifestations reflect the passage of time, the demands and options of different settings, or the varieties of ways that others seek to represent that person.”¹⁵ In the construction of an individual life, gender, class, race, ethnicity, nativity, sexual orientation, nationality, family background, occupation, vocation, and much more intersect and interact in myriad ways. It is the task of the biographer to disentangle, to prioritize, to attempt to understand how, in a given time and place, a “self” is organized and performed.

Writing history from the vantage point of individuals is not a retreat from but a way of confronting the theoretical complexities and confusions of the early twenty-first century. “Like many others of my generation,” Alice Kessler-Harris notes in her contribution to this roundtable, “as I’ve come to terms with the limits of what we

¹³ See, for example, *Labour History* 87 (November 2004), or the H-Net call for papers for “Roundtable on ‘The Subject and Critical Feminist Biography,’” *Journal of Women’s History*, <http://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=159661>.

¹⁴ Robin Fleming, “Writing Biography at the Edge of History,” this issue, 611.

¹⁵ Margadant, *The New Biography*, 7.

used to call 'objective' standpoints and begun to interrogate the perspectives from which our subjects speak and write, I've paid increasing attention to the importance of the individual actor—not for what he or she may have done, but for what his or her thoughts, language, and contests with the world reveal."¹⁶

The biographical form may become a favored one for twenty-first-century historians because it offers a way of transcending the theoretical divide between empiricist social history and linguistic-turn cultural history without sacrificing the methodological or epistemological gains of either. Gabrielle M. Spiegel, in the April 2008 *AHR* Forum on Geoff Eley's *A Crooked Line*, notes that in "the attempt to move 'beyond the cultural turn' . . . many historians are deploying a (largely implicit) concept of 'social phenomenology' in which, as the German sociologist Andreas Reckwitz explains, 'The aim of social analysis is to take over the "subjective perspective.'" "¹⁷ This "neo-phenomenological approach" might well serve as the theoretical ground for a new biographical turn founded on the revaluation of the individual actor as historical subject. A "modified phenomenology" would provide us, in Spiegel's words, with "an actor-centered perspective," quite consonant with Kessler-Harris's, "a belief in individual perception as the agent's own source of knowledge about, and action in, the world—a perception mediated and perhaps constrained but *not* wholly controlled by the cultural scaffolding or conceptual schemes within which it takes place."¹⁸

Historians writing biographies attempt to envision the worlds of their subjects as perceived and made meaningful by them. Where both social history and linguistic-turn cultural history, in their most extreme articulations, reject the significance (sometimes even the existence) of the individual as historical agent, biographies written by historians refocus attention on the once-living individuals who were both formed by and provided meaning to the social and discursive orders in which they were inserted at birth and lived their lives. The historian as biographer proceeds from the premise that individuals are situated but not imprisoned in social structures and discursive regimes. "What defines man," French phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty has written, is the "capacity of going beyond created structures in order to create others."¹⁹

While intent on reinserting individuals into their histories as signifiers and agents, biographers do not grant them independence or autonomy in either capacity. Viewing the world from the perspectives of the individuals they write about, historians must simultaneously look beyond the focus of their subjects' gaze and achievements to the meanings and possibilities they did not recognize or pursue in their lifetimes. As E. P. Thompson explained in the introduction to his intellectual biography of William Blake, his object in writing this study was "to identify, once again, Blake's tradition, his particular situation within it, and the repeated evidences, motifs and nodal points of conflict, which indicate his stance and the way his mind meets the

¹⁶ Alice Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?" this issue, 627.

¹⁷ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Comment on *A Crooked Line*," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (April 2008): 411.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 412.

¹⁹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Structure of Behavior*, trans. Alden Fisher (Boston, 1963), 175.

world. To do this involves some historical recovery, and attention to sources external to Blake—sources which, very often, he may not have been aware of himself.”²⁰

The historian as biographer might well take as her credo this statement by Karl Marx from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*: “Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.”²¹ Or, as stated more concisely in *The German Ideology*, “circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances.”²²

IN HER CONTRIBUTION TO THIS ROUNDTABLE, Kessler-Harris reintroduces us to Virginia Woolf’s “The Art of Biography.” Woolf begins and ends her remarkable essay by posing the question of whether, given the constraints put upon it, biography is “an art.” She concludes that it is not, because, unlike poetry and fiction, which are wholly works of imagination, biography is tethered to documents, evidence, facts. When the biographer reaches beyond the evidence and gives license to his imagination, as Lytton Strachey did in his biography of Queen Elizabeth I, he must inevitably fail, as Woolf believed Strachey had. “The combination proved unworkable; fact and fiction refused to mix. Elizabeth never became real in the sense that Queen Victoria [the subject of a previous Strachey biography] had been real, yet she never became fictitious in the sense that Cleopatra or Falstaff is fictitious.”²³

Rather than attempt to escape the limitations of the genre as Strachey had, Woolf urges biographers to endorse and celebrate them. “The biographer must go ahead of the rest of us, like the miner’s canary, testing the atmosphere, detecting falsity, unreality, and the presence of obsolete conventions. His sense of truth must be alive and on tiptoe.” Biography, she wrote in 1939, was “only at the beginning of its career; it has a long and active life before it, we may be sure—a life full of difficulty, danger, and hard work.” Biographers might not be artists, but they were “invaluable” nonetheless. “By telling us the true facts, by sifting the little from the big, and shaping the whole so that we perceive the outline, the biographer does more to stimulate the imagination than any poet or novelist save the very greatest.”²⁴

²⁰ E. P. Thompson, *Witness against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (New York, 1993), xxix.

²¹ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York, 1963), 15.

²² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology, Part One*, ed. C. J. Arthur (New York, 1970), 59.

²³ Virginia Woolf, “The Art of Biography” (1939), in Woolf, *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (New York, 1942), 192.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 195–197.

David Nasaw is the Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Professor of American History at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is the author of several books, the most recent among them *The Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Houghton Mifflin, 2000) and *Andrew Carnegie* (Penguin, 2006). He is currently working on a biography of Joseph P. Kennedy.

AHR Roundtable

Biography as History

LOIS W. BANNER

I FIRST ENCOUNTERED BIOGRAPHY as a genre of history in the 1960s, when I was a Ph.D. candidate in the Columbia University history department specializing in U.S. politics during the early republic. Intrigued by Thomas Jefferson, I wrote a paper on the already large number of Jefferson biographies, which even then constituted a complex biographical tradition about him. By the early 1970s, inspired by the emerging feminist movement, I joined those historians who, similarly motivated, were creating the modern field of women's history.

From the beginning of our endeavor, we stressed the importance of uncovering the life stories of women forebears to serve as role models to define ourselves and our careers in a male-dominated, masculinized profession. In 1967, Gerda Lerner pioneered the study of women's history in U.S. history with a dual biography of Sarah and Angelina Grimké, sisters who rejected the slavery of their childhood in Charleston, South Carolina, to relocate in Philadelphia, where they became leaders in the antebellum anti-slavery movement. Kathryn Kish Sklar began her distinguished career with a biography of nineteenth-century educator Catherine Beecher, following it with a study of Progressive reformer Florence Kelley. In 1979, I wrote a biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton for the Little, Brown Library of American Biography.¹

By the 1980s, the study of gender appeared, expanding women's history to include men and sexual minorities. In a pathbreaking 1986 article on gender in the *American Historical Review*, Joan Scott identified the analysis of "subjective identity" and its relationship to social organizations and cultural representations as a central way to proceed in understanding gender, with biography an effective tool. In her 2006 *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism*, medievalist Judith Bennett pointed out that several shifts toward biography had occurred among historians of women, inspired by Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) and *Women on the Margins* (1995). (In a recent AHR Forum on Scott's 1986 article on gender, Scott noted that Davis had influenced her to take up the subject.) In a 2004

¹ Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels against Slavery* (New York, 1967), revised and expanded as *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Woman's Rights and Abolition* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973); Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Lois W. Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: A Radical for Woman's Rights* (Boston, 1980).

survey of books, articles, and dissertations in women's history, Lerner concluded that about one-fourth had adopted a biographical approach.²

Historians in general, however, often rank biography as an inferior type of history. They see it as inherently limited because it involves only one life, derives from a belles-lettres tradition rather than a scientific or sociological one, and is often written by non-academic historians who attract a lot of readers but lack the rigor of Ph.D.-trained scholars. Scholarly developments over the course of the twentieth century have also contributed to the defining of biography as second-rate. Such a downgrading was implicit in the approach of the "new critics" in literary studies in the 1930s, who called for analyzing texts apart from the lives of their authors; in the "new" social historians of the 1960s, who focused on demography, statistics, and groups; and in the deconstructionists of the 1970s, who wrote about "the death of the author" and saw texts as independent entities.³

Having written social and cultural history as well as biography, I propose that there are many similarities between these genres. At its best, biography, like history, is based on archival research, interweaves historical categories and methodologies, reflects current political and theoretical concerns, and raises complex issues of truth and proof. It challenges the analyst to move beyond easy platitudes to engage in what Clifford Geertz famously called "thick description."⁴ Moreover, given the long tradition among biographers of writing accessible prose, biography challenges the historian to produce lucid writing—not always the standard among academic scholars.

No sophisticated biographer any longer reduces a life to a few categories or merely chronicles day-to-day experience, glossing over historical, literary, and geographical contexts. Psychohistorical interpretations remain valuable, especially in view of the fact that the biographical use of psychohistory has become much more sophisticated since its introduction in the 1920s in the form of a crude Freudianism dominated by the Oedipus complex or the search for a "primal event" that determined a life trajectory. The theories of neo-Freudians, Eriksonians, Kleinians, and others have been effectively used to understand lives, as in the biographies written by Fawn Brodie, especially her biography of Thomas Jefferson. In that work she employs a number of insights from Freud and Erikson to inform her narrative without overwhelming it.⁵

What is now called the "new biography" first appeared in the 1990s. Its practitioners have been especially influenced by feminist, postmodern, and race theorists.

² Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–1075; Judith Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia, 2006), 24; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Gerda Lerner, "U.S. Women's History: Past, Present, and Future," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 4 (2004): 10–27; Joan W. Scott, "Unanswered Questions," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (December 2008): 1422.

³ See Steve Weinberg, "Biography: The Bastard Child of Academe," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 54 (May 9, 2008): 1–5.

⁴ Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), 3–30.

⁵ Laura Marcus, "The Newness of the 'New Biography': Biographical Theory and Practice in the Early Twentieth Century," in Peter France and William St. Clair, eds., *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography* (New York, 2002), 193–218; Fawn M. Brodie, *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate Biography* (New York, 1974).

Feminists and postmodernists focus on the diversity and complexity of movements and institutions and decry what they call "essentialism," while theorists of race challenge the belief that "women" and "men" are unified categories of identity that do not vary by race. Biographers practicing the new biography stress the shifting and multifaceted nature of individual personality. In an impressive essay on the new biography, Jo Burr Margadant argues that there is no such thing as a "coherent self," no unified "I." The only "selves" that exist, according to Margadant, are those that individuals "perform" to create an impression of coherence.⁶

I appreciate Margadant's position, but I do not entirely agree with her. For her stance implies a denial of the probability that elements of personality developed in childhood can remain coherent over a lifetime, or that the social and cultural modalities that influence personality development can encourage the production of a fixed core within an individual persona. Even today, many psychologists, whatever their theoretical training, probe a client's memories of childhood in order to access basic elements of personality.

Life-cycle theorists, who trace their approach to Renaissance precedents, as in the famed "ages of man" speech in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, posit the existence of life stages determined both by the aging process and by cultural definitions of those stages through which each individual passes—with predictable crises along the way. According to these theorists, human personalities are periodically rearranged in line with cultural imperatives, internal biology (fluctuating hormonal production, for example), and cumulative life experience—what we sometimes call wisdom. Conversely, some life-cycle analysts conclude that by their thirties, most individuals are incapable of much personality change.⁷

In *Orlando*, Virginia Woolf's spoof of the genre of biography based loosely on the persona of her friend Vita Sackville-West, Woolf tracked her central character through centuries of gender-crossing from male to female and back again. In that text Woolf, who often commented on biography, wrote that "a biography is considered complete if it merely accounts for six or seven lives, whereas a person may well have as many as a thousand."⁸ Woolf's statement anticipates the deconstructive stance of today's new biographers in defining identity as multifaceted. But the satire implicit in her remarks implies the opposite: no matter the fault lines in individual personality, fixity may exist at the core of identity as well as in the culture that surrounds it, as in the Victorianism, modernism, and patriarchy that Woolf identified in other writings as influencing her own construction of self. We are not just a Babel of voices. Nor is the culture that surrounds us.

In line with its emphasis on the self as variegated, the new biography also emphasizes the power of culture in shaping the self, in accord with the belief that culture, not nature, is the primary force molding individual personality. That position has been a central tenet of feminist theory since it emerged in the 1970s, and the argument has been reinforced more recently by theorists of "performativity."⁹ These

⁶ Jo Burr Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 7.

⁷ See my *In Full Flower: Aging Women, Power, and Sexuality* (New York, 1992).

⁸ Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (1928; repr., New York, 1956), 309.

⁹ The classic text on "performativity" is Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990).

theorists view human personality in general and gender character in particular as roles that individuals play—roles scripted primarily by the surrounding culture. Individuals internalize these roles, on the one hand, and rebel against them, on the other, both policing and individuating themselves according to cultural conventions.

The reverse is also the case. If we regard the individual as the “text” and the surrounding culture as the “context,” it follows that the individual “text” not only reflects the “context” but also influences it, in a reciprocal interaction that, following Mikhail Bakhtin, I call dialogic. From Napoleon creating an empire to Eleanor Roosevelt successfully lobbying for blacks and women during the New Deal, individuals influence historical development. And from this perspective, studying the life story of an individual might be seen as akin to studying the history of a city, a region, or a state as a way of understanding broad social and cultural phenomena. As Margadant writes, “cultural politics are most easily examined as well as empathetically imagined in the individual life.”¹⁰

“Empathetically imagined”: that phrase in Margadant’s statement speaks to the human desire for interconnection with others as well as to biography’s appeal in charting analogies and inspirations by which its readers can understand and construct their own lives. Such impulses—which are ethical and personal in dimension—have remained key elements of biography ever since the form’s halcyon days in the nineteenth century, when it was often considered to be an ethical endeavor focused on surveying the heroic lives of eminent men in order to uplift and inspire its readers.

No less than historians in general, biographers are detectives and interpreters, attempting to illuminate the past and to interweave its threads in new and compelling patterns. A life deeply lived, like any complex historical narrative, moves across space, time, and areas of human involvement both capriciously and predictably, validating certain accepted historical constructions while challenging others. Understanding a life may require that a biographer retrain in new kinds of historical investigation, such as oral history—to interview friends, relatives, and associates of the biographical subject—or psychohistory—to probe underlying motivations. The historian writing a biography may have to move beyond his or her geographic period or field of specialization to engage decades of development and new fields of knowledge. A life span of seventy years, after all, encompasses nearly a century of historical development.

Biography raises issues of ancestry, kinship, family, and friendship. It invariably involves the history of sexuality; it may involve the histories of ethnicity, class, race, medicine, religion, education, workforce participation, and even architecture and interior design. Biography is also related to matters of dress and appearance: how a person looked, including such things as clothing and cosmetics, may be as important to understanding that person as any other variable in his or her life. How do we explore the history of race in the twentieth century without consulting the life story of Josephine Baker, who dominated the Parisian stage in the 1920s and influenced the look of women across two continents? In her brilliant biography of Marie Antoinette, Caroline Weber demonstrates the importance to the origins of the French Revolution of the clothing that Marie Antoinette wore, while in an important bio-

¹⁰ M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, Tex., 1988); Margadant, *The New Biography*, 7.

graphical essay, Mary Sheriff explores the French queen's relationship to the geography of Versailles and to the paintings done of her.¹¹

No less than other types of history, biography raises issues of revisionism and historiography key to the historical enterprise. Important individuals, like important events, can spawn multiple and diverse studies, as in the never-ending stream of biographies of the "founding fathers" of the United States and of Abraham Lincoln. The lives of these men have become sounding boards for what the nation thinks of itself. More recently, the life of ur-imperialist Theodore Roosevelt has become paradigmatic for students of the imperial presidency looking for historical roots for their subject. And distinguished biographies sometimes provide the most insightful histories of events and experiences, as does Elinor Accampo's biography of Nelly Roussel on maternity and femaleness in Third Republic France, or biographies of U.S. civil rights leaders on the broad dimensions of that movement.¹²

Moreover, biographical narratives may intersect with new historical fields. Students of colonialism and of population movements are demonstrating that throughout history, individuals—whether well-known or unknown—journeyed across continents and oceans in pursuit of adventure or economic opportunity, or because they were following husbands and families, or because they were forced to do so after having been sold into slavery. Biographers tracking the lives of such individuals may have to become transnational historians, themselves crossing oceans in pursuit of records about their subjects, and even learning new languages to be able to read their sources. Actors and entertainers have often been peripatetic, journeying worldwide on theater tours. International elites created transnational networks, including cafe society in the 1920s and the jet set in the 1950s. These transnational individuals challenge the notion of "nation" itself, opening up the field of history to the possibility of new frameworks.¹³

And biography may be "collective," involving a comparison of several lives or an analysis of a number of lives together, linked through a central theme. I still read Lytton Strachey's 1922 *Eminent Victorians* and Richard Hofstadter's 1958 *The American Political Tradition* for the felicity of these authors' prose and their insights into writing history through collective biography. What better way to understand Victorian marriage than to read Phyllis Rose's *Parallel Lives*? In that book Rose analyzed the lives of a number of famed English married couples in the nineteenth century to show how those marriages functioned.¹⁴

I followed the comparative approach in my biographical study of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, whose lives as friends, lovers, and professional collaborators

¹¹ Caroline Weber, *What Marie Antoinette Wore to the French Revolution* (New York, 2006); Mary D. Sheriff, "The Portrait of the Queen," in Dena Goodman, ed., *Marie Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen* (New York, 2003), 45–71.

¹² Elinor Accampo, *Blessed Motherhood, Bitter Fruit: Nelly Roussel and the Politics of Female Pain in Third Republic France* (Baltimore, 2006); John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York, 2003); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003).

¹³ On the importance of biography to transnational history, see, for example, David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006).

¹⁴ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (1922; repr., New York, 2002); Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1958; repr., Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Phyllis Rose, *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages* (New York, 1983).

were deeply intertwined. In order to write a “thick” study of their lives, I had to delve into intellectual history, the history of the professions, and the history of the concepts of race and racism. To write about Benedict’s upbringing, I had to learn about the history of the Baptist Church. To write about Mead’s religious beliefs, I had to learn about the Episcopal Church. To understand their anthropological fieldwork, I had to study the Pueblo Indians and the tribal indigenous people in Samoa and New Guinea. To elucidate Mead and Benedict’s individual selves, sexually different from the norm, I had to investigate the history of lesbianism and bisexuality and to master “queer theory.” Then I had to read and analyze the 50,000 letters, documents, and other written materials about their lives in the Margaret Mead Papers at the Library of Congress, and figure out how to intertwine the story of their individual lives with the times in which they lived.

Given the biographical subjects that I have chosen—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict—it is clear that I like to write about women who were prominent in their own day, although I did write a memoir of my high school best friend who converted to Islam.¹⁵ In my preference for prominent women, I go against the grain of recent theory in biography that calls for a focus on ordinary people. While I respect this imperative, I am drawn to assessing cultural leaders and icons who articulated cultural understandings rather than individuals who followed or contested them. This interest has led me to my current biographical project on Marilyn Monroe.

For the past four years, I have immersed myself in the scores of biographies, memoirs, and novels about Marilyn, many of them filled with half-truths and outright lies. I have become a leader of the Marilyn Monroe Fan Club in Los Angeles, scoured archives throughout the nation, and interviewed a host of her friends and associates who are still alive. In her 2005 study of the biographies of Monroe, Sarah Churchwell skewered all of their authors for ungrounded speculation, poor footnoting, and treating as fact what was speculation in preceding biographies.¹⁶ But Churchwell, who did neither primary research nor oral interviews, didn’t uncover the half of it. In my journey to understand Monroe, I have found prevarication at every turn. Many individuals fabricated relationships with her that never occurred and invented situations in her life that never happened. The story of my research to uncover one of these hoaxes was featured in the October 2008 cover story on Monroe in *Vanity Fair*. My critique of that article was published in the form of a letter to the editor in the magazine’s December issue.

The matters of identity I have been charting are front and center in the case of Monroe. For Norma Jeane Baker, Marilyn’s original self, developed many characters in her quest to create the adult Marilyn Monroe, and she played them to perfection, both on screen and off. To some of her friends she seemed a gentle child, without much sex appeal, while to others she was the consummate vamp. She exchanged poetry with poet Norman Rosten and discussed novels, psychiatry, and mystical religions with Ralph Roberts, an actor-turned-masseur who was her confidant during

¹⁵ Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*; Lois W. Banner, *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle* (New York, 2003); Banner, *Finding Fran: History and Memory in the Lives of Two Women* (New York, 1998).

¹⁶ Sarah Churchwell, *The Many Lives of Marilyn Monroe* (New York, 2004).

the last two years of her life. For Arthur Miller, she was the consummate earth mother before he came to regard her as a drug-addicted demon. For Fred Vanderbilt Field, she was a left-wing radical who supported Fidel Castro. For Louella Parsons, she was a dignified woman who didn't stray from the path of virtue.¹⁷

Wearing disguises and constructing fabulist stories for reporters and columnists, she concealed much of her private life from the public. An ingenious trickster, Norma Jeane Baker created in Marilyn Monroe an epic masquerade as a "dumb blonde," whose wiggling walk, jiggling breasts, childlike voice, and pouty lips defined a major version of femininity for the 1950s at the same time that she satirized it. Yet unlike other comedic blondes of the twentieth century—Marie Wilson, for example—there were always a number of Marilyns, some of whom didn't display the mannerisms.

In line with the approach to biography that all the contributors to this roundtable have taken, I am interested in how Marilyn's biography interacts with the history of her era. To understand her, I have had to become expert in the history of Hollywood, photography, celebrity, glamour, fandom, and iconography. I have also had to learn about the treatment of mental illness in the twentieth century, since her mother, her maternal grandmother, and her maternal grandfather were all institutionalized for mental disorders. I am constructing my biography as much topically as chronologically, alternately deconstructing Marilyn and the era in which she lived to elucidate the "dialogic" connections between them. And I am exploring various theoretical approaches to understanding gender, especially that of men's studies scholars who argue that masculinity was under serious threat in the 1950s. For in the final analysis, the "truth" about Marilyn may lie in the history of men, not of women.¹⁸

My work in biography has expanded my horizons as a scholar, and it has also enhanced my teaching. It has enabled me to present large bodies of new literature to my students organized around central themes rooted in biography, expanding their knowledge base as well as my own, and fascinating them to no end through speculating on the glamour and ironies of past lives. Moreover, in a present-day world fraught with peril, my students are looking for role models after whom to pattern their own lives. They are searching for a critique of the contemporary culture based on consumption and the cult of celebrity, in which they often feel trapped, and for ways to understand the lives of celebrities and stars with whom they identify without knowing why. Reading biographies enables them to generate such critiques and such understandings.

And empathizing with others through biography quickens for my students the process of "transference" that is a key to successful learning. By "transference" I mean that, as in the therapeutic situation, students emotionally identify with the texts they are reading and with the professors teaching them, thus engaging in a personally transformative process as they reflect, through biography, on their own lives and

¹⁷ Lois W. Banner, "The Creature from the Black Lagoon: Marilyn Monroe and Whiteness," *Cinema Journal* 47, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 4–29.

¹⁸ The men's studies approach, focused around the concepts of "masculinities" and "hegemonic masculinity," was generated by a conference at the University of Southern California in 1985, sponsored by the Program for the Study of Women and Men, now the Gender Studies Program. See Michael A. Messner and Michael S. Kimmel, *Men's Lives* (Boston, 2001). For the "crisis in masculinity" in the 1950s, see K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York, 2005).

pasts and the present in which they are living. Besides, reading biographies is fun, and writing them challenges academic historians to reach out to a public that seems to have a never-ending taste for reading about the lives of others.

Lois W. Banner is Professor of History and Gender Studies at the University of Southern California. She is the author of many articles and books on women and gender, including four biographies. Her most recent works are *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle* (Alfred Knopf, 2003) and "The Creature from the Black Lagoon: Marilyn Monroe and Whiteness," *Cinema Journal* 47, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 4–29. She is a past president of the American Studies Association and the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. In 2005 she won the Bode-Pearson Prize for lifetime achievement from the American Studies Association.

"Life Histories" and the History of Modern South Asia

JUDITH M. BROWN

PEOPLE OFTEN REFER TO MY ACCOUNTS of the lives of two of modern India's "founding fathers," M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, as "biographies."¹ However, I do not see myself as a biographer, or these works as biographies, in the accepted sense of tracking and interpreting a life from the cradle to the grave, and, more problematically, of taking the individual as the only intellectual and analytical center of the argument. Readers who look for that sort of account of the life of these two men will find areas of their lives dealt with in passing rather than in depth, precisely because they do not illuminate the core problems that I investigate. (To take an obvious example, those who want a detailed and sensational account of Nehru's relationship with the wife of the last British viceroy will be disappointed. Quite apart from the constraints of historical evidence, what seems to me more significant than its precise physical character is her role as a sounding board and confidante, mostly in lengthy letters, over the early years of independence and most of his prime ministership, and what this tells us about his isolated position and his major concerns.) I see myself not as a biographer but as a historian of a time and region—South Asia from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth centuries—who uses the medium of "life histories," of individuals and groups of individuals, to seek for evidence to probe many key historical issues. In so doing, I share many of the recent disciplinary discontents that have emerged across the social sciences, not just in the study of history, and that have encouraged the "biographical turn" in many subjects.² Acknowledging the collapse of many grand narratives of history, and the historical hollowness of some recent theoretical approaches, working in part with life histories enables a more nuanced methodology that allows the historian to shift gaze from the general theme and theory to the particular and precise experience of people and groups, moving from one to the other as each type of focus checks and illuminates the other. Moreover, it is an approach which is particularly productive as we examine some of

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¹ Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Brown, *Nehru: A Political Life* (New Haven, Conn., 2003).

² See, from a social science perspective, Tom Wengraf, Prue Chamberlayne, and Joanna Bornat, "A Biographical Turn in the Social Sciences? A British-European View," *Cultural Studies—Critical Methodologies* 2, no. 2 (2002): 245–269.

the issues that deeply concern historians, such as the nature of individual and shared identities and the ways these develop over time in different contexts, the nature of agency in the historical process, and the local and global webs of connection within which people live and work, within and across national boundaries, thus often subverting the claims of the nation-state. It is also an approach that cries out for interdisciplinary work, drawing on the insights, for example, of anthropology, sociology, and religious and literary studies as well as more conventional history.

I now turn to the particular work of a historian of modern South Asia. One major reason for engaging with individual lives in this area is the access this gives to new sources. One must remember that the political history of modern India is a relatively young discipline, stemming from the 1960s, when access to British imperial sources was cut to thirty years. This ongoing process meant that by the late 1970s, it was possible to consult official sources in Delhi and London to map out the broad outlines of the confrontation between imperialism and nationalism, and the processes of decolonization. However, for the period after 1947, access to Indian government sources is far more problematic. The sources for the historian generated by the individual lives of Indians in public life are of fundamental importance—in providing a stance from which to interrogate official documents, and demonstrating the ambiguities as well as the strengths of the politics of nationalism. They are more important for the post-independence period, given the secretiveness and sense of a threat to security in official circles that guard governmental archives against easy scholarly access.

Among these sources created by the individual life are of course autobiographies. Many prominent Indians wrote autobiographical works, even though some were only partial, and some were not what would commonly be seen as autobiographies. Gandhi and Nehru both wrote partial autobiographies, and the former acknowledged that his was not so much an account of his life as, in the words of its subtitle, the story of his “Experiments with Truth.”³ It was primarily a didactic medium through which, by coming to understand his own journey after truth, he hoped to teach his compatriots about the moral life that he believed must be the foundation for a new India. Nehru wrote his account during a lengthy prison sentence, primarily to occupy himself, and also to review public events in which he had been involved so that he could think clearly about them. It was mainly written in a mood of self-questioning. Important work has been done on such autobiographies as historical sources, and on how we should see such authors as on a journey to find themselves, as well as to help us better understand the complex tie between selfhood and the nation coming into being.⁴ Prominent Indians found themselves, and argued their ideological and political case, through the medium of the written word, often in English, the only shared language across the subcontinent. In the days before the modern technology of mass communication, they had to rely on speeches as they were reported in the press or collected in pamphlet form, newspaper articles, longer occasional writings, and a huge correspondence. The collection of this material into the great personal

³ M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (first published in serial form in 1927; numerous later editions in English translation); Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (London, 1936).

⁴ Javed Majeed, *Autobiography, Travel and Postnational Identity: Gandhi, Nehru and Iqbal* (Basingstoke, 2007).

archive we have today—of men of the stature of Nehru, but also of many other lesser public activists—is a major historical question in its own right. Most of us throw away the paperwork we generate unless we think it of crucial personal or professional significance. For these people and those who received letters from them, there was a sense of being part of a highly significant time, and that it was important for both the individual (and his long-term repute) and the nation that these sorts of personal archives be preserved, collected, and maintained as part of a new public history.⁵

It is of course possible to use such sources without focusing on the lives of those who generated them. I would argue for the importance of life history on other grounds as well. In the first place, using such sources to probe the lives and concerns of individuals is a way of eavesdropping—listening to the intense debates that such people had within themselves and with each other over crucial issues of their day. It is a way into their profound concerns in a period when India was going through extremely turbulent times, and when political issues were intermeshed with intellectual and moral controversies about the nature and place of religious tradition in individual and public lives, the validity of tradition and older modes of knowledge as against post-Enlightenment ways of thinking and knowing assumed to be essential by Westerners, the desirable nature of Indian society, the identity of the nation, and the potential form and role of the postcolonial state. In the case of Gandhi and Nehru, we can overhear such debates in considerable detail because, despite their friendship and their political alliance, they often disagreed profoundly. Moreover, they were often physically apart, separated from each other by their work, and frequently by prison sentences. So they committed their concerns to paper. Nehru's prison diaries contain anguished self-interrogation about his relationship with Gandhi and Gandhi's very different priorities. Some of their correspondence similarly shows their disagreements on priorities and strategies. For Nehru, the goal was a socialist India, where inequalities would be done away with and vested interests would be dispossessed. This was a secular vision, and the route to it was by judicious use of means of compulsion as well as argument. In the process, a modern state would be essential as motivator and mechanism. Gandhi, in contrast, worked for an India that would return to what he saw as its ancient civilization rooted in religion, where people lived in small-scale communities where they could treat each other as equals. He cared about sufficiency for all rather than rising standards of living, and he believed deeply that real change would occur not through the use of political power but through the radical moral conversion of individuals. For him, nonviolence was crucial in all types of disputes and was the only moral and effective way of achieving deep and lasting change. So their debates illuminate for the historian a whole range of issues central to the making of modern India, including the identity of the nation, and particularly the relationship of religion to national identity. They also agonized over the desirable national political structure to replace the imperial state, the future structure of India's society and economy, as well as the choice of means in combating the British regime and in dealing with India's profound domestic problems. For Gandhi, the agency of the moral, reflective individual lay at the heart of the multiple transformations he desired, and so the two friends were also essentially debating the

⁵ This process can be seen clearly in the collection of private material from a whole range of people active in public life and stored for historians' use at the Nehru Memorial Library in New Delhi.

relationship of the individual to the collective, and the role of the individual as opposed to wider forces or institutions in achieving substantial and long-term change.

The careers of prominent individuals are also a valuable source for the historian—not in the biographer's sense of "what did my subject achieve in his lifetime?" but more deeply, as a window into the networks and systems in which those individuals worked. Both Gandhi and Nehru were in a real sense participants in global intellectual networks, as a result of their knowledge of English and their involvement in a global world of education, reading, and thinking enabled by the existence of the British Empire. Both had received an education in the imperial metropolis, both continued to read prodigiously (not least because of their long periods of incarceration in imperial prisons), and both maintained broad international networks of thoughtful friendships and connections throughout their lives. This had a profound impact on their sense of individual and collective identity, and their understanding of how India's own experiences were interlocked with far broader global processes. This, in turn, compelled each in rather different ways to address an international audience. Nehru, for example, published his autobiography with a London publisher. Gandhi, while in England in 1931 for a constitutional conference, made sure that he got out of London regularly to visit universities, schools, and industrial workers. Their lives and writings show the complex processes by which a sense of Indian national identity came into being, and also how thoughtful Indians were operating at a deeply fruitful juncture where their Indian heritage engaged in dialogue on a wide range of key issues with ideas and institutions emanating from the imperial heartland. There emerges a picture far more complex than that of a purely imitative Indian elite, as colonial rulers sometimes decried the educated Indian, or people whose national discourse was purely "derivative," as at least one historian has argued.

Through such lives, we can also gain insight into the changing political and social systems in which they functioned. For me, Gandhi's times of failure and lack of influence are as important as his obvious "successes" through the use of nonviolent disobedience against the imperial regime. They tell us about his function and role in the Indian political system as a whole. In particular, they show the types of situation in which his particular mode of political action offered his compatriots a productive way of dealing with the British while simultaneously generating popular support; and they demonstrate how that position of leadership could unravel as non-violent action became a millstone around the necks of the political activists, preventing them from taking new routes to power in the political system. In studying the whole phase of his career from 1928 to 1934, we can readily see this ebb and flow of his influence, as his countrymen found civil disobedience to be an important tactic, and then felt encumbered by it, eventually persuading Gandhi to abandon it as a nationwide strategy. In Nehru's case, there is a further important dimension to his career. We can of course ask about his role in the nationalist movement until the departure of the British, rather as we can for Gandhi. In particular, we can focus on his functions in the system, and the reasons why he was so comparatively powerless in his own right, relying heavily on his position as Gandhi's protégé and eventual heir. We can also examine why it was that both men were primarily all-India leaders and were not rooted in the local power structures and politics in the provinces from which

they came. What equipped them to operate at this level of politics, and was this a source of weakness as well as strength? However, Nehru's political career spanned independence, and unlike Gandhi, he went on to become prime minister for nearly two decades. As a man with no experience of government, except briefly in the 1920s as chair of the municipal board of his hometown, he had to retrain and retool himself, and in a real sense carve out the role of prime minister. Much of my 2003 "life" of Nehru deals with this period, examining his priorities, and how his way of being prime minister was often dysfunctional, as he fought against rather than adapting to and working the political system as it was emerging after 1947. One of the underlying questions in this part of the work is the nature of all-India political leadership and the ways in which a Delhi-based prime minister can create networks of alliances from among lower-level leaders rooted in state politics, in order to achieve effective government and also key processes of social and economic change. Nehru's failures and frustrations, and his ultimate loneliness and exhaustion, illuminate historical issues that are still important forty years after his death and sixty years after independence, particularly as the Delhi government tries to push through major economic changes and create India as a world power in the twenty-first century.

I have argued so far that historians of South Asia, among others, can use the evidence generated by the lives of publicly active people as windows into the public world in which they operated, as much as into the more private worlds of debates forced on their generation by external circumstances and inner priorities and sensibilities. However, I would go further, and argue for the extension of the concept of "life history" beyond that of the individual. It is quite possible to use the idea to formulate a strategy for historical research that uses the shared lives of people within or molded by important social and political institutions, as well as the lives of such institutions themselves.⁶ The idea that institutions have corporate lives and develop particular ways of thinking among those who work in them is not new. My predecessors Jack Gallagher and Ronald Robinson used the concept of the "official mind" when analyzing British imperialism, and describing both the view from London and the mindset of officials in explaining the evolution of official policy in the Colonial Office. But it is possible to go further than this and to look at those who inhabited those institutions, and the attitudes and patterns of work that were developed in them over time, as a way of doing history that is broader and different in focus from older institutional history. It is not only government institutions that can fruitfully be studied in this way. Educational institutions are crucial in the shaping of new generations, molding ideas, inculcating skills, generating long-lasting relationships, and creating broad social capital. It is little wonder that governments, both domestic and imperial, have recognized the importance of schools and universities, and the need to influence if not to control both what is taught in them and who does the teaching. But though historians have also long recognized the significance of education as an area of historical analysis, there have, at least in my field, been few studies of the life of key institutions over a period of time, and the lives of people who were connected by having shared the same educational experience. A significant

⁶ I have explored the potential for the life history of educational institutions and families in lectures given at the University of Notre Dame in spring 2008; they will be published by the university press there in 2009 under the title *Windows into the Past: Life Histories and the Historian of South Asia*.

exception was a study of the Doon School, an important social and educational point of departure for success in modern India. It is telling but ironic that the author is a social anthropologist rather than a historian.⁷ Another study that recognizes the importance of this historical approach is one of "Empire Families," those British families who often over several generations served in the empire. They took care to preserve the "Britishness" of their sons; in particular, by enduring family separation as the price for sending them to school in Britain, where they would make connections and receive an education deemed appropriate to a British gentleman.⁸ Racial, class, and gender identities reinforced each other through the mechanism of particular educational institutions: without this shared experience, British boys with Indian childhoods would have been outsiders among their own kin and peer groups, to their long-term social and professional detriment.

I have explored this genre of life history by studying my own institution, Balliol College, Oxford. From the mid-nineteenth century, it was in effect a nursery for public service at home and in the empire. It also has remarkable records of its alumni, including father's name and occupation, the school attended before Oxford, college record, and then subsequent career and marriage. I have been able to track for the period 1853 to 1947 all those of European origin who spent a significant part of their working lives in India, and those who went the other way, Indian students who came to study in Balliol. The numbers are astonishing, and show the enduring and deep ties between the college and the subcontinent. In those years, 345 Balliol men of European descent went to work in India, and just over 79 percent went into the ICS, the prestigious Indian Civil Service, entry to which was via a competitive examination from 1853. Patronage was excluded from appointments to the ICS from this date, so we can trace those who saw it as a desirable career goal, who achieved entry on their merits, and what their backgrounds were, in socioeconomic as well as educational terms. Most were from professional backgrounds, and few came from either aristocratic or working-class families. Moreover, a significant proportion of them had family ties to India, with fathers, uncles, and cousins also in Indian service. Seventy of them had such family connections. We can also track their marriage patterns, in large numbers with women of similar families. Thirty-four married women had their own family connections with the subcontinent. Fourteen of the men had connections with India of their own and through their wives. There had clearly developed a network of interlocking families who provided the men who governed India and, to a lesser extent, manned its educational and other services. It may be an exaggeration to say that ruling India was a Balliol family business, but the presence of men whose life experiences and trajectories were to an extent molded by this one college is remarkable. It did not go unnoticed at the time. In 1929, Lord Goschen, governor of Madras and acting viceroy, gave a dinner party in Simla, the imperial summer capital, for twenty-seven Balliol men! Such evidence sheds light on the meaning and worth of India to Britain, far beyond more tangible goods such as trade, investment, and imperial security based on access to the Indian army. The eighty-eight Indians

⁷ Sanjay Srivastava, *Constructing Post-Colonial India: National Character and the Doon School* (London, 1998).

⁸ Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford, 2004). This argument, of course, links with historical studies of the English public schools and their significance in British public life.

who came to Balliol over the same period were from similar professional families, and they increased in numbers just at the time when Gandhi-led nationalism was growing in strength, in the 1920s and 1930s—which sheds interesting light on parents' long-term calculations about their sons' futures. Those futures were indeed often secured. Many Balliol Indians went into the ICS, and at independence, when the British left, they moved into the open positions and experienced extraordinarily rapid promotions. Others migrated sideways into the new diplomatic service and rapidly reached very senior levels. Again, the experience of a life within a particular educational institution had long-term implications for their subsequent professional experiences, but also for the country that they served.

So the life history of a particular college over a period of nearly a century, and the evidence of the interlocking life histories of many who were educated within it, become a window into an imperial past where social, educational, and professional ties bound India and Britain. These ties and networks of kinship, friendship, and work could not have been examined in such detail except through the life history of such a college with such records of those it helped to educate and socialize, and particularly to prepare for public roles.

It is also possible to probe key social changes, as well as questions of identity and agency, through the life histories of families. I do not mean the sort of family history and the search for roots that is currently so popular, for this is often little more than genealogy. Nor do I mean oral history, which asks people about what they remember. What I have in mind is using the life history of families over three or four generations to examine patterns of change in the lives of those who normally leave few written records, particularly women or those of little education and lowly social origin. It can perhaps be seen as an ongoing search for evidence of "subaltern history," but one that was never attempted by the so-called Subaltern School of historians of the subcontinent.⁹ In the history of South Asia, such a mechanism can probe changing female experience, for example, by constructing a family tree and then plotting against each generation of women key pieces of information such as date of marriage, family size, level of education, and whether or not women participated in the paid economy outside the home. This does not just put flesh and blood on some of the broad trends we know from public records of marriage age and literacy levels. It can also shed light on the timing of change in different sorts of families, and also on the driving forces behind change. I have done a very small pilot study to test this methodology among women doctoral students of my own whose origins lie in the subcontinent, and it has proved very instructive in looking at the timing of change in family life histories that culminated in producing women studying at the highest level at an international university. It seems that the generation of women who came to maturity just after the First World War were highly significant in envisaging and working for change in the lives of their daughters and granddaughters. It is also possible to see when men made new sorts of assumptions about the desirable educational levels of the womenfolk in their families. In terms of family size, the change is far later. My students are now in their mid-twenties; they have few siblings, and are the first generation to

⁹ Historians generally seem to be reluctant to experiment with methodologies used in other disciplines. This particular way of tracking patterns of change in families across generations is well-known to social workers, family care practitioners, and relationship counselors.

live in such small family groups. The declining size of South Asian families is clearly related to educational levels, as well as to health care provision and access to contraception. On a larger scale, such methodical tracking of intergenerational experience in families could be of considerable use to the historian of gender and society, enabling life experiences to "speak" where subaltern individuals have rarely spoken for themselves in ways that leave behind archival tracks.

The same way of using family life histories can also illuminate other major historical trends, particularly the huge wave of outmigration from the subcontinent from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, creating the modern South Asian diaspora that exists on every continent. By making a family tree of a family that has migrated to Britain or the United States, it is possible to unearth the trajectories and dynamics of global movement. We can, of course, see the point at which overseas travel occurred, but we can also plot the extent to which this was mainly family rather than individual migration, and also the extent to which overseas migration followed on from an established pattern of movement within the subcontinent or elsewhere. Very often overseas migration occurred in families that had already moved on the subcontinent, as happened for many thousands of families in 1947 as a consequence of the partition. Other families had traditions of movement such as seafaring (as in the case of many Mirpuris from Bangladesh) or soldiering (particularly the Sikh families from the Punjab). Many Indians overseas are now from what we call "twice-migrant" or even "thrice-migrant" families. Familiar patterns include India to Australia and thence to the U.S. Another pattern, which started with movement from India to East Africa in the service of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, continued to Britain as a result of often brutal policies of Africanization and eviction, and eventually ends in the U.S. or Canada. Very often a student experience abroad leads ultimately to permanent migration into the diaspora. The family life history of a Pakistani academic in Britain brilliantly shows many of these patterns. His family's experience of spatial movement began in the early twentieth century in imperial India, when they moved from the village to the city in the course of professional life. His father studied in England and returned to work in the colonial irrigation service, only to find himself in a new country when the international border was drawn between India and Pakistan in 1947. His extended family was uprooted from North India and joined him in Pakistan. The next generation, those now in mid-life, produced global migrants now to be found in Britain, the Gulf, the U.S., and Canada, their incorporation into the global diaspora enabled by their family's expanding horizons since the end of the nineteenth century, transnational movement in the preceding generation, and then by their own student experiences overseas. Migrants busy with making new lives overseas, particularly those of lowly social origins, rarely leave the sorts of written sources that might become evidence for historians of their experience.¹⁰ So studying life histories of families in this way is a very significant means of capturing important evidence while individual memories can still be tapped. To narrow the focus further, women's important and very different experience of migration and reconstructing home and family overseas can also be done

¹⁰ There is increasing use of the Internet to capture family histories of movement as well as oral history from within diasporas as scholars begin to see how this new medium can be used. See, for example, <http://movinghere.org.uk>, a British website dedicated to recording migrants' experiences.

through life histories of diaspora families. This is particularly significant as female education and paid employment is often an important part of migrant families' movement up the socioeconomic ladder in their new homes. The opposite is equally true, in the experience of those who do less well over time after migrating out of the subcontinent.¹¹

I have traveled far from my departure point of biography and my personal aversion to being called a biographer. However, as a historian of South Asia and of South Asians who have moved overseas, I have found how the practice of "life history," not just of individuals but of key social institutions such as colleges and families, opens up a wide variety of historical sources, some to date untapped. They also illuminate important intellectual, social, and political issues, adding depth and complexity to our analyses by anchoring these firmly in lived experience.

¹¹ On many of these issues, see Judith M. Brown, *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora* (Cambridge, 2006).

Judith M. Brown is Beit Professor of Commonwealth History at the University of Oxford, where she has taught since 1990. She has written widely on modern South Asia, including life histories of M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, two monographs on Gandhi's civil disobedience movements, and a widely used text, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (2nd ed., Oxford University Press, 1994). She has also written on the modern South Asian diaspora and was co-editor of the twentieth-century volume of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

AHR Roundtable

A Place in Biography for Oneself

KATE BROWN

I WAS SURPRISED WHEN THE EDITOR of the *AHR* contacted me about contributing an essay on biography for this roundtable. The biography I wrote hardly qualifies as a biography in the usual sense of the word. *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* does not describe a life, or even the life of a community, but a territory, loosely defined with no political or administrative boundaries. It was just a “place,” named by locals and hazily circumscribed by the reach of a certain sandy soil that yielded little in the way of cash crops. Instead, locals gathered berries, mushrooms, fish, and game in forests of soft pine and birch amid streams and rivers that tended to swamp. This place, the northern forest belt of today’s central Ukraine, in *A Biography of No Place* lacks the absolute boundaries of a human body in space and a human life in time. Why, then, did I conceive of this history as a biography?

Initially, the frame of biography suggested itself to me because of the funereal quality of the landscape. This palpable insinuation of decay caught me by surprise when I first arrived in right-bank Ukraine. There I visited villages of mostly elderly. Some were living in homes of people who had been expelled before, during, or just after World War II. They pulled out old chests to show me possessions left behind, stored carefully for fifty years in case the exiled family returned. Inevitably someone would take me, unbidden, to burial mounds, to the place where “our Jews” were killed. I stumped across weed-weary Polish cemeteries, stepping lightly over cracked headstones, and stood at the thresholds of caved-in Lutheran churches. These sites sounded out loss in cacophony, echoing across the terrain like an obituary. The fact that I made these travels in the mid-1990s—when the economy of Ukraine was in an extended nosedive, when the young and educated were seeking to leave Ukraine for Russia, America, Israel, Europe, anywhere else, when the intercity buses no longer ran, and when the city of Zhitomir, where I lived, reduced heat and electricity to a few hours a day, and then at times to nothing—all suggested endings, closings, failure.

I came, then, to regard the history as biography because, like a life, right-bank Ukraine had a beginning, in some nebulous past, but more importantly a definite end

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and a number of meaningful narratives projected onto it—narratives that affected the lives of most every inhabitant. For the “no place” of my biography no longer exists, and the people who inhabited it no longer live there. The territory is located on a flat plane between the former Russian, Polish, and Lithuanian empires, deep in what was the tsarist Pale of Settlement. The population had long existed among shifting powers, and by the time the biography begins, in the mid-1920s, locals had endured six years of world war, civil war, and the Polish-Soviet war. The people who lived in the region spoke hybrid forms of Polish, Ukrainian, German, Yiddish, Hebrew, Belorussian, and Russian. They prayed in Catholic, Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Uniate, and Lutheran churches, Hasidic and Orthodox synagogues. As many joined eclectic sectarian religious communities, which met in homes or the forest and drew on the surrounding religious traditions for inspiration. Most of the rural people in this story were illiterate and trilingual. They lived in hard-to-reach villages, inaccessible for months of the year, made poorer and even more remote by the ravages of war and the new Soviet-Polish border planted in 1921 a short distance away. State power was so distant that ghosts and apparitions of the Virgin Mary visited more frequently than Soviet officials.¹ The history narrates how in three decades, 1925–1955, with the transformation of the border-dwellers into “national minorities,” the poor communities of this remote “backwater” were swept away and replaced with outsiders who were thought to belong because they were categorized as “Ukrainian.” A few decades later, the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant made much of the territory unlivable for the next couple of centuries. In short, this ancient site of human habitation, which archaeologists argue was the “cradle of Slavic civilization,” was fully annihilated in the space of a few generations.² I can think of few places where the endpoint, so critical for many biographers in summing up a life, is more definite.

Local literary traditions also pointed to the application of biography to territory. In the 1930s, for example, Soviet officials carried out inspections of the region and filed descriptions (*kharakteristiki*) that amounted to geographical biographies describing a backward hinterland that bedeviled the Revolution.³ These officials, too, saw death in the end of the old regime, and projected the birth of a new revolutionary society. They employed sweeping adjectives to characterize national regions and their populations collectively, writing in narratives of darkness to light, redemption, and rebirth.⁴ This Soviet literary genre drew on an already established tradition in

¹ On miraculous sightings and belief in unclean forces in right-bank Ukraine in the 1920s, see Nykanor Dmytruk, “Pro chudesa na Ukraini roku 1923-go,” *Etnografichnyi visnyk* 1 (1925): 50–65; Dmytruk, “Z novogo pobutu,” *Etnografichnyi visnyk* 2 (1926): 31–37; Dmytruk, “‘Chudesa’ na Poltavshchyni, 1928,” *Etnografichnyi visnyk* 8 (1929): 168–180; Vasyli’ Kravchenko, “Osapatova dolyna,” *Etnografichnyi visnyk* 2 (1926): 108–111; Olena Pchilka, “Ukrain’ski narodni legendy ostann’ogo chasu,” *Etnografichnyi visnyk* 1 (1925): 43–47; and Ludmila Vinogradov, “Polesskaia demonologiya,” in Anna Skrypnyk, ed., *Polissia—mova, kul’tura, istoriia* (Kiev, 1996), 252–255.

² On Polesia as the cradle of Slavic civilization, see Stefaniia Gvozdevich, “Arkhaichnyi elementy u rodil’ni obriadovosty polishchukiv,” in Skrypnyk, *Polissia*, 247–251.

³ See “Kharakteristika Dzerzhinskogo natsional’nogo pol’skogo raiona BSSR,” Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii [hereafter GARF], f. 3316, op. 64, d. 1537 (1934), 17–22. For a similar report on the political-national-geographic qualities of the Polish autonomous regions of Soviet Ukraine, see GARF, f. 3316, op. 64, d. 1537 (1934), 33–42. For a report on Polish areas of Belorussia, see GARF, f. 3316, op. 28, d. 775 (1935), 27.

⁴ The personal *kharakteristika*, or autobiographical description, was a distinct part of Soviet political

the borderlands of ascribing particular, almost human or biological, features to the landscape as the source of national distinction. This second category of local biographers included memoirists who had lived in right-bank Ukraine before the Revolution. After they left, Polish landowners, German farmers, and Jewish shtetl-dwellers remembered their lost homelands in a soft light shaded by the patina of memory.⁵ These writers were influenced by nineteenth-century romantic, nationalist literature that endowed the landscape with the power to shape national culture.⁶ The autobiographies read as eulogies of homes to which the authors could never return, to communities that would never be reconstituted. To have left "no place" was to have lost that ability to recall oneself and the complexities of one's identity for others. The leaving facilitated simplified, standardized national identities, Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, or German, but left a painful vacuum. The act of writing a memoir was a way for authors to recalibrate shattered identities, to reestablish themselves on a cultural map.

Influenced by the texts I was reading, I followed this tradition of geographical biography. If I could write about a place that stood still while borders, armies, and political ideologies shifted over it, then I could tell the story of the people whom Marshall Berman described as "in the way" of progress, defined in this case by an increasingly homogenized understanding of national territory.⁷ For the history of the people who lived between states and national identities had yet to be written. Their stories had been eclipsed by competing national histories, Ukrainian, Jewish, Polish, and German, that narrated right-bank Ukraine's imagined communities—national communities imagined mostly by the historians and Soviet officials who created them.⁸ For me, biographically recording a place with no definite borders where peo-

life—what Jochen Hellbeck describes as an individual's public "work toward self-perfection." The authors of the *kharakteristiki* on the national minority regions in the borderlands transferred narratives and adjectives of personal socialist transformation and treachery and applied them collectively to the minority territories, as if they, "the Poles" or "Germans," acted as one body. The fact that Soviet officials used the terminology and language of a *kharakteristika* and applied them to a territory rather than an individual shows how the concept of "biography" had spread by the 1930s to nationally inscribed territories. Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 7. See also Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 118–133; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 2005); and Igal Halpin, *From Darkness to Light: Class, Consciousness, and Salvation in Revolutionary Russia* (Pittsburgh, 2000).

⁵ Zofia Kossak, *Pozoga: Wspomnienia z Wołynia, 1917–1919* (Warsaw, 1996); Maria Dunin-Kozicka, *Burza od wschodu: Wspomnienia z Kijowszczyzny (1918–1920)* (Łódź, 1990); Anna Zahorska, *Odrutowana okolica* (Warsaw, 1925); Zahorska, *Trucizny: Powieść współczesna* (Warsaw, 1928); Kazimierz Leczycki, *Brat z tamtej strony* (Wilno, 1923); Jerzy Stempowski, *W dolinie Dniestru: Listy o Ukrainie* (Warsaw, 1993); V. G. Bogoraz, *Evreiskoe mestechko v revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1926); L. Aizenberg, "Mestechko Kaminski i ego obivateli," *Evreiskaia letopis'* 4 (1926): 81; L. M. Aizenberg, "Chudo tsadika v kassastionnom senate," *Evreiskaia letopis'* 4 (1926): 185–186; Herbert Henke, "Der dornige Weg zum Wissen: Autobiographische Skizzen," *Feniks* 11 (September 1995): 2–76.

⁶ Many writers who memorialized what they called the (lost) Polish *kresy* (borderlands) were influenced by Johann Herder's equation of geography with the *Volksgeist*, and the *Volksgeist* with individual and national destiny. See Johann Gottfried Herder, *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings*, trans. Ioannis D. Evrigenis and Daniel Pellerin (Indianapolis, 2004).

⁷ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, 1982).

⁸ On Poles of Ukraine, see W. Tagoborski, *Polacy Związku Radzieckiego: Ich pochodzenie, udział w Rewolucji Październikowej i budownictwie socjalistycznym* (Moscow, 1929); Mikołaj Iwanow, *Pierwszy naród ukarany: Stalinizm wobec polskiej ludności kresowej, 1921–1938* (Warsaw, 1991); Janusz M. Kupczak, *Polacy na Ukrainie w latach 1921–1939* (Wrocław, 1994); Genrikh Strons'ki, *Zlet i podinnia: Pol'skii*

ple with indefinite identities lived was a way to conceive of history outside of the nation-state and detached from national histories—two forces that contributed powerfully to the mournful silence extending over “no place” at the end of the century.

Biography as a genre has its problems. The very ephemeral, psychological, anecdotal, and individual qualities of biographical writing have led historians to look at it askance. Biography is too personal, too much about the musty crannies of self-identity and self-representation to tell us about the larger world. As a genre it can lead the scholar, who is supposed to be detached, to over-identify with the subject. This lack of detachment contributes to biography’s popularity among non-academic readers, who like to read about the exploits of great personalities as models for leading their own lives. This bias against the genre overlooks the fact that nearly all good history writing relies on the experience of the historian, the historian’s own biography, to grasp and represent the past. From selecting subjects, to researching and then writing about them, historians draw on their realm of emotions and experiences. As historians write, they often dwell in a back room of conjecture, imagination, and simulation that are not allowed in the front-room presentation of history as scholarship. That is perhaps why we seek to know the biographies of important historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis or E. P. Thompson, because they shed light on the histories they wrote (as well as on the ones they didn’t write). In other words, both biographers and historians are attached to their subjects in complicated ways. Often in histories it is clear that the historian has chosen a subject or group of subjects and is betting on them, backing them to win, if not in the past, then at least in memory. Biography, I suspect, is all the more suspicious for historians because it exposes the shading of history into autobiography. Yet, in many ways, there is no biography—nor history, for that matter—without autobiography.

I have just argued that biography and history rely on autobiography, but what does the subject of *A Biography of No Place*, a poor, remote, agricultural, and multi-ethnic borderland in east-central Europe, have to do with me? When I was writing the history, I would have said the place held only an intellectual interest for me. In the narrative, I employed the first-person voice occasionally, but as a heuristic device to explore history’s constructed nature. I was careful to leave my own biography and any personal identification with my subjects out of the story. Like many of my fellow historians, I was suspicious of that sort of self-exposure as cheap and tabloid. And, on the face of it, central Ukraine had very little to do with my biography. To the best of my knowledge, I have no Slavic, Jewish, or German roots. I was born into the professional middle class in the industrial heartland of the United States at a time

natsional'nii raion v Ukrainy u 20–30 roki (Ternopil', 1992); Antoni Urbanski, *Z czarnego szlaku i tamtych rubieży: Zabytki polskie przepadłe na Podolu, Wołyniu, Ukrainie* (Gdansk, 1991); on Germans of Ukraine, see Meir Buchweiler, *Volksdeutsch in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweitem Weltkriegs* (Tel Aviv, 1984); Bogdan Chyrko, *Nemtsi v Ukraini 20–30-ti rr. XX st.* (Kiev, 1994); S. Nikel, *Die Deutschen in Wolhynien* (Kharkiv, 1936). For histories of Jews, see Ia. S. Khonigsman, *Evrei Ukrainy: Kratkii ocherk istorii* (Kiev, 1992); V. M. Lukin, B. N. Khaimovich, and V. A. Dymshits, eds., *Istoriia evreev na Ukrainie i v Belorussii: Ekspeditsii, pamiatniki, nakhodki: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (St. Petersburg, 1994); Avraham Yarmolinsky, *The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets* (New York, 1928). On the Nazi German creation of the idea of *Volksdeutsch* in right-bank Ukraine, see Wilhelm Fielitz, *Das Stereotyp des wolhyniendeutschen Umsiedlers: Popularisierungen zwischen Sprachinselforschung und nationalsozialistischer Propaganda* (Marburg, 2000).

when it was the world's most prosperous and powerful country. I could hardly have been born farther from rural, famished, collectivized, heavily politicized, increasingly nationalist, terrorized, and war-ravaged right-bank Ukraine—a place that stands in my mind as the epicenter of twentieth-century misery.

Then again, as I think about it, I was born in one era, of historic prosperity, and came of age in another, of decline and disintegration. In 1965, my parents settled their growing family in Elgin, Illinois. My father, a young high school teacher, had grown up on a farm outside the city, and for him Elgin was the big city, the place to buy one's Sunday best. At the time, Elgin appeared to be a prosperous city, with a dozen factories, a state asylum for the mentally insane, and a bustling ten-square-block commercial district that attracted shoppers from the surrounding farm communities. The major employer in town was the Elgin Watch Company, which in the 1920s made more watches than any other factory in the world.⁹ The watch factory had located in Elgin in the mid-nineteenth century, breaking away from established watch manufacturers in New England, because land and labor were cheaper in the rural Midwest. The company's directors, however, declined to live in Elgin and established their headquarters in Chicago, thirty-five miles away. Low wages were critical to the industries that followed the watch factory; crucial too for the company's dominance over its competitors. When male workers went on strike at the turn of the century to fight shrinking wages, the company fired the striking men and hired women, even less generously compensated, in their stead. For the following century, the company suffered no further strikes, and Elgin's leaders enticed other manufacturers to town with tax breaks, land grants, and arguments that Elgin was "a poor field for the agitator."¹⁰

The pattern of a chastened workforce and low wages persisted. By 1960, unemployment was low, 2.6 percent, but additional statistics show the nature of the labor and wages. Forty percent of married women worked, and 30 percent of people over the age of sixty-five were still on the job.¹¹ Elgin, in other words, was the first Third World for the American watch industry, but not the last.¹² The overseas flight of manufacturing tolled its hour early for watch manufacturers. In 1957, the Elgin Watch Company paid its last dividend. In 1958, the company recorded a loss of more than \$2 million. In 1963, it relocated a branch to an open-shop town in Blaney, South Carolina, a town so desperate for jobs that it renamed itself Elgin.¹³ In 1965, the company filed a loss of an astonishing \$6.8 million. That year, the factory was shuttered, as watch production migrated overseas following the search for cheap and pliable labor that drew many industries abroad in the second half of the twentieth century. In the winter of 1965, the clock on the watch tower froze in an ice storm,

⁹ The factory produced an average of one million movements annually from 1920 through 1928, more than half of the total domestic watch production and more than twice what its closest competitor produced. E. C. Alft, *Elgin: An American History*, online ed. (2000), <http://www.elginhistory.com/eaah/>, chap. 7, sec. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 5, sec. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 10, sec. 7.

¹² In Jefferson Cowie's history of RCA, he shows how the corporation first moved divisions during World War II from Camden, New Jersey, to Bloomington, Indiana, which, he writes, served "much like the Mexican border decades later," as a region of low wages for "competitive-sector, female-made" goods. Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (New York, 1999), 34.

¹³ Alft, *Elgin*, chap. 10, sec. 6.

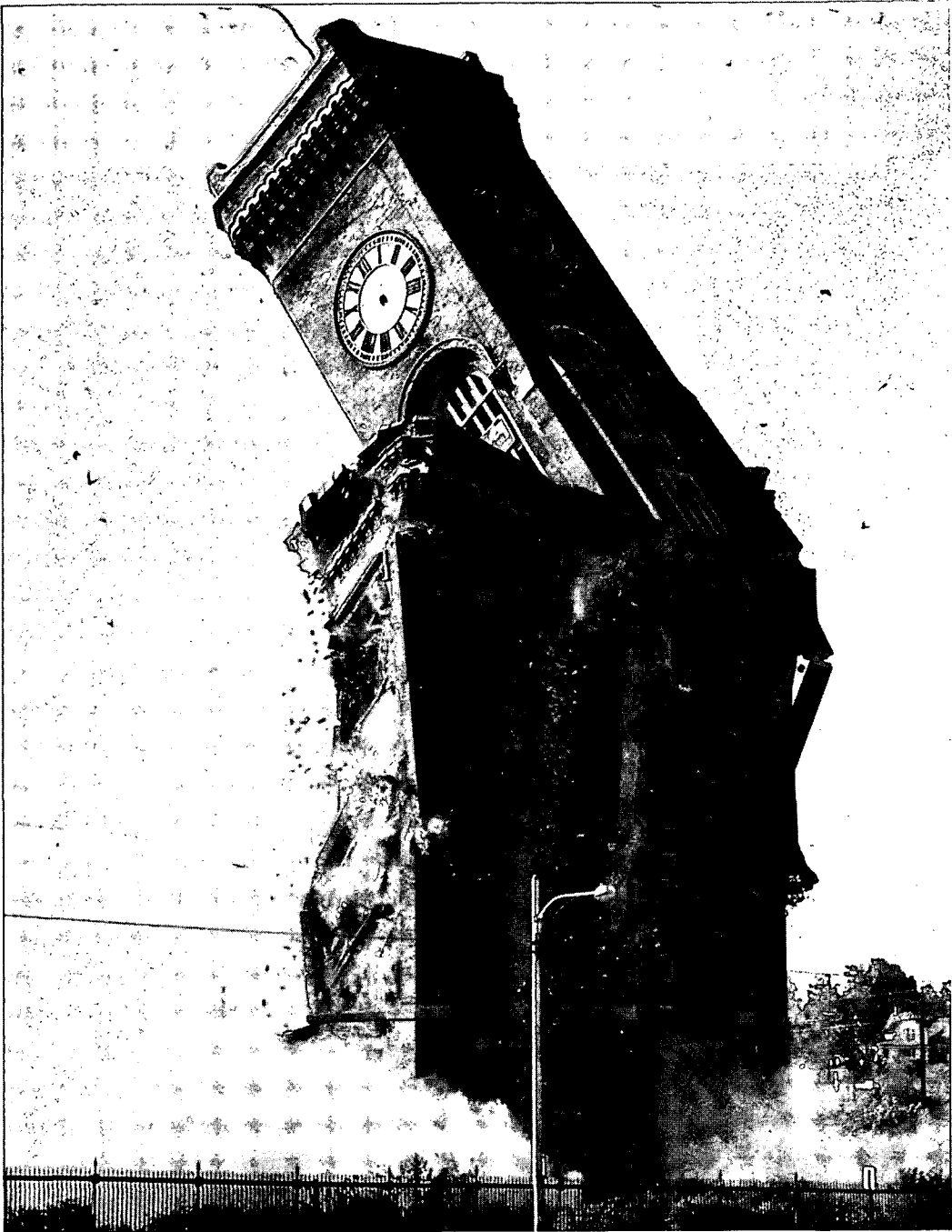


FIGURE 1: The Elgin Watch Tower during demolition. Used by permission of the Elgin Historical Society.

and that summer the watch factory bolted its doors for the last time. In 1966, a wrecking crew, working from back to front, razed the massive plant, a solid, crenelated building that looked as if it had been built to stand for centuries. As the company left town, it pillaged the workers' pension fund.

For a hundred years, the watch factory had been the city's economic pillar, employing the largest number of workers, as well as providing the city's guiding hand, enforcing low wages and labor discipline through control of City Hall, backed up by the National Guard quartered in the armory, strategically located across from the factory. The company had also organized sporting, musical, and cultural activities and founded the Elgin Watchmaker's College. With the wages and pensions from the watch factory lost, the clubs and college disbanded and the local economy faltered. Between 1957 and 1962, commercial vacancies in Elgin increased by 40 percent. Businesses that had supplied the watch factory went under.

Other problems compounded the economic troubles. The Fox River, which an early Elgin mayor had touted as "a natural sewer created by Almighty God," stank by the 1960s, indeed, to the high heavens.¹⁴ Tired of watching expired ducks float downriver bottom up, in 1968 a local eco-terrorist took action. By day a mild-mannered science teacher, James Phillips secretly turned into "the Fox" by night. He took to plugging drain pipes that dumped steaming industrial waste into the river, capped smokestacks belching smog, left skunks on the doorsteps of corporate executives, and once sloshed fifty pounds of effluence onto the floor of the reception room of a polluting company.¹⁵ While the police cursed the elusive saboteur, David Dominick, commissioner of the federal Water Quality Administration, praised him in 1970 in a speech before the American Society of Civil Engineers. "The Fox," he said, "by his deeds, challenges us all with the question: Do we, as individuals in a technological society, have the will to control and prevent the degradation of our environment."¹⁶ The Fox's actions were soon followed by the emerging Greenpeace movement, which worked with other increasingly vocal environmental activists to pass legislation that put federal limits on the business-friendly environmental free-for-all that Elgin's city elites had long guaranteed local industries.

Then there was the immigrant problem. Elgin had a proud German and Scandinavian immigrant history. In the 1950s and 1960s, immigrants arrived in larger numbers from new locations: African Americans from the South, Latinos from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Mexico, and later Laotian and Cambodian refugees from the Vietnam War. Illegal Mexican immigrants, especially, were drawn to Elgin because it had an existing Mexican community and non-unionized industry and was located just beyond the reach of the understaffed Immigration and Naturalization Service offices in Chicago. Local real estate agents and property owners contained the newcomers to substandard high-rent housing down by the salvage yard and railroad tracks. In the 1970s, however, another category of migrants, less easily contained, arrived from the immediate vicinity. The Elgin Mental Health Center released long-term patients to the care of new drug therapies. Those who had lost their ties to families elsewhere stayed in Elgin, where they became fitting mascots for the city itself: marooned, discarded, unwanted, waiting on park benches until it was time to return to the transient hotel in the evening.

Meanwhile, on higher ground, the Chicago suburbs spread in the direction of

¹⁴ Ibid., chap. 7, sec. 3.

¹⁵ "The Kane County Pimpernel," *Time*, October 5, 1970. For Phillips's self-published memoir, see Ray Fox, aka Jim Phillips, *Raising Kane: The Fox Chronicles* (Montgomery, Ill., 1999).

¹⁶ As cited in Douglas Martin, "James Phillips, 70, Environmentalist Who Was Called the Fox," *New York Times*, October 22, 2001.

Elgin, surrounding the city with developments built for and dedicated to white middle classes. Some neighborhood families left “for the schools” in the new developments, but most of the new suburban residents came from other places. They locked their doors when passing through Elgin and shopped at new malls stamped out across freshly graded farmland. Store by store, Elgin’s downtown went bankrupt. By the 1980s, only a handful of businesses remained. I remember a musty basement joke shop, Quik Shoe Repair, and a trophy engraver. The rest of the shops stood empty or fell before the frantic bulldozing commanded by the city fathers, who paved over a wide swath of the downtown core in a sad, failed attempt to make over the graceful nineteenth-century riverside town into a twentieth-century big-box mall surrounded by an asphalt moat.

The year time stopped in Elgin, 1965, it started for me. I came of age thinking that liquidation sales were normal, so too public demolitions, and living with neighbors who on summer nights turned their homes inside out, watching TVs propped on windowsills from couches parked on lawns. My understanding of a “new” car was one my father patched together from the spare parts of the three no-longer-running-VWs that lined the driveway. The usual American formulas that related race and class to deviance and crime made no sense in this overturned setting. When police came to the high school to make arrests for the murder of a neighborhood youth, they handcuffed John and Vincent, two white boys from families whose parents hadn’t made good in the hollowed-out economy. The people I was told to be wary of were the former wards of the asylum. They too were white. Meanwhile, I gave my first kiss to chocolate-brown Charlie Murray and the second to Puerto Rico-born Luis Perez. We would sneak past Luis’s mother in the airless sunroom where she nodded uncomprehendingly to young Mormon missionaries sweating in buttoned-up shirts and ties. A devout Catholic, she invited the Mormons in each afternoon to practice English. On Friday nights when his mother had a date over, my friend Louie Hernandez would come up from his crated-together house down on Anne Street. In 1920, the Palm Sunday tornado ran the length of Anne Street. When Louie lived there in the 1970s, the street still had that headline look of the day after. Louie’s mother spoke little English and read it, I think, not at all, but it was Louie who taught me to read English poetry.

My palms sweat as I write this. Historians expose *other* people’s biographies, not their own. In their quest to explore the human condition, historians can hide behind their subjects, using them as a scrim to project their own sentiments and feelings. Let me put that another way: In my quest to explore the human condition, I have hidden behind my subjects, using them as a scrim to project my own sentiments and feelings. The third-person voice is a very comfortable one in which to reside. Permanently. The intimacy of the first person takes down borders between author and subject, borders that are considered by many to be healthy in a profession that is situated between the social sciences and the humanities.¹⁷

I do not mean to equate the economic devastation of my hometown with the near-total decimation of the communities of right-bank Ukraine. These experiences

¹⁷ For a wonderful series of essays on the border between author and subject, and its place in historical writing, see “Round Table: Self and Subject,” *Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (June 2002): 15–53.

are of two vastly different orders. There was no famine, genocide, or war, nothing even close, in my American rustbelt childhood—only lives that didn't pan out, and a sense that we were sitting sidetracked. From Elgin, however, I came to understand how closely one's biography is linked to one's place. I recognized in right-bank Ukraine familiar voices in the worrisome documents about what to do with this failing backwater, about the people who were said not to be educated enough or smart enough to fix their own problems. I was familiar with the suspicion and dismissive attitude toward a place where people spoke in different languages and nonstandard dialects, where the very confusion of ethnicity and language was taken for inferiority, where difference was seen as disorderly and threatening. I was well aware of the suggestion that one's particular geography spells personal failure, that more able and ambitious people would have gone somewhere else (as indeed I did, felt I had to). Also, living in Ukraine in the 1990s, when everything American was taken to be better, I fell into the role of the condescending and superior outsider in the so-called backwater. With those ignominious feelings, I recognized the impulse to bulldoze and start over, to push on toward a brighter, cleaned-up destiny, which meant abandoning some places and people as losers of an unannounced contest.

I went to find some of those contest-losers in 1996 in northern Kazakhstan, to which villagers from Ukraine had been deported in 1936. When the train pulled into Kokchetau at 3 A.M., the line of hard-bitten cab drivers hoping for a fare looked menacing. I chose one young man, trusting the manicured look of his fur hat. On the drive to the hotel, he told me he was an Olympian, a long-distance runner. He had competed all over the world, but now, with no money in independent Kazakhstan to support athletes, he said remorsefully, he was driving a cab. At Kokchetau's best hotel, the receptionist sat under a circle of light in an otherwise dark lobby. She wore her winter coat and sleepily handed over a key. The room, like the rest of the city, was unheated; it was as cold as a tomb and shaped like one. On the cracked bathroom mirror, prostitutes had scrawled messages in lipstick that read disturbingly like suicide notes. Leaving the overhead light on for warmth, I lay in bed, sleepless and cold, watching a fly that circled the bulb project its elongated shadow round and round on the walls. As the giant fly looped around, I wondered what was wrong with me. Why did I seek out places where melancholy emanated from the very structures of things? Thinking about it now, I realize that in that Kazakh hotel room, I was not as far from home as it seemed. Places like Elgin repeat across the industrialized world, in towns and cities stranded in post-industrial malaise. It makes the globe uncomfortably small, and my travels disquietingly predictable.

For the strange thing is that until I was in the midst of writing this essay, I had not realized that I had spent my short career as a historian chronicling environmental, demographic, and economic dystopias.¹⁸ In fact, I'm still at it.¹⁹ If that isn't a case of Freudian repetition, I don't know what is. Does that mean I wrote a book

¹⁸ Kate Brown, "Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 1 (February 2001): 17–48; Brown, "A Historian in the Dead Zone," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 52, no. 5 (September 23, 2005): B6; and Brown, "Out of Solitary Confinement: The History of the Gulag," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 67–103.

¹⁹ I am currently researching a book on the world's first two plutonium-producing cities, Hanford, Washington, and Cheliabinsk-40, Russia.

ostensibly on Soviet history when I was really just writing an allegory about my own past? I don't think so. At least I hope not. Rather, I believe that I was able to see stories that had not yet taken shape for other historians because of the sensitivities I acquired in my past. Because of Elgin, I feel drawn to emptied buildings and abandoned streets. I had long since taken to wandering around forlorn sites, picking up discarded objects to figure out what they revealed about the people who parted with them. It was these people, the last to turn out the lights, who most interested me, perhaps because they help tell a part of my own story, but also because their stories had been overlooked, despite their importance, by their near-invisibility. The place is at the center of these biographies because it, alone, remains to tell the tale.

Kate Brown is Associate Professor of History at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. She is the author of *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Harvard University Press, 2004), which won the 2004 George Louis Beer Prize for the Best Book in International European History from the American Historical Association.

AHR Roundtable
Writing Biography at the Edge of History

ROBIN FLEMING

THE BIOGRAPHIES THAT ARE TYPICALLY WRITTEN in periods and places such as early medieval Britain, where I work—times and spaces that teeter on the edge of pre-history—are those of kings and holy men, people who appear center stage in the period's few, mostly laconic texts. For some of these people, we have only a single reference; but for surprising numbers, we can ferret out information from a scattering of sources, which range from chronicles to saints' lives to administrative documents. From these we can go on to make inferences about the geographical scope of our protagonists' actions, alliances, and landholdings, as well as their particular devotions to saints' cults and monastic communities. Sometimes we can even cobble together partial genealogies, although we rarely recover the names of our subjects' spouses, mothers, siblings, and younger children. With our hard-won facts, we can go on to construct chronologies and stitch together narratives, and in them we not only identify important events and crucial meetings, but make arguments about individuals' strategies, policies, and motives. Yet, in spite of our best efforts, we rarely know anything about the private lives of our subjects, to say nothing of their inner thoughts, hopes, or anxieties.¹ And even if we are satisfied with writing a life of deeds rather than thoughts or emotions, there are still, by my count, only four individuals who lived in Britain in the half-millennium between the fall of Rome and the Norman Conquest for whom sustained, scholarly, book-length biographies have been written.²

Because of the near-impossibility of marshaling sufficient sources to write even the barest of bare-bones biographies, a number of historians in my field have chosen, instead, to write or edit volumes about particular people, which are, in fact, more "times" than "life,"³ or more "times and acquaintances" than "biog-

¹ For the problems associated with writing about "private life" in the early Middle Ages, see J. Nelson, "Did Charlemagne Have a Private Life?" in David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton, eds., *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2006), 15–28. For the more general problems of writing biography in the period, see Bates, Crick, and Hamilton, "Introduction," *ibid.*, 1–13.

² These are Alfred the Great (Alfred P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* [Oxford, 1995]; Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship, and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* [London, 1998]; John Peddie, *Alfred: Warrior King* [Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1999]); Edward the Confessor (Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* [Berkeley, Calif., 1970]); and Queens Emma and Edith, who share a volume (Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* [Oxford, 1997]).

³ See, for example, D. P. Kirby, ed., *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle, 1974); Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, eds., *St Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1992); Michael Lapidge, ed., *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and*

raphy.”⁴ Still, although these volumes are as much about backdrop as about star, they do allow us to see individual actors in ways that few other studies do.

Given the unfortunate realities that govern our sources, it is little wonder that scholars in the field often channel their biographical impulses into prosopography, or multiple biography.⁵ Prosopography has proven fruitful, since analyzing gross and generalized patterns across dozens of contemporary lives is almost always more feasible than reconstituting a single life in detail; and this strategy has allowed us to populate our period with thousands of connected historical actors.⁶ Still, because of the ways in which early medieval texts were both written and preserved, even our brief prosopographical sketches are limited, by and large, to men, to monks, to the holders of land, and to people living after ca. 700—in short, a minuscule subsection of the people who actually lived and died in Britain during our period. Furthermore, the *individuals* who emerge from such studies are often, in the end, not much more than the sum of their charter attestations. As a result, we are left with a historical period bristling with names, dates, and events, but devoid, by and large, of living, breathing human beings; and one of the unfortunate consequences of this is that even those of us working in the field sometimes have a hard time remembering that the men, women, and children we study were actually people, rather than faceless automatons pushed across time and space by anonymous, impersonal historical forces. Certainly, none of our efforts have produced protagonists who can stand up to the men and women who sit at the center of those rollicking, life-filled “speculative biographies” so successfully written by early modernists, and so avidly read by historians and laypeople alike.⁷

Influence (Cambridge, 1995); Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge, eds., *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (Stamford, 1995); Richard Gameson, ed., *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1999); Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004); Julia Barrow and N. P. Brooks, eds., *St Wulfstan and His World* (Aldershot, Hants, 2005).

⁴ For prosopographical treatments of the people surrounding single individuals, see Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred “the Unready” (978–1016): A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980); Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991); M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993).

⁵ For one of the clearest articulations of prosopographical method, see C. P. Lewis, “Joining the Dots: A Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book,” in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), 69–88.

⁶ Examples are long-standing and legion. For some seminal examples, see Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography,” *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 46–71; A. H. M. Johns, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971–1992); C. Warren Hollister, “Magnates and ‘Curiales’ in Early Norman England,” *Viator* 8 (1976): 63–81; the articles published since 1980 in the journal *Medieval Prosopography*; Ralph W. Mathisen, *Studies in the History, Literature, and Society of Late Antiquity* (Amsterdam, 1991). For examples of recent work, see Francisco Salvador Ventura, *Prosopografía de Hispania Meridional* (Granada, 1998); Keats-Rohan, *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*; and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007). For examples of ongoing large-scale prosopographical database projects, see PASE: Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, <http://www.pase.ac.uk/>, and Prosopography of the Byzantine World, <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/>.

⁷ For examples, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York, 2004); Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop’s Tale: Mathias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* (New Haven, Conn., 2000); John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York, 1994); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, 1990); Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1986); Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love*

So, WITH THE LIMITATIONS OF OUR TEXTS firmly in mind, let me attempt here to write a different kind of early medieval biography, that of a seventh-century Englishwoman. Before I begin, however, I need to make clear that neither she nor anyone she knew ever appears in a text. What we have instead of words on parchment are her skeleton, her grave goods, and the skeletons of some of her family and neighbors. Eighteen, as I will call her—because that is the number archaeologists assigned her—was found in a grave dug in a communal cemetery near Barrington, in Cambridgeshire.⁸ In life, she had been on the tall side; indeed, she was as tall as some men. Her early childhood had been a healthy one. She had never suffered from chronic anemia, the way almost a fifth of her neighbors had, and as a child she had never experienced serious, growth-stopping malnourishment or infection.⁹ In this she was lucky, because the early Middle Ages were hard on sick children, and half of her contemporaries died before their seventeenth year.¹⁰ So, although Eighteen herself managed to avoid a fatal bout of measles or summer diarrhea, she nonetheless would have seen many babies, toddlers, and children die over the course of her own short life. Eighteen was lucky in other ways. She had never, for example, fallen so badly that she had broken a limb, a serious, sometimes fatal injury in the period.¹¹ Still, hers was an early death. Most of the women buried alongside her died after the age of twenty-five, probably because they married late and did not begin succumbing to the complications of pregnancy and childbirth until their mid-twenties.¹² Eighteen, however, did not make it that far; indeed, she died sometime between her eighteenth and her twenty-fourth year.¹³

The community in which Eighteen lived was a little old-fashioned. It was not as hierarchical as some seventh-century communities: certainly, there were no new-fangled “princely burials” in the cemetery where her community laid its dead to

and Marriage in Renaissance Florence (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, 1980).

⁸ Tim Malim and John Hines, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Edix Hill (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire: Excavations, 1989–1991 and a Summary Catalogue of Material from 19th Century Interventions* (York, 1998), 52–53 and fig. 3.12.

⁹ Ibid., 292–303; Corinne Duhig, “The Human Skeletal Material,” *ibid.*, 154–199; Patricia Stuart-Macadam and Susan Kent, eds., *Diet, Demography and Disease: Changing Perspectives on Anemia* (New York, 1992).

¹⁰ Robin Fleming, “Bones for Historians: Putting the Body Back into Biography,” in Bates, Crick, and Hamilton, *Writing Medieval Biography*, 29–48, at 39–41.

¹¹ Although admittedly this injury happened more to men than to women; Margaret A. Judd and Charlotte A. Roberts, “Fracture Trauma in a Medieval British Farming Village,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 109 (1999): 229–243. For the crippling injuries sustained by one of Eighteen’s neighbors, see Duhig, “The Human Skeletal Material,” 197–198.

¹² Not that the vast majority of women who reached the ripe old age of twenty-five had many more years to live: almost three-quarters would be dead by the age of thirty-five; Fleming, “Bones for Historians,” 35–39. Given these numbers, it is more than likely that Eighteen’s own mother was already dead when Eighteen herself died. It is also probable that patterns of women’s work and diet, acting in conjunction with the physical demands of pregnancy and childbirth, played a crucial role in women’s mortality rates; Pamela K. Stone and Dana Walrath, “The Gendered Skeleton: Anthropological Interpretations of the Bony Pelvis,” in Rebecca Gowland and Christopher Knüsel, eds., *The Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains* (Oxford, 2006), 168–178.

¹³ Malim and Hines, *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, 156–161.

rest.¹⁴ Nor were women there, if their graves are anything to go by, wearing much continental exotica, objects that were wildly popular in other contemporary settlements.¹⁵ Still, some of Barrington's dead were given more elaborate sendoffs than others, and this includes Eighteen herself. She lay next to a couple of high-status men who had been buried with shields and spears; but it was she, not the men, who had the most impressive grave goods in the cemetery.¹⁶ In death, she wore a necklace hung with silver rings, and she had latch-lifters hanging from her belt, accessories reserved for high-ranking women. She was also laid to rest with special things—an oak bucket, a small vessel made from maple wood, a weaving batten, and a box full of little treasures, including a sheep's knuckle and a fossilized sea urchin.¹⁷ The most interesting thing about her grave, though, is that it contained a bed, and hers is one of only a dozen bed burials known in England. The bed served as a kind of inside-out coffin, making it possible for mourners standing around Eighteen's open grave to view her unshrouded, dressed corpse and all its accompanying finery, things that had been carefully arranged by someone who, at some point, would have had to get into the grave with her to tidy her jewelry and arrange her grave goods just so.

The most astounding thing about Eighteen herself, though, is not her bed but her skull. It is the skull of a leper.¹⁸ Given what we know about the disease, she probably contracted it from someone within her own household in her early teens, but its telltale lesions would not have appeared for another three or four years.¹⁹ Although the disease, by the time of her death, had not caused her to lose any fingers or toes, as sometimes happens with leprosy, her lower legs were badly infected, and her face was terribly disfigured. She had lost much of the bone supporting her upper front teeth and nose. Her mouth and nose would have collapsed inward, and her face would have been an infected, discharging horror. Yet, in spite of her deformities, she was treated in death with great respect, buried with considerable wealth and some ceremony in a well-dug grave lying at the heart of a communal cemetery. There is no sign here that Eighteen had led a pariah's life the way later medieval lepers would. Nor does her grave, given the care and resources put into it, suggest that her death was viewed by those who buried her as a "bad death."²⁰ Indeed, in the years

¹⁴ H. Geake, "Burial Practice in Seventh- and Eighth-Century England," in M. O. H. Carver, ed., *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1992), 83–94, at 85–86.

¹⁵ Helen Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion Period England, c. 600–c. 850* (Oxford, 1997).

¹⁶ Malim and Hines, *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, 45, 59.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 52–53 and fig. 3.38.

¹⁸ Duhig, "The Human Skeletal Material," 176–177 and fig. 14.7.

¹⁹ Keith Manchester and Charlotte Roberts, "The Palaeopathology of Leprosy in Britain: A Review," *World Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (1989): 265–272; S. Anderson, "Leprosy in a Medieval Churchyard in Norwich," *Current and Recent Research in Osteoarchaeology* 3 (1998): 31–37; C. A. Roberts, "The Antiquity of Leprosy in Britain: The Skeletal Evidence," in Charlotte A. Roberts, Mary E. Lewis, and K. Manchester, eds., *The Past and Present of Leprosy: Archaeological, Historical, and Palaeopathological and Clinical Approaches* (Oxford, 2002), 213–221.

²⁰ Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2006), 102. There are examples of "bad death" graves in nearly every cemetery. A contemporary of Eighteen's, for example, a woman whose skeleton was excavated from a cemetery at Sewerby, in Yorkshire, was found sprawled on her belly on top of the coffin of another woman, and it looks as if she was buried alive; Susan M. Hirst, *An Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire* (York, 1985); Hirst, "Death and the Archaeologist," in Martin Carver, ed., *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1993), 41–43. And a man found at Roche Court Down, in Wiltshire, had been decapitated, and then his skull was smashed to bits and buried separately from the rest of his

after she died, people returned to her grave, choosing to bury others—a child and two adults—in graves that cut into her own, something that happened nowhere else in the cemetery.²¹

DO THESE LAST FEW PARAGRAPHS constitute a biography? Should we even attempt to write the life story of a nameless woman whose words and thoughts are unrecoverable? Is biography flexible enough to accommodate lives that are written not from texts but from material evidence? Perhaps the answer to all of these questions is “no.” And yet, there is that wrecked face, which is not the generic face of a generic leper, but the particular face of a very real woman, the dim outlines of whose life *can* be perceived if we think about it in the context of the lives of those other individuals whose real and particular skeletons surrounded her own.

It seems clear to me, at least, that the work of archaeologists can help us recuperate a world of intimate details about long-dead beings whose lives were never captured in words.²² Indeed, I would argue that with their help, we historians may well be able to write more convincing lives than we have in the past. Still, rather like the individuals whom prosopographers pursue, the skeletons that archaeologists dig up need to be thought about in the context of whole communities and generations of skeletons. But once we have established patterns and prevalences of life, health, and death—things that broad studies of this material can reveal—we can then go on to disaggregate a few individuals from all the rest.

Interesting inferences about the working lives of individuals, for example, can occasionally be made from skeletal remains.²³ We know, for example, that women living in the early medieval period spent long hours on their haunches, because their

body, surrounded with a ring of flints; J. F. S. Stone, “Interments of Roche Court Down, Winterslow,” *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 45 (1932): 568–582; M. L. Tildesley, “The Human Remains from Roche Court Down,” *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 45 (1932): 583–599.

²¹ Malim and Hines, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, 312–313; Williams, *Death and Memory*, 102.

²² The following six books read together can provide historians with a basic and accessible introduction: Simon Mays, *The Archaeology of Human Bones* (London, 1998); Tony Waldron, *Counting the Dead: The Epidemiology of Skeletal Populations* (Chichester, Sussex, 1994); Charlotte Roberts and Keith Manchester, *The Archaeology of Disease*, 3rd ed. (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2005); Donald J. Ortner, *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains*, 2nd ed. (San Diego, 2003); Charlotte Roberts and Margaret Cox, *Health and Disease in Britain: From Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2003); Theya Molleson and Margaret Cox, *The Spitalfields Project*, vol. 2: *The Anthropology: The Middling Sort* (York, 1993).

²³ For a good introduction, see Clark Spencer Larsen, *Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Human Behavior from the Human Skeleton* (Cambridge, 1997); and Christopher Knüsel, “Bone Adaptation and Its Relationship to Physical Activity in the Past,” in Margaret Cox and Simon Mays, eds., *Human Osteology in Archaeology and Forensic Science* (London, 2000), 381–401. For interesting studies of patterns of work in burial communities, see Shawn M. Phillips, “Worked to the Bone: The Biomechanical Consequences of ‘Labor Therapy’ at a Nineteenth Century Asylum,” in D. Ann Herring and Alan C. Swedlund, eds., *Human Biologists in the Archives: Demography, Health, Nutrition and Genetics in Historical Populations* (Cambridge, 2003), 96–129; Ping Lai and Nancy C. Lovell, “Skeletal Markers of Occupational Stress in the Fur Trade: A Case Study from a Hudson’s Bay Company Fur Trade Post,” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 2, no. 3 (1992): 221–234. For interesting studies of individual bodies, see Christopher Knüsel, “Activity-Related Changes in Casualties from the Medieval Battle of Towton, A.D. 1461,” in Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knüsel, eds., *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton, AD 1461* (Oxford, 2000), 103–118; A. J. Stirland, “Asymmetry and Activity-Related Change in the Male Humerus,” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 3, no. 2

ankles are often marked with telltale “squatting facets.”²⁴ This common bone modification, in turn, suggests that many women habitually worked close to the ground while performing tasks such as grinding grain.²⁵ Occasionally, however, particular labors and stresses do more than witness trends across whole populations: they change particular bodies in ways that are dramatic enough for us view the working lives of individuals. Take, for example, the extraordinary body of an old man whose remains were recovered from a Norse-period cemetery in Orkney. His skeleton describes a life oriented toward the sea and dominated by back-breaking work.²⁶ Both because of the way his bones developed during adolescence and because of the patterns of arthritis and cartilage loss he accrued as an adult, it seems that our man habitually rowed boats—from boyhood to old age—with his back against the current, and that he had often participated in the desperately hard work of pulling boats upstream or dragging ships across land from one navigable stretch of river to the next. Such labors must have often ruined the day for Norse traders, raiders, and mercenaries, especially those plying sluggish Russian riverways. These bone-wearingly tasks, though, concerned neither the vikings’ monastic victims nor their saga-writing admirers and are not, therefore, part of written culture. Still, they must have preoccupied the Orkney boatman, with his bad knees, arthritic shoulders, malformed arms, and wrenched wrist.

Isotopes found in the Orkney boatman’s bones, moreover, tell us that he consumed huge amounts of fish.²⁷ Indeed, it turns out that a variety of isotopes found in skeletal remains can provide information about an individual’s diet, origins, and mobility, things that should interest every historian determined to uncover life stories in periods with few texts.²⁸ Isotopes tell us these things because it turns out that we really are what we eat. Most rock, for example, contains trace amounts of the element strontium (Sr). Strontium has two different forms, or isotopes, ⁸⁷Sr and ⁸⁶Sr, and the ratio of the two differs from region to region because it is determined by a place’s underlying geology. The particular ratio of strontium isotopes in local

(1993): 105–113; A. J. Stirland and T. Waldron, “Evidence for Activity Related Markers in the Vertebrae of the Crew of the *Mary Rose*,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 24, no. 4 (1997): 329–335.

²⁴ Eve-Line Boule, “Evolution of Two Human Skeletal Markers of the Squatting Position: A Diachronic Study from Antiquity to the Modern Age,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 115, no. 1 (2001): 50–56.

²⁵ Theya Molleson, “The Eloquent Bones of Abu Hureya,” *Scientific American* 271 (1994): 70–75.

²⁶ Theya Molleson, “A Norse Age Boatman from Newark Bay,” *Papers and Pictures in Honour of Daphne Home Lorimer, MBE, Orkney Archaeological Trust* (2004), <http://www.orkneydigs.org.uk/dhl/papers/tm/index.html>.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ A host of isotopes lodged in skeletal remains—carbon, nitrogen, lead, oxygen, strontium, sulfur—can be used to trace migration and/or diet. For recent examples using isotopes to uncover diet, see Karen L. Privat, Tamsin C. O’Connell, and Michael P. Richards, “Stable Isotope Analysis of Human and Faunal Remains from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Berinsfield, Oxfordshire: Dietary and Social Implications,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 29, no. 7 (2002): 779–790; Tracy Prowse, Henry P. Schwarcz, Shelley Saunders, Roberto Macciarelli, and Luca Bondioli, “Isotopic Paleodiet Studies of Skeletons from the Imperial Roman-Age Cemetery of Isola Sacra, Rome, Italy,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31, no. 3 (2004): 259–272; James H. Barrett and Michael P. Richards, “Identity, Gender, Religion and Economy: New Isotope and Radiocarbon Evidence for Marine Resource Intensification in Early Historic Orkney, Scotland, UK,” *European Journal of Archaeology* 7, no. 3 (2004): 249–271; B. T. Fuller, T. I. Molleson, D. A. Harris, L. T. Gilmour, and R. E. M. Hedges, “Isotopic Evidence for Breastfeeding and Possible Adult Dietary Differences from Late/Sub-Roman Britain,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 129, no. 1 (2006): 45–54.

bedrock, in turn, enters into local crops, herds, and water, which humans eat and drink; and as they do, their bodies take on strontium signatures related to the rock. Strontium isotopes accumulate in both tooth enamel and bone, but these tissues are formed at different stages of a person's life. Tooth enamel is laid down in early childhood, so the strontium-isotope ratios found in people's teeth are related to the geology of the neighborhoods in which they spent their early years. The strontium found in bone, on the other hand, changes over time, and because of this, bones preserve information about the region in which people lived in the last decade or so of life. Thus, we can sometimes determine whether individuals moved between childhood and death and make educated guesses about the regions from which they may have come.²⁹ It is from the application of this knowledge that we learn, for example, that a woman buried in what has been called a small "viking family cemetery" in Cnip, on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides, and who lived sometime in the ninth or tenth century, had been laid to rest next to adults who had spent their childhoods in Norway, and babies and children who had been born in the Hebrides—in short, in a cemetery used by a little group of Norse colonists and their native-born children. But the woman in whom we are interested hailed from neither Scandinavia nor the Scottish Isles: she had spent her childhood in England, in either the South Downs or the Yorkshire Wolds.³⁰ How did an Englishwoman end up living at the center of a vast Norse colonial, North Atlantic world with a group of grave-goods-using Scandinavian settlers? The most likely explanation is that viking slavers derailed her life in some unrecorded raid, and, as a consequence of it, she spent her final years among foreigners who owned her. Although the Cnip woman spent her entire life outside the view of written culture, because of her bones we know some remarkable things, not just about women who lived in the Viking Age, but about *this* woman who lived in the Viking Age. Perhaps it is time that we historians reconsider

²⁹ For interesting studies on mobility and migration, see G. Grupe, T. D. Price, P. Schröter, F. Söllner, C. M. Johnson, and B. L. Beard, "Mobility of Bell Beaker People Revealed by Stable Strontium Isotope Ratios of Tooth and Bone: A Study of Southern Bavarian Skeletal Remains," *Applied Geochemistry* 12 (1997): 517–525; Janet Montgomery, Paul Budd, and Jane Evans, "Reconstructing the Lifetime Movements of Ancient People: A Neolithic Case Study from Southern England," *European Journal of Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (2000): 407–422; Paul Budd, Andrew Millard, Carolyn Chenery, Sam Lucy, and Charlotte Roberts, "Investigating Population Movement by Stable Isotope Analysis: A Report from Britain," *Antiquity* 78, no. 299 (2004): 127–141; Matthew Mike Schweissing and Gisela Grupe, "Stable Strontium Isotopes in Human Teeth and Bone: A Key to Migration Events of the Late Roman Period in Bavaria," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30, no. 11 (2003): 1373–1383; T. Douglas Price and Hildur Gestsdóttir, "The First Settlers of Iceland: An Isotopic Approach to Colonisation," *Antiquity* 80, no. 307 (2006): 130–144. For examples of the use of isotopic studies for thinking about particular individuals' lives, see Judith Sealy, Richard Armstrong, and Carmel Schrire, "Beyond Lifetime Averages: Tracing Life Histories through Isotopic Analysis of Different Calcified Tissues from Archaeological Skeletons," *Antiquity* 69, no. 263 (1995): 290–300; Glenda Cox and Judith Sealy, "Investigating Identity and Life Histories: Isotopic Analysis and Historical Documentation of Slave Skeletons Found on the Cape Town Foreshore, South Africa," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1, no. 3 (1997): 207–224; Wolfgang Müller, Henry Fricke, Alex N. Halliday, Malcolm T. McCulloch, and Jo-Anne Wartho, "Origin and Migration of the Alpine Iceman," *Science* 302, no. 5646 (2003): 862–866.

³⁰ A. J. Dunwell, T. G. Cowie, M. F. Bruce, T. Neighbour, and A. R. Rees, "A Viking Age Cemetery at Cnip, Uig, Isle of Lewis," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125 (1995): 719–752; Janet Montgomery and Jane A. Evans, "Immigrants on the Isle of Lewis: Combining Traditional Funerary and Modern Isotope Evidence to Investigate Social Differentiation, Migration and Dietary Change in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland," in Gowland and Knüsel, *The Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, 122–142.

how we go about our business, and strive as best we can to find out about other people who led equally compelling lives in communities unwitnessed by texts.

This is not only a suggestion for the desperate few, like me, who work on the darkest of the "Dark Ages." Large numbers of scholars laboring in our discipline are interested in individuals who lived near or under textual regimes, but who left little but their own bodies as witness to their travails. The skeletons of enslaved Africans found throughout the New World are a case in point, and they can speak of particular circumstances and individual experiences. Thus, the stories these remains recount could allow us to recover something of the humanity and individuality of people who have otherwise been stripped of their own unique voices and distinctive histories. At the same time, it turns out that we often know less than we like to think we do about large numbers of people who actually participated in textual culture. The bodily remains of Macedonians in Asia Minor, monks in late medieval Britain, silk-weavers in eighteenth-century London, and freedmen in post-Civil War Texas have enriched the understanding of scholars who have bothered to learn from them, and they preserve things about the past—both quotidian and profound—that are otherwise unrecoverable. And this, of course, is in spite of the fact that the thoughts and actions of people like these, while living, were frequently captured in texts.³¹ Bluntly put, the fact that so many people in the past (and not just the seventh-century farmers who so occupy my thoughts) had such limited opportunities to produce and/or preserve texts does not release us, as historians, from the responsibility of doing what we can to rescue them from oblivion, even if it means sometimes abandoning the comfort of texts.

It is, therefore, important for historians who work in a wide variety of times and places to recognize that although it can sometimes be difficult to find textually attested individuals, we are hardly lacking in individual bodies, the remains of tens of thousands of which have been excavated in recent decades. This news should hearten historians, since the body is a subject that has occupied us in recent years. Although historians in the past couple of decades have been engrossed in the social and cultural constructions of bodies, rather than actual, physical bodies, real bodies, like the cultural constructions we pursue, are never fashioned by biology alone. Indeed, the impact of things like poor environment, diet, migration, even disease, are often dictated by social, political, and cultural practices.³² This, in turn, means that the remains of real bodies can provide us with crucial insights about the ways things such as social differentiation, gender, and life cycle played out in the lives of individuals. Thus, the physical body, like its cultural cousin, is, in part, a social construction. At the same time, our heightened interest in bodies has alerted us to the fact that lan-

³¹ M. Özbek, "Skeletal Pathology of a High-Ranking Official from Thrace (Turkey, Last Quarter of the 4th Century BC)," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 15, no. 3 (2005): 216–225; Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, *Requiem: The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London, 2005); Molleson and Cox, *Spitalfields Project*, vol. 2; Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow, eds., *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas* (Austin, Tex., 2000).

³² For examples, see A. Grauer, "Where Were the Women?" in Herring and Swedlund, *Human Biologists in the Archives*, 266–288; Charlotte A. Roberts, Mary E. Lewis, and Philip Boocock, "Infectious Disease, Sex and Gender: The Complexity of It All," in Anne L. Grauer and Patricia Stuart-Macadam, eds., *Sex and Gender in Paleopathological Perspective* (Cambridge, 1998), 93–113; Christine D. White, "Gendered Food Behaviour among the Maya: Time, Place, Status and Ritual," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 5, no. 3 (2005): 356–382.

guage does not encompass all forms of historical experience; nor, indeed, is it the only thing that displays and preserves an individual's personhood. As we have seen, the remains of bodies carry memories of physical outrages and cultural practices, diseases endured, meals eaten, and childhood homes lost. Since this is the case, why should we limit our studies of past individuals to words preserved on a page?

In the end, though, the only way historians can bring dry bones back to life is by crossing disciplinary boundaries, and not the more familiar ones that stand between history and anthropology or history and literature. Instead, we have to clamber over the much higher barriers that lie between science and the humanities. Recently, the archaeologists Rebecca Gowland and Christopher Knüsel have commented that "there has, at times, been an almost antagonistic lack of communication across [the] science/social theory divide, resulting in the bewildering situation whereby researchers in one 'camp' were actually answering some of the questions posed in the other without either fully realising their mutual and complementary interests."³³ Although they are speaking here about theoretical and scientific archaeologists, these words equally describe the non-relationship between historians and researchers in more scientific disciplines. Still, in recent years, a number of people, primarily but not exclusively archaeologists, have been trying to bridge this gap, but many more of us need to do so if we hope to recuperate some of the past's lost individuals.³⁴

I am not arguing here that we historians should swap our manuscripts for trowels and microscopes, but I am suggesting that if we educate ourselves in developments outside the humanities, we have a chance of recovering some extraordinary lives—those of pagan women, sick children, old vikings, even an executed criminal or two—the kinds of lives, in short, that we will never know if we refuse to look beyond our chronicles and charters.³⁵ And ironically, we historians may, in the end, be able to write more convincing and vivid life stories about people like these than we have about those whose names we know and whose deeds are enshrined in texts.

³³ Rebecca Gowland and Christopher Knüsel, "Introduction," in Gowland and Knüsel, *The Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, ix–xiv, at x.

³⁴ See, for example, Anne L. Grauer, ed., *Bodies of Evidence: Reconstructing History through Skeletal Analysis* (New York, 1995); Herring and Swedlund, *Human Biologists in the Archives*; Fleming, "Bones for Historians"; Gowland and Knüsel, *The Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*; Megan A. Perry, "Is Bioarchaeology a Handmaiden to History? Developing a Historical Bioarchaeology," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 26, no. 3 (2007): 486–515. Michael McCormick is also heading a three-year project, "The Initiative for the Scientific Study of the Past at Harvard University," funded by the Mellon Foundation, which is attempting to bring scientific discoveries relevant to the study of the past to the attention of historians. A short description of the project can be found at <http://www.wkdnews.org/abstracts?start=29>.

³⁵ Nico Arts, *Marcus van Eindhoven: An Archeological Biography of a Medieval Child* (Utrecht, 2003); Mary Lewis, *Urbanisation and Child Health in Medieval and Post-Medieval England: An Assessment of the Morbidity and Mortality of Non-Adult Skeletons from the Cemeteries of Two Urban and Two Rural Sites in England (AD 850–1859)* (Oxford, 2002); Mike Pitts et al., "An Anglo-Saxon Decapitation and Burial at Stonehenge," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 95 (2002): 131–146.

Robin Fleming is Professor of History at Boston College. She is the author of *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge University Press, 1991) and *Domesday Book and the Law* (Cambridge University, 1998). She is currently finishing a book titled *Living and Dying in Early-Medieval Britain* for Penguin's nine-volume New Penguin History of Britain.

Galaxy of Black Stars: The Power of Soviet Biography

JOCHEN HELLBECK

BIOGRAPHIES FASCINATE, AND BIOGRAPHIES—critical accounts of people's lives—are what historians should write insofar as they believe that it is their vocation to understand the human condition in its historically variable forms. And yet, many published biographies seem to limit, rather than enrich, historical understanding. Their focus on a single thinking and acting personality easily breeds self-absorption, at the expense of larger transpersonal dimensions. Add to that questions of relevance, representativeness, and ethics. Why this biographical subject and not someone else? In what ways does writing about X entail a silencing of Y and Z? And doesn't the pursuit of biography inherently breed hagiographical impulses, or the opposite desire to debunk a famous historical or literary actor?

Yet I believe there are ways of writing biography that retain the inherent interest and excitement of exploring how it felt for historical subjects to live their lives, while also maintaining a critical distance and observing the shaping influences of context and structure. To write a biography in this manner is to start at a point that prefigures the biographical subject and investigates the historically specific norms and practices that condition the production of biographically relevant material. Too often, it seems, biographers just grab their sources and run; they accept as a given the existence of troves of letters, volumes of diaries and memoirs that allow them to peer into the inner life of their chosen biographical subject. Other historians complain about the lack of such sources in their area of expertise; if it weren't for that gap in the record, they, too, could produce better and richer biographical accounts. What I believe is often missing is a consideration of how and why the sources that we treat as biographical raw material were produced in the first place. To make that consideration is to shift the perspective from a thinking and speaking biographical subject to the making of subjects of biographical experience.¹

In some areas and time periods, sets of institutions, social practices, and self-practices coalesced to form veritable force fields in which a heightened biographical consciousness took shape. One can think of seventeenth-century Puritan New England, where a wealth of surviving diaries and other conversion narratives point to the investment of the Puritan faithful in the work of salvation, an investment that was sustained by ministers' exhortations to keep personal diaries as much as by indi-

I wish to thank Igal Halfin, Peter Holquist, Jackson Lears, Joyce Seltzer, and Jonah Siegel for their valuable comments and suggestions.

¹ Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 773–797.

viduals' recitations of their conversion experiences to the congregation as a whole.² The United States in the mid-nineteenth century saw a proliferation of biographies of exemplary citizens. Scott Casper explains this rise with the "cultural power" that biographers, their publishers, critics, and readers alike attributed to the biographical medium: the "power to shape individuals' lives and character and to help define America's national character." Biography thus flourished in a setting in which "market economy, evangelical religion, and romanticism all encouraged people to think of themselves as free agents, characters in the making (and on the make) on stages of their own devising."³

The Soviet Communist regime, too, sponsored the production of biographies with the goal of creating a distinctly Soviet pantheon: collections of lives that embodied Communist values and virtues, to be emulated by ordinary Soviet citizens.⁴ To a far greater extent than writers, publishers, or critics in the nineteenth-century United States, however, Soviet Communists promoted a distinctly autobiographical culture, exhorting members of the population to demonstrate, in acts of writing, in speech, and ultimately through their work, that they had come to embody a proper Communist consciousness. Toward this end, Communist state actors relentlessly classified people in terms of how they fared "subjectively" in relation to history's "objective" unfolding. The extraordinarily detailed life data that researchers come across in personnel files, surveillance reports, and interrogation procedures in the archives of the party, the Soviet security police, and the Red Army testify to the massive efforts undertaken by party and state institutions to intervene in and transform the consciousness of countless Soviet citizens.

These biographical and autobiographical records were mass-produced throughout the Soviet era, but they were not just instruments and effects of state power. Individuals claimed the biographical form for themselves in search of meaning and power, existential and aesthetic value. The insistence on "having a biography" gains particular traction in a modern democratic setting, where every individual can aspire to become a subject of biography, his or her own incipient, or actual, autobiographer. My short essay centers on both of these dimensions of biography—the shaping effects of state power, on the one hand, and individual appropriations and significations, on the other. Together, they cast light on the Soviet Communist century as a distinctly biographical age.

Curiously, the Soviet system is often described as anti-biographical in character. Its collectivist thrust, the argument goes, worked in self-effacing ways and stood in the way of personal expression.⁵ Yet if we listen to individual voices from the Soviet

² Kathleen M. Swaim, *Pilgrim's Progress, Puritan Progress: Discourses and Contexts* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 132–147; Georges Gusdorf, *Auto-Bio-Graphie: Lignes de vie 2* (Paris, 1991), 407.

³ Scott E. Casper, *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 2. Biography continues to exert cultural power in the United States to this day; witness the ability of some nonfiction writers to command six-figure publishers' advances for their 800-page biographies.

⁴ See especially the "History of the Factories" project discussed below. See also Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago, 1981); and for the 1960s, the efforts by Soviet journalists to inculcate in their readers ideal notions of the Soviet person. Thomas C. Wolfe, *Governing Soviet Journalism: The Press and the Socialist Person after Stalin* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005).

⁵ This argument, most recently reaffirmed by Nigel Hamilton in *Biography: A Brief History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), goes back to René Fülöp-Miller's influential *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism: An Examination of Cultural Life in Soviet Russia* (New York, 1965), originally published in 1927. Fülöp-

age, we see otherwise. The filmmaker Alexander Medvedkin once referred to this age as a galaxy of black stars, with each star measuring only a few cubic inches, but weighing several tons.⁶ One of these stars, he claimed, represented his own life. Whether the Soviet biographical age was unique, as Medvedkin maintained, and how it interacted with other states and their systems of human classification is a question that I will address in the concluding section of this essay.

The contours of the Soviet biographical age became clear to me as I struggled to make sense of a corpus of personal diaries from the Stalin era that I had discovered in Russian archives and private homes over the past decade and a half. The first of these diaries, discovered by chance in an obscure Moscow archive, was an engrossing account penned by Stepan Podlubny, a Ukrainian village youth who, following the denunciation and arrest of his father as a wealthy “class enemy,” fled to Moscow to begin a new life as a good Stalinist worker.⁷ The diary revealed a double life fraught with danger; most remarkably, it documented Stepan’s attempts to remake himself—he seemed to yearn to become the person he impersonated. At the time, his story struck me as exceptional on account of its candor. I also saw much in the story that appeared to have general value: it exemplified the lives of millions of rural laborers who were swept from the vast Soviet land into the cities and onto the sprawling construction sites of the First Five-Year Plan. Podlubny’s account also conflated the views of victim and perpetrator. Fearing that his secret past might be discovered by the Soviet security police (NKVD), he redoubled his efforts to excel as a model Soviet citizen. Ironically, his successes attracted the attention of NKVD officers, who believed that he was a dedicated and reliable young Communist. Asked to help them unmask other class enemies like himself, he dared not say no. In light of the sheer drama of Podlubny’s life story, as well as the many social processes and political tensions that it crystallized, I was initially drawn to writing his biography. Luckily, I was stopped in my tracks. As I discovered other diaries—written by men and women of different backgrounds and ages—I realized that many of them were fueled by the same introspective bent and self-interrogating urge that characterized Podlubny’s diary. “Who am I?” and “How can I change?” were recurrent questions in these texts, regardless of the author’s particular plight. These questions gave the diaries an insistently personal tone, and in some cases they appear to have been what prompted their authors to keep a diary in the first place.⁸

Looking further, I began to see multiple resonances between the theme of self-cultivation in the diaries and the ethos of radical transformation—of social relations, and of human nature as a whole—that was actively promoted by the Communist

Miller was an eyewitness to the Proletkult-inspired collectivist experiments of the Soviet 1920s, many of which were discarded in the early 1930s, as Soviet culture shifted from a de-individualized proletarian man of metal toward exemplary, psychologically defined socialist men and women. On the latter, see Clark, *The Soviet Novel*.

⁶ “In the history of mankind there has never been a generation like ours. To take an example from astronomy, it is like those ‘black stars.’ They measure only a few cubic inches and weigh several tons. One such ‘black hole’ could represent my life.” Alexander Medvedkin in a 1984 interview with Chris Marker; Marker, *The Last Bolshevik* (New York: First Run/Icarus Films, 1993). See also Emma Widdis, *Alexander Medvedkin* (London, 2005).

⁷ Stepan Podlubnyi, *Tagebuch aus Moskau 1931–1939*, trans. and ed. Jochen Hellbeck (Munich, 1996). English and Russian editions of Stepan Podlubny’s diaries are in preparation.

⁸ Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

Party and the Soviet state. This is not to say that the diaries were written on the party's orders or with its distinct approval. The Bolsheviks looked upon the diary at best ambivalently. Some recognized its use as a tool for raising individuals' consciousness, but others believed it to be tainted by its "bourgeois" pedigree, and they feared that authors might become self-absorbed and regress into useless thought (they called it "Hamletism") or an outright counterrevolutionary mindset. All in all, the diary was quite marginal to Communists' concerns, which centered on the spheres of active labor and collective action. Nevertheless, the diarists' fundamental impulse to ponder the meaning and direction of their lives had general value. It responded to a central injunction, relentlessly preached by Soviet activists and implemented by a range of Soviet institutions, to align one's personal existence with the life of the collective, and ultimately to inscribe oneself into the course of history as interpreted by the Communist Party.

The biographical mold was central to the Soviet transformative project. Everyone who applied to become a university student or to work in a government office had to compose and orally recite an "autobiography," a short account in prose of his or her life that listed educational and professional achievements, but at its core focused on the formation of the author's personality as an unfolding subject of revolutionary consciousness. While the themes and emphases in this act of public self-presentation followed established guidelines, the "autobiography" retained an important subjective dimension, because individuals had to convincingly lay out the paths of their journeys toward the Communist light. Often these self-narratives took their point of departure in a state of total darkness, to better highlight both the ensuing conversion toward the Soviet cause and the distance of the route traveled. The degree to which individuals could convey to the audience that they were socialist citizens at heart ultimately decided their fate. Soviet citizens were required to resubmit their "autobiographies" at recurrent intervals throughout their lives. It is therefore safe to assume that most adult Soviet citizens were familiar not only with this genre of self-presentation and its attendant rules, but also with the underlying assumption that their biographies were subject to rewriting, in accordance with the progression of the revolution and the development of their own subjective political consciousness.⁹

At the height of the Stalinist industrialization campaign, Soviet writers, called upon by Stalin to work as "engineers of the soul," invoked biography as the literary medium best suited to convey what they believed was the essence of the Five-Year Plans: the creation of fundamentally new, socialist, men and women. In the early 1930s, a group of literati with Maxim Gorky in their midst produced a multivolume chronicle of Stalinist industrialization. Entitled *History of the Factories*, it was more accurately a "Factory of History," or indeed, a "Factory of the New Man." At its core, the series was a compilation of memoirs of the builders of these factories, produced under the literati's guidance. Each of the memoirs linked the "world historical" construction campaign to the unfolding of the author's own historical self-consciousness.¹⁰ The fascination with biography as the vessel of the new Soviet man also took

⁹ Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul: Communist Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

¹⁰ Katerina Clark, "'The History of the Factories' as a Factory of History: A Case Study on the Role of Soviet Literature in Subject Formation," in Jochen Hellbeck and Klaus Heller, eds., *Autobiographical*

hold of Boris Pasternak, a writer not known for his pro-Communist sympathies. At the Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, Pasternak hailed the people of the incipient socialist age—people “who have torn themselves from the anchors of property and who are soaring freely . . . in the space of the biographically conceivable.”¹¹ Biography—stretched to its heroic limits—was the fitting mold of socialist men and women; it provided the form in which a life was properly represented and understood.

This expansive and heroic understanding of biography generated countless stories of self-made individuals of modest background who realized themselves in a distinctly Soviet mode of *Bildung*, in dialectical interaction with the nurturing collective. Built into these narratives was an insistence on how socialism allowed for the mass flourishing of life trajectories unimaginable in the capitalist West, a contrast that the 1948 autobiography of award-winning tractor driver Pasha Angelina makes very explicit. What prompted her essay, Angelina writes, was a letter from the New York-based *Biographical Encyclopedia of the World*, soliciting the newly elected Supreme Soviet deputy to fill out a biographical questionnaire and join the ranks of “prominent people from all the countries of the world” who were catalogued in the encyclopedia. The questionnaire asked her to provide many personal details, ranging from her place of birth to the beginning of her career, her publications, awards, and honorary titles, but it left out “the most important question: how did I, a simple field laborer, become an important state official and a Supreme Soviet delegate?” Angelina invoked the biographical mode to flag what she regarded as Soviet socialism’s key distinction. In Western magazines, which she admitted to occasionally reading, all one read about were stories of “‘dizzying careers’ and ‘exceptional’ biographies.” This, however, was not the story of her own life. She rose, Angelina emphasized, not “from the people” but “together with the people . . . That is the important thing.”¹²

While promoting self-expression, the Soviet biographical matrix was also at work in the mass destruction of lives in the Soviet Union under Stalin. In the same fashion in which the Communist state sought to determine who among the population was worthy to join the party or hold a state office, it relied on biographical questionnaires and self-narratives to identify its enemies, particularly those who were deemed to possess a developed political consciousness of sorts. (Countless others, especially peasants and nationals from ethnic border regions, were sent to labor camps or executed purely on account of their imputed class or ethnic identity. Rushing to fulfill and over-fulfill purge quotas set from above, their persecutors did not bother to interrogate them at length, or at all.)¹³ Subversive interrogations of Communist “autobiographies” became the centerpiece of party purge rituals in the 1930s, which aimed at exposing hidden enemies within and brought the Bolshevik Party to the

Practices in Russia (Göttingen, 2004), 251–277; Sergei Vladimirovich Zhuravlev, *Fenomen “Istorii fabrik i zavodov”: Gor’kovskoe nachinanie v kontekste epokhi 1930-kh godov* (Moscow, 1997); Omri Ronen, “‘Inzhenery chelovecheskikh dush’: K istorii izrecheniia,” *Lotmanovskii sbornik* 2 (1997): 393–400.

¹¹ *Pervyi vsesoiuznyi s’ezd sovetskikh pisatelei, 1934: Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1934), 549.

¹² Pasha Angelina, “The Most Important Thing,” in Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine, eds., *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 305–307, emphasis in original.

¹³ Mark Iunge and Rol’f Binner, *Kak terror stal “bol’shim”: Sekretnyi prikaz no. 00447 i tekhnologiia ego ispolneniia* (Moscow, 2003).

verge of self-destruction.¹⁴ State prosecutors and NKVD agents read through the confiscated diaries of suspected “enemies of the people,” stringing together all the passages that struck their prosecutorial eyes as suspicious; in this fashion, they recast the personal records of struggling Communists into biographies of inveterate counterrevolutionaries.¹⁵

The twofold thrust of Soviet biography—life-producing as well as annihilating—makes the Soviet state stand out as a variant of biopolitics: a comprehensive system of welfare institutions and tools of violence deployed to improve a regime’s human stock, for the purposes of allowing the state to compete effectively in the international arena. The Soviet variant of this modern form of population politics might properly, if inelegantly, be called biographopolitics, in view of how much the Soviet regime apprehended its human reservoir in distinctly biographical terms.

The story of biography cannot be told entirely in terms of the Communist regime’s efforts to streamline, transform, or destroy people’s lives, however. It is, as Stalin-era diaries make so clear, also a story of how Soviet citizens appropriated the biographical form to fill their lives with orientation, purpose, and power. Many of them, Communists as well as non-Communists, shared a vitalist conviction that the only life worth living was an expressive life in the service of history. They believed that the unfolding Soviet age marked an epochal moment in world history, which called upon them to tap their own heroic potential.¹⁶ Many took exception to Stalin’s repressive policies, but they kept insisting on their biographical vocation nonetheless. This calling is what filmmaker Alexander Medvedkin expressed when he referred to his life as a black star. Hardly noticeable in its physical dimensions—a speck of dust, one of more than 200 million Soviet citizens—this life was regarded as powerful and significant nonetheless, on account of the energy that ensued from its biographical claim. Like Pasha Angelina and other Soviet contemporaries who cast themselves as world historical subjects, Medvedkin was of modest peasant background. Many aspects of the Soviet Marxist myth, so central to their biographical thinking—the myth of a poor, dark, and oppressed class that is liberated and realizes itself in material, intellectual, and aesthetic terms—were empirically borne out in their lives. As young, poor villagers who migrated to the city and obtained higher education, political consciousness, and professional validation, they were living embodiments of a distinctly Soviet dream. Their claim to having found existential fulfillment as Soviet citizens has substance.

Nigel Hamilton, in his recent history of biography, observes that the biographical

¹⁴ Halfin, *Terror in My Soul*; Igal Halfin, *Intimate Enemies: Demonizing the Bolshevik Opposition, 1918–1928* (Pittsburgh, 2007).

¹⁵ See in particular the diary of Olga Bergholz, discussed in Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind*, 105–106; see also Stanislav Konstantinovich Bernev and Sergei Vladimirovich Chernov, comps., *Blokadnye dnevniki i dokumenty* (St. Petersburg, 2007). On the biographical “discovery matrix” of the Soviet state and its productive as well as destructive workings, see Peter Holquist, “State Violence as Technique: The Logic of Violence in Soviet Totalitarianism,” in Amir Weiner, ed., *Landscaping the Human Garden: Twentieth-Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework* (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 43.

¹⁶ With their self-consciously heroic orientation, these Soviet notions of self resembled norms of behavior that circulated throughout interwar Europe. They consisted of a twofold obligation, for a personal worldview and for the individual’s integration into a community. The result was, in the words of Siegfried Kracauer, an “aligned life”—a form of existence that promised authenticity and intense meaning, to be realized in collective acts of fulfilling the laws of history or nature. Kracauer, *Schriften, I: Der Detektiv-Roman. Ein philosophischer Traktat (1922–25)* (Frankfurt a.M., 1971), 109, 111, 118, 129.

genre gained immense traction during World War II and in its immediate aftermath. In the countless war memoirs of generals and soldiers, in the “outpourings of women, blacks, homosexuals, postcolonials, and other hitherto marginalized minorities” that followed in the wake of the war, Hamilton recognizes a spirit of Western democracy that could not be reduced to the “triumph of one man’s will,” but incorporated “millions of *individuals*’ wills.”¹⁷ Hamilton’s portrayal of the war is for the most part reduced to the confrontation between Americans and German Nazis. He glosses over the Soviet war effort, and the Soviet Union figures only as a negative foil in his ultimately questionable notion of “Western” biography (which I will revisit below). But Hamilton’s apt observation on the productive linkage between war and biography could be extended to the Soviet Union as well. The war appears to have further fostered the production of Soviet biographical accounts and conceptions of self. How, exactly, Soviet participants in the war made sense of their lives and how they structured their experience in biographical terms are questions that I am just beginning to explore. I believe they are important, for they shed light on how the biographical matrix brought Soviet soldiers to personalize Communist ideology, and how ultimately it contributed to their mobilization and self-mobilization in combat. Such biographical engagement did not so much create notions of individual freedom, as Hamilton argues, as it bound individuals to the system for which they fought. In the Soviet case, the outcome appears to have been a renewed attachment to socialism, brought about by the “historic” victory over fascism that had become inscribed into one’s personal life, and a substantial readiness to defend socialism in the ensuing Cold War confrontation against the capitalist West.

What is clear is that the Soviet regime continued and extended its prewar monitoring efforts to assess the population in terms of individual life trajectories in the context of total war. Military censors attempted to scan the entire body of personal correspondence circulating in wartime Russia for what it revealed about the correspondents’ “moral personalities.” A person’s moral features were sound if the person showed signs of growth under the impact of the war. By contrast, letters that indicated a person’s moral regression, his or her turn away from the Soviet cause, were repressed, often along with their authors.¹⁸ Inside the Red Army, decorations as well as penal sanctions likewise had a biographical thrust, as they emphasized soldiers’ exemplary or failing personality traits. Writing for the Red Army newspaper, *Red Star*, the writer and critic Ilya Ehrenburg published excerpts from letters and diaries of Red Army soldiers and civilians alike that testified to the growth of their moral “personalities” in response to the challenges of the war. For Ehrenburg and other wartime propagandists, the Soviet-German war amounted to another chapter in the construction of the “New Man” of socialist society.

Significantly, Ehrenburg applied this biographical reading of the war to the enemy as well. Many of his wartime articles and columns were devoted to analyses of the “Diaries of Fritzes and the Letters of Gretchens” that he received from army

¹⁷ Hamilton, *Biography*, 187, emphasis in original.

¹⁸ These censoring activities are well-documented in a recently published collection of previously classified military intelligence materials: *Stalingradskaia epopeia: Vpervye publikuemye dokumenty, rassekrechennnye FSB RF: Vospominaniia fel'dmarshala Pauliusa; Dnevnik i pis'ma soldat RKKA i vermakhta: Agenturnye doneseniia; Protokoly doprosoy; Dokladnye zapiski osobykh otdelov frontov i armii* (Moscow, 2000).

intelligence units at the front, who in turn had retrieved them from captured Germans or the bodies of dead enemy soldiers. Ehrenburg's articles presented an image of Germans as degenerate beings, in the throes of sadism and greed. His explicit aim in publishing these accounts was to dismantle the "pseudo-civilized" facade of German culture. A diary, Ehrenburg believed, produced self-reflection; it indicated a culture of interiority, which should be a sign of a developed moral consciousness. To keep a diary in this true sense meant to scrutinize oneself in a quest for moral self-improvement. And yet, the German soldiers parading on the pages of his newspaper columns engaged in self-reflection without any moral self-scrutiny. They were "worse than wild beasts"—worse because they were modern and in possession of tools that enabled them to engage in self-reflection, and yet they failed to use their capacity of moral reflection and action. "Beasts of prey do not torture for pleasure; they do not keep diaries. One does not hold them responsible for their actions. But it is quite another story when a corporal from Wiesbaden tortures a man and then writes about it in his diary."¹⁹

There was no public figure in wartime Germany who performed the equivalent of Ehrenburg's work, namely, to read and analyze Soviet letters and diaries, and thus to present a comprehensive picture of the enemy's mind and heart. This absence is telling; it expressed the racial presuppositions of the Nazi regime, which found it unnecessary to publicly explore the thinking of the Soviet enemy. This was not an adversary worthy of being understood in intellectual terms, but a subhuman breed. While German wartime media hardly bothered to investigate the narratives of Red Army soldiers, they—the weekly *Wochenschau* film chronicles first and foremost, but newspapers as well—devoted a lot of space to showing the faces of these soldiers. The racially marked physiognomy of the enemy forces contained all there was to read about them.²⁰

As Germans fell into Soviet captivity, the Soviets proceeded to "reeducate" them in accordance with their biographical matrix and its underlying voluntarist designs. These reeducational efforts centered on German officers who were selected to become model citizens of a postwar antifascist Germany, and they later joined the East German political administration. Their biographical experience, widely denounced by defectors and West German observers as an act of totalitarian brainwashing, has barely been analyzed.²¹ Interestingly, and in telling contrast to their West German counterparts, citizens from former East Germany to this day habitually describe their personal life experience in terms of "their biography." Wolfgang Thierse (born 1943), president of the German Parliament between 1998 and 2005, spent most of

¹⁹ Ilya Ehrenburg, *Russia at War* (London, 1943), 221. See also Jochen Hellbeck, "'The Diaries of Fritzes and the Letters of Gretchens': Personal Writings from the German-Soviet War and Their Readers," forthcoming in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*.

²⁰ Ulrike Bartels, *Die Wochenschau im Dritten Reich: Entwicklung und Funktion eines Massenmediums unter besonderer Berücksichtigung völkisch-nationaler Inhalte* (Frankfurt, 2004).

²¹ See, for instance, Egbert von Frankenberg, *Meine Entscheidung* (Berlin, 1963); Otto Rühle, *Gene-sung in Jelabuga: Autobiographischer Bericht* (Berlin, 1968); Ursula Heukenkamp, ed., *Schuld und Sühne? Kriegserlebnis und Kriegsdeutung in deutschen Medien der Nachkriegszeit (1945–1961)* (Amsterdam, 2001). Facsimiles of (auto)biographically conceived essays, poems, plays, and novels on the meaning of the war, written by German POWs in Soviet captivity, are presented in M. M. Zagorul'ko, ed., *Tvorchestvo nemetskikh voennoplennykh o Stalingrade i o sebe (1946–1949): Dokumenty i materialy* (Volgograd, 2006). On Soviet reeducational designs and their impact on returnees to East Germany, see Frank Biess, *Homecomings: Returning POWs and the Legacies of Defeat in Postwar Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 2006).

his adult life under the East German regime. In a speech he gave at the United Nations in April 2002, during a ceremonial donation of segments of the Berlin Wall to the New York sculpture garden of the United Nations, Thierse said: "When the wall was built, I was seventeen years old. When it fell, I was forty-six. The wall has inscribed itself into my biography." In contrast to the normative Soviet "autobiography," Thierse's self-presentation bespoke the conflict and the tensions between historical reality and subjective life experience, but the biographically inflected subjectivity that characterized the Soviet century still resonated in his words.²²

I STARTED OUT BY ARGUING that to generate true historical understanding, a biographical inquiry should reflect on the historically specific cultural norms and institutional practices that map individuals in distinct ways. The Soviet century can be called a biographical age in that the Communist regime centrally relied on a biographical matrix, both to make sense of its subject population and to intervene in and transform people's lives. For Soviet citizens, to have and cultivate a biography was a matter of intense political relevance; how they presented their life data was critical for their standing in Soviet society. Beyond this, Soviet biography could be a source of great personal meaning and power. In inscribing themselves into the Communist drama of human struggle and salvation, individuals could claim for themselves the roles of active participants on a world historical stage.

While providing the mold for Soviet conceptions of selfhood, biography was also at work in how Soviet citizens engaged the outside world. The Soviet-German war was fought in large measure as a clash between two utopian conceptions of self and humanity. Throughout the war, the Soviet regime assessed its own people as well as its adversaries in terms of their moral personalities, and it focused on textual biographical sources that would disclose individuals' dispositions of mind and soul. By contrast, the German side relied on racial conceptions of self and enemy, which stressed the quality of blood as a chief distinguishing feature. A comparison of the different ways in which the two sides assessed soldiers' performance in war can generate important insights into regimes' respective mobilizing resources. How apt was either form of measurement in molding soldiers' "war spirit"; how much could it be individually appropriated; and how much self-mobilization ensued from it? Such a comparison could lead to an investigation of the war experience in which biography would not just figure as an accepted form of historical narration, but turn into a rich problem awaiting investigation.

Throughout the Communist century, and especially during the Cold War, Soviet conceptions of self acquired their contours against the foil of the capitalist West. Sometimes, as in Pasha Angelina's case, this contrast was rendered explicit. In other cases, such as with Alexander Medvedkin, it was present in more implicit fashion.

²² <http://webarchiv.bundestag.de/archive/2005/0825/parlament/praesidium/reden/2002/008.htm>; on the politics of biography in East Germany, see Catherine Epstein, *The Last Revolutionaries: German Communists and Their Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 130–157; see also Lutz Niethammer, Alexander von Plato, and Dorothee Wierling, *Die volkseigene Erfahrung: Eine Archäologie des Lebens in der Industrieprovinz der DDR. 30 biografische Eröffnungen* (Berlin, 1991); Thomas Lindenberger, "Kultur, Biographie und die Erfindung des Ostdeutschen: Einwände aus sozialhistorischer Sicht," *Potsdamer Bulletin für zeithistorische Studien* 18–19 (2000): 22–32.

After all, Medvedkin made his point about the black star in a conversation with a Western colleague, the French filmmaker Chris Marker. Both Angelina and Medvedkin understood their Soviet biography as normative, and they established that norm in contrast to the capitalist West, which in their view amounted to an overall non-biographical system—one that only allowed a few exceptional people to shine, at the expense of a vast majority of silenced subjects. In turn, Western conceptions of biography have often been forged in dialogue with Soviet communism. Nigel Hamilton's assertion that "the pursuit of biography . . . is integral to the Western concept of individuality and the ideals of democracy, as opposed to dictatorship or tyranny," elevates liberal selfhood and the biographical mode that it generates to a universal norm, while indicting Soviet notions of self as "totalitarian" and faceless.²³

A more dispassionate comparative analysis of biography in the context of the Cold War would show how much the regimes on both sides of the divide were invested in the production of normative human biographies. One's notion of biography was built on shared self-expression, the other's on individualism as its central ideological motif and animating force. Both the Soviet Communist system and its liberal capitalist antipode were equally steeped in the age of modern mass democracy. Both systems appealed to the individual as their central animating and legitimating agent, and for that reason biography, as a vessel to articulate individual agency, mattered greatly to them. Thus the focus on biography in the modern age brings into view a dialogue, often pursued as a competition, between different assumptions about humanity and the self, different norms of individual behavior, and different techniques to chart individuals' lives. Embedded in these larger schemes, there are riveting biographical accounts, quintessential stories of the twentieth century, waiting to be told.

²³ Hamilton, *Biography*, 2.

Jochen Hellbeck is Associate Professor of History at Rutgers University. He is the author of *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Harvard University Press, 2006). He is currently working on a comparative study of how German and Soviet soldiers experienced the Battle of Stalingrad.

AHR Roundtable

Why Biography?

ALICE KESSLER-HARRIS

FOR YEARS I RESISTED THE NOTION that an individual life could speak to the larger historical processes I was interested in exploring. Biography, I told myself, is closer to fiction than to history. It is, as the literary critic Catherine Parke points out, located right next to fiction on library shelves and in the public's imagination.¹ The life of an individual might instruct and entertain, I thought, but even at its best, it couldn't tell us as much as we might learn if we explored the issues with which that individual was involved. Even feminist biographies, those that attended to "the facts of both the individual life and the condition of women in history," tended to employ history as background illumination.² I think now that I was wrong—perhaps not about the way many biographies are written, but about what a historian can bring to biography.

The doubts first began to creep into my head when I read Virginia Woolf's essay "The Art of Biography." As an art, Woolf tells us, biography is built on the author's imagination. But unlike fiction, she adds, "biography resides in facts and is bound by them," so it is "the most restricted of all the arts."³ Woolf found this distinction between the work of the novelist and that of the biographer her major challenge. "How can one cut loose from facts," she wrote in her diary while she was working on her own biography of Roger Fry, "when there they are contradicting my theories."⁴ Fiction, Woolf averred, "is created without any restrictions save those that the artist . . . chooses to obey." But a biography's authenticity "lies in the truth of the author's vision." This "very cruel distinction," thought Woolf, consigned the biographer to the role of a craftsman rather than that of an artist.⁵

The tension between the play of facts and the search for truth is familiar to every historian: our bread and butter consists of the hunt for new and illuminating "facts." Insofar as we imagine history to be a social science, the facts are our data. But our art rests on our interpretive skills, on the elegance with which we weave both new and old facts into persuasive arguments. If these arguments help to alter the per-

This essay is offered, with humble apologies, to Judith Babbitts, whom I once discouraged from writing what might have been a great biography. I extend grateful thanks to Susan Ware, Nancy Chodorow, Nancy Cott, the Schlesinger Library, and the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study for their important roles in my thinking on this topic.

¹ Catherine Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives* (New York, 1996), xv.

² *Ibid.*, 90.

³ Virginia Woolf, *Collected Essays* (1925; repr., New York, 1967), 221.

⁴ Leonard Woolf, ed., *A Writer's Diary: Being Extracts from the Diary of Virginia Woolf* (New York, 1973), 281.

⁵ Woolf, *Collected Essays*, 221, 225, 221.

ceptions of our readers about the world we live in, so much the better. Unlike the novelist-turned-biographer, the historian rarely sees facts as challenges to be surmounted. Rather, we tend to view them as the material from which we craft our stories; the building blocks of explanation; grist for our mills. We argue over what constitutes an appropriate or usable fact, but not over whether we need them.

Suppose, then, that we imagined the life of an individual, not as a subject to be studied for its own sake, but as evidence that could provide a different path into the past. Suppose that we could, as the great British historian E. P. Thompson suggested in his introduction to a biography of William Blake, take as our task that of “placing” the individual whom we wish to study. Our effort would then lead us to search for what Thompson calls “the nodal points of conflict”: the tensions between our subject and the social/political world, the world of ideas that he or she encountered. Our object, as Thompson so succinctly put it, would be to explore “the way his mind meets the world.”⁶ The individual then turns into a “fact”—more complicated than most, but capable of illuminating the past in new and exciting ways.

I’ve been enticed to think this way partly by recent forms of historical analysis that have privileged subjective viewpoints, rendered experience an object of exploration, and turned the collective memories of individuals into historical sources. Like many others of my generation, as I’ve come to terms with the limits of what we used to call “objective” standpoints and begun to interrogate the perspectives from which our subjects speak and write, I’ve paid increasing attention to the importance of the individual actor—not for what he or she may have done, but for what his or her thoughts, language, and contests with the world reveal. Like many historians, I am skeptical about whether there is a “truth” to be found in the past, but I resist the notion that we are therefore engaged in our own form of fiction writing. Virginia Woolf put it this way: the biographer’s facts, she writes, “are not like the facts of science—once they are discovered, always the same. They are subject to changes of opinion; opinions change as the times change . . . thus the biographer must go ahead of the rest of us, like the miner’s canary, testing the atmosphere, detecting falsity, unreality, and the presence of obsolete conventions. His sense of truth must be alive and on tiptoe.”⁷

In this spirit, I want to invert the questions that biographers typically ask. I imagine myself writing something perhaps better called an anti-biography, or, in the jargon of the day, “biography not.” My object is less an examination of the internal tensions and contradictions (those are my “facts”) that produced the experiences of a relatively public person than it is an exploration of what those experiences can tell us about the American past. Rather than offering history as background, or introducing it in order to locate an individual in time, I want to ask how the individual life helps us to make sense of a piece of the historical process. I want to see through the life. My claim is grandiose: I think an individual life might help us to see not only into particular events but into the larger cultural and social and even political processes of a moment in time.

For these purposes, Lillian Hellman is an astonishingly good subject. I am often asked why I didn’t choose to write about Frances Perkins or some other visible public

⁶ E. P. Thompson, *Witness against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (New York, 1993), xii, xix.

⁷ Woolf, *Collected Essays*, 226.

figure who made a difference in the working-class arenas I've spent most of my life studying. Had I done that, perhaps I would now be exploring a different slice of the past. But it is, I think, precisely because Hellman remained in such constant and lively dialogue with several of the key social and political currents of her day that I find her life intriguing. She offers access to four arenas that are central to understanding the direction of twentieth-century American society: the revolutionary transformation of sexual life and gender roles; the swirling political currents produced by the challenge of socialism and communism and the tensions of the Cold War; the fluctuating and contested nature of identity and its political uses; and the impact of a newly vibrant culture of celebrity.

As I research and write, as I recuperate Hellman's past, I find myself drawn into the conflicts and the resonances around which she wove her life. I am struck by the dissonance within her daily life (loud, self-promoting) and its contrasts with her articulated view of herself (southern, family-centered, loyal). I wonder at the conflicts generated by a frequently reaffirmed worldview that claimed social justice as its primary goal, and public perceptions of those claims as self-serving and tendentious. As I seek to identify the traditions within which Hellman operated—to revisit pieces of that tradition that are already evident—I find myself exploring how much of the tradition remained invisible, not just to Hellman's friends and foes, but to Hellman herself. I am drawn to the complicated role that sensibility, emotion, and feeling played in her life, not so much as evidence of her internality as in constructing social behavior and in fostering political commitments. Through Hellman, I think I understand a little more fully the politics of the 1950s and after, and perhaps something of their larger role in shaping the worldviews of ordinary citizens and intellectuals alike. My questions rotate not so much around whether, and how, angry she was, or how alternately courageous and fearful, as around how others interpreted her anger, named it, and used it for political purposes. Looking through Hellman, I believe I can see something of the ideological forces that shaped the stance of Cold War America, and of the tensions that circumscribed our domestic and foreign agenda during her lifetime and after. Though I don't want to bypass the difficult questions posed by the structure and character of Lillian Hellman's controversial persona, I try to focus on its capacity to tell us something of how it was shaped in dialogue with a social and cultural and political milieu of which she was an active part.

I chose Hellman, then, precisely because she seemed to me such a replete subject. Gone now for nearly a quarter of a century, Hellman still exerts a powerful sway: few of those who remember her do so neutrally. She remains the object of a remarkably resonant anger, amounting sometimes to venomous hatred. How was it that this small woman could loom so large in the American imagination? Why have successive generations of Americans responded to her with such passion; why was she perceived as so fundamentally, so *deeply* ugly? Playwright, memoirist, politically engaged activist, friend, and lover, she evoked controversy in all these incarnations. She has been the subject of several conventional biographies and of much literary analysis, which together have exposed both the flaws in her character and its multiple attractions.⁸ I welcome these as releasing me from the obligation to reconstruct what

⁸ The best of these are Carl Rollyson, *Lillian Hellman: Her Legend and Her Legacy* (New York, 1988), and Deborah Martinson, *Lillian Hellman: A Life with Foxes and Scoundrels* (New York, 2006).

we already know about her birth, her family, and the outlines of her life. For, as I discovered with mounting excitement when I started to rummage about in her life, the Hellman who touched on some of the most important elements of twentieth-century American thought and behavior remains a mystery. My task, then, as a historian is to examine the explicit and implicit contradictions and tensions that permeated her life and underscored some of the most pervasive fault lines of twentieth-century American culture. These contradictions turned her into an object of public scrutiny, the subject, alternately, of public loathing and of admiration. Not many people have attracted such conflicting firestorms of emotion: of love and revulsion; of admiration and contempt; of anger and even of fear. If we could understand something of the currents of emotion that she regularly produced, we could, I thought, understand something of the American twentieth century.

These issues haunted me as I researched and began to write this comment. Perhaps one extended example—her position as a woman and as a feminist—will illustrate what I mean by this.

Arguably, there is nothing more important in the social history of twentieth-century America than the transformation in what we used to call family life. Partially fueled by changing patterns of consumption and production, the change is marked by the continuing struggle of women to live economically independent lives, and the profound alteration of gendered relationships and sexual behavior that has been both its cause and its product.

In some ways, Hellman's life exemplifies this transformation. Born in New Orleans in 1905, she grew up mostly in New York City, although she spent some months of every year in the South and retained strong ties with her relatives there. She attended college briefly, and in 1924 went to work for a couple of years at an avant-garde publishing house, where she enjoyed living the life of a quintessential flapper. She married at age twenty, left her husband when she was twenty-five, and embarked then on what was to become a complicated and long-lasting relationship with mystery writer Dashiell Hammett. They lived a bi-coastal life in Hollywood and New York, each occasionally taking other partners (Lillian more seriously than Dash). Always they remained committed to each other. Lillian's career as a playwright flourished. She achieved fortune and earned celebrity status as a result of her politically and emotionally charged movie screenplays and her work in the theater. Devastated by the McCarthyist furor of the 1950s, she rapidly rebuilt her reputation, reemerging in the 1970s with a series of three memoirs that led a younger generation of second-wave feminists to idolize her, and a newly resurgent conservative movement to hate her. She died in 1984, blind, almost bedridden, and defending herself against accusations of lying.

In many ways, this story tracks the emergence of women from the private into the public sphere. And yet a closer examination reveals some of the ways that a new culture of modernity provided mixed messages to its female population. Like other members of the generation of women who came of age too late to join the first wave of feminists, Hellman seized the opportunities suggested in the years during and after World War I. In this new world, women who wished to do so could take sexual freedom and autonomy for granted. Hellman could and did claim the sexual prerogatives commonly associated with men: initiating and ending sexual liaisons at her

pleasure; retaining a relationship with Hammett as primary but not exclusive. She also smoked, swore, and cursed with abandon, spoke loudly and aggressively, and demanded loyalty above all else. In none of these ways was Lillian Hellman unusual, but her stubborn refusal to change as times changed set her apart.

The sexual freedom that seemed so admirable to many in the 1920s would in the Depression of the 1930s become less comfortable. By the 1940s, it was downright unpatriotic. If some members of her rebellious generation, catching the shift in the times, or growing just a bit older, settled into marriages—even into successive marriages—Hellman refused to change. And in remaining true to herself, she challenged cultural norms. As she grew older and maintained her sexual persona, commanded the attention of young men, and occasionally swam naked at the Martha's Vineyard beach near her house, admiration changed to ridicule, even revulsion. Once again, the times shifted in the 1960s: a younger generation of women seeking what was then called sexual liberation turned to her emerging memoirs to find an example of a life lived to its own tune. Hellman's insistence on remaining true to her own code of morality once again drew admiration and respect. Hellman, however, had not changed. The times had.

In her lifetime, Hellman did everything demanded of a man and more. She achieved success on male terms, in a male arena, by force of hard work and talent. She wrote film scripts that have led to classic movies, and plays that became Broadway hits. Her work spoke to some of the most pressing themes of the 1930s and 1940s, including class and money, family unity, and political commitment. Some have lasting resonance and are still regularly performed. Hellman turned these achievements, and those of Hammett after he died, into a financially secure and stable life. By paying close attention to the business aspects of her achievements, she managed to provide a comfortable lifestyle for herself for pretty much all of her adult life. She bought and sold property, managed her investments, and sustained Hammett financially when he could no longer support himself.

But accomplishments that in a male might have been seen as commendable fueled negative views of a woman. Despite a private and public record of generosity to good causes and friends down on their luck, Hellman's image is hardly one of warmth and generosity. Rather, she was commonly perceived as overly concerned with business details, watching her pennies, and pleading poverty. She was also, and perhaps ironically, critiqued for living luxuriously, wearing designer dresses, sporting fashionable hats, and modeling mink coats. By the 1970s, late in her life, the adjectives most often used to describe her (many of which still resonate) included a range that have far greater negative inflection when applied to women than when applied to men. In the popular imagination, she was greedy, selfish, impatient, determined, demanding, loud, and abrasive. Undoubtedly she was all of these, and I could, as a biographer, choose to defend her by citing the positive adjectives that also defined her personality. According to her friends, she was, after all, charming, warm, caring, loyal, generous, and above all funny. Why, then, do the negatives so insistently outweigh the positives? What chord did she touch that led so many (even among some of her friends) to identify her in such deprecating ways? What led some to walk away from her gravesite believing that once she was dead, they could and should distance themselves from her?

As historians, we know that the emotional truth in any history (much less in a biography) derives from the present day, so we are led to suspect that the record of judgment against Hellman (true or untrue) suggests something of the social meaning of a woman's success story, even in the enlightened twentieth century. When do these adjectives emerge? To what undercurrents do they speak? How widely are they used by women as well as against other women? Are we here experiencing the special venom directed at successful women, or is something else going on? Surely some of the explanation for Hellman's continuing hold on the American imagination lies in the details of her own life. Why did she not bow to social pressure, grow old gracefully, alter her behavior to conform to an acceptable public morality?

Was her judgment of others so pitiless, her character so stubborn, as to explain a constant and continuing stream of attacks? Or are we called, as historians, to watch how an unfolding life is called to account in different ways as the social climate changes and the political tides turn? I believe that we will learn something if we watch the weather change, the value systems shift, the storm descend and retreat: as we observe the engaged life struggle to maintain its balance.

I am not foolish enough to believe that all of the controversy in Hellman's life can be attributed to her female sex and the ways that her life violated commonly accepted gender boundaries. In her case, her politics, her occupation, her southern roots—all of these and more demand investigation. In Hellman's case, too, the life fosters engagement with a nexus of concerns that include the uses of memory, the meaning of lies, the function of identity, the contradictions of left-wing politics, the dimensions of women's freedom, and the culture of gender. I flatter myself that even though Hellman resisted the idea of biography, she would not have disliked this one. She once refused to cooperate with a well-known publisher who wanted to write a biography of her friend Dorothy Parker. "I'm not sure," she wrote, "that anybody's life shows us much about their work. What difference can it make in the end? Most of us live a life of accidents, anyway. It's all a form of gossip columns. A sort of modern racket."⁹

But what if the subject of biography illuminates more than the personal? What if the historian's biography can successfully see through the life—revealing how the tensions in the life emerge from historical circumstance and speak to the historical process? Such a biography might not satisfy Virginia Woolf's desire to write unconstrained by the facts, but it would surely teach us something about the political and social conflicts that shaped the American past.

⁹ Lillian Hellman to William Maxwell, 1971, Folder 5, Box 45, Lillian Hellman Collection, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

Alice Kessler-Harris teaches in the Department of History and the Institute for Research on Women and Gender at Columbia University. She is the author, most recently, of *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and *Gendering Labor History* (University of Illinois Press, 2007). Her current project is a biographical study of Lillian Hellman.

AHR Roundtable
Scene-Setting: Writing Biography in Chinese History

SUSAN MANN

FOR A HISTORIAN IN THE CHINA FIELD, writing biography is a “natural.” Life stories dominated imperial China’s major historical works. The Chinese imperial elite was obsessed with remembering and recording lives: male and female, elite and commoner. These life stories were supposed to convey history’s great moral lessons. The historian’s job was to make sure the lessons were crystal-clear, and so most biographies were recorded in dramatic scenes, sparked with verbatim dialogue. It is impossible, as a historian working today, to resist the appeal of these stories. Their wit, empathy, and verisimilitude convey so much about individual character that, however idealized or one-sided a life story may be, the reader feels that on some level he has come to know that person. When in a recent research project I decided to set scenes as a way to organize my own biographical account of three generations of women in a nineteenth-century Chinese family, the results gave me unexpected insight into the explanatory power of this Chinese narrative strategy.

IF YOU SET OUT TO ACQUAINT YOURSELF with Chinese historiography, one of the first things you will learn is that biography was central to the writing of good history.¹ Famous men constantly referred to the lives of mentors, teachers, friends, relatives, or sages (long dead) who had guided their own decisions and inspired their personal visions. “Those above” were reared to believe that they were responsible, moreover, for “those below,” meaning that if the masses rebelled, it was the elite’s own fault. So every member of China’s late imperial elite was, on the one hand, conscious of models to whom he was indebted and, on the other hand, aware that he himself was a model for others. One of the best ways to understand the history of any particular time or place, therefore, was simply to read non-stop through the lists of biographies in whatever the relevant history was: of a dynasty, or a county, or a province, or a monastery. Whole groups of people, moreover, especially a category designated “female,” or “women,” were understood through collected lives, starting with the famous *Biographies of Exemplary Women* by the Han historian Liu Xiang, and con-

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¹ See Denis Twitchett, “Problems of Chinese Biography,” in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford, Calif., 1962), 32–33; also D. C. Twitchett, “Chinese Biographical Writing,” in W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank, eds., *Historians of China and Japan* (London, 1961), 95–114.

tinuing right up until the present.² As Arthur Wright once put it, Confucianists tended to be skeptical of abstract ethical theory. They preferred instead—like Jesus and other great teachers in Western cultural traditions—“to teach by parable and example and, in this process, to make intensive use of . . . exemplary figures of the past.”³

Not surprisingly, China historians writing in English have always loved biography, even while biography as a genre has gone in and out of fashion in other fields. From dissertations to bestsellers, biographies of individuals have been among the most influential scholarly works in Chinese history, and the field’s best prose stylists—particularly Jonathan Spence—have produced some of their best work as biography. Landmark biographies written in English by historians of China include—to name only a few—Spence’s many biographies, among which my personal favorite is his life of the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, Hong Xiuquan; William T. Rowe’s monumental biography of the statesman Chen Hongmou; Willard Peterson’s beautiful reconstruction of Fang Yizhi’s life and times; and R. Keith Schoppa’s richly imagined life and death of the revolutionary Shen Dingyi.⁴ Even this short list serves to dramatize the broad and enduring appeal of biography to China historians. That these biographical subjects have been men, not women, may be partly explained by the relatively late development of research on women’s history in the China field, and by the belated discovery of the value of poetry as a biographical source, at least for the lives of elite women.⁵

NOT ONLY IS THE GENRE OF BIOGRAPHY perfectly compatible with Chinese approaches to historical writing, but sources in classical Chinese also lend themselves perfectly to use by the biographer. The writings, travels, achievements, and networks of elite men were scrupulously chronicled in year-by-year accounts called *nianpu*, usually written by disciples or students. Family members or close friends faithfully (or flatteringly) recorded the virtues and achievements of their deceased loved ones. Formal epitaphs commissioned for publication in official histories, and eulogies prepared for carving on stone at the gravesite, added ballast to the more anecdotal material in intimates’ accounts. In addition, prefaces to an individual’s collected works, published posthumously, often included detailed sketches of moments in the life of the author, calling vividly to mind the personality and the social milieu in which he or she had lived.

² For an overview, see Sherry J. Mou, *Gentlemen’s Prescriptions for Women’s Lives: A Thousand Years of Biographies of Chinese Women* (Armonk, N.Y., 2004).

³ Arthur F. Wright, “Values, Roles, and Personalities,” in Wright and Twitchett, *Confucian Personalities*, 9.

⁴ Jonathan D. Spence, *God’s Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York, 1996); William T. Rowe, *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 2001); Willard J. Peterson, *Bitter Gourd: Fang I-chih and the Impetus for Intellectual Change* (New Haven, Conn., 1979); R. Keith Schoppa, *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995).

⁵ Scholars of literature, rather than history, have produced the leading work on the lives of individual women, usually as collective biography or prosopography. See Grace S. Fong, *Herself an Author: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, 2008), and Nanxiu Qian’s forthcoming life of the late Qing woman writer Xue Shaohui (1866–1922).

The standard for Chinese biography was set by the Grand Historian Sima Qian (ca. 145–86 B.C.E.), who used scenes to tell lives. In his *Historical Records* (*Shi ji*), as Burton Watson once remarked, the past becomes “a series of dramatic episodes in which, instead of describing the action, the historian makes his characters speak aloud.”⁶ Sima Qian offered his own comments on the stories he told, but he relegated those to a note at the end of each narrative, which he carefully marked off with the byline “The historian says . . .” His goal was a well-told tale that would illustrate basic human principles of right and wrong, praise and blame.⁷ In this respect, the Chinese biographer had to be something of a dramatist. Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801), the eminent philosopher of history, returned constantly to this issue when he railed against stereotype and convention in the biographical writings of his own day. In recording events, he conceded, absolute accuracy was essential, but describing historical figures themselves demanded inventiveness: “In regard to the method of recording speech,” he wrote to a friend, “the [historian] must convey what was in the speaker’s mind at the time, even if it requires adding a thousand words.”⁸

If biography was the perfect medium for conveying vivid historical lessons in imperial China, it was also the perfect vehicle for connecting past and present. Patrilineal lines of descent tracked historical continuity and rupture, and genealogical records demanded biographical accounting. Every educated person died with the expectation that a son or a friend of the family would compose a *muzhiming* (epitaph), or a less formal biographical sketch that could serve as the basis for a *muzhiming* when the appropriate author could be found. Epitaphs for the dead were interred along with the coffin, but they were also copied into dynastic and local histories, preserved in family literary collections, and excerpted in genealogies.⁹ Among these are hundreds of thousands of eulogies and epitaphs for women as well as men: mothers, wives, widows, “faithful maidens,” suicidal martyrs, and so forth. In the urban print culture of the late seventeenth century, these short biographies became vogueish among local historians as well as family chroniclers, and the numbers of women’s biographies exploded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Biographies of commoner women, if somewhat truncated in form, are well represented, mainly to serve as a chastening example for their betters, especially elite men.

In late imperial times, biographical vignettes from the historical record made their way into opera scenes and illustrated books. Especially popular among the audience of male and female readers in the eighteenth century were collections of illustrated vignettes about famous “beautiful women” and illustrated popular reprints of a Han dynasty classic collection of biographies of exemplary women, a

⁶ Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Historian: Chapters from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (New York, 1969), 4–5. As Watson remarks, reading this kind of history is like “reading a novel.”

⁷ Viewers of the Zhang Yimou film *The Assassin*, based on one of Sima Qian’s most famous biographies, will appreciate how readily his stories lend themselves to film scripting.

⁸ Cited and translated in Sheldon H. Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 77 (translation slightly adapted). For the original text, see Zhang Xuecheng, *Zhangshi yishu* (*The Surviving Works of Master Zhang*), ed. Liu Chenggan (Jiayetang edition, 1922), 14/25a–b. According to David Nivison, Zhang was also critical of scholars who abused this writerly license. See Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738–1801)* (Stanford, Calif., 1966), 250.

⁹ See Beverly Bossler, “Funerary Writings by Chen Liang (1143–1194),” in Susan Mann and Yu-Yin Cheng, eds., *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Women in Chinese History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 71–82.



FIGURE 1: Yu Ji slits her throat. From Lu Wenchao, *Lidai mingyuan tushuo* (Illustrated Stories of Notable Ladies through the Ages), preface dated 1779, shang: 20b.

sampling of which appear below. Both, through short poems and rudimentary images, dramatized a certain quintessential principle or archetypal quality in the life of a highly individualized and intimately portrayed woman. In that sense, they were classic examples of Chinese narrative style.¹⁰ Stories about the lives of the virtuous and beautiful illustrate the moral standards to which women were held, absolute fidelity unto death being the most important. Fidelity in late imperial discourse meant fidelity to spouse, but the principle was dramatized and romanticized in stories of famous female lovers. For example, the story of the heroic Han general Xiang Yu's consort Yu, based on Sima Qian's vivid biography of the general, was captured in a scene in a woodblock illustration that shows her reaching for a sword. That scene tells readers that they are watching the last of the final fatal moments when Xiang Yu, facing certain defeat and death, turns to his consort in a tent surrounded by the enemy, and commands her to dance. While she dances, he watches and sings a mournful song, ending with these words: "Yu, O Yu, what is to become of you?" Yu stops dancing, sings back to him, and slits her throat.¹¹ (See Figure 1.)

The faithful woman who is constant unto death need not be a noblewoman; even

¹⁰ Literary critics have shown how narration constructs the grand archetypes organizing virtually all of Chinese classical writing, such that the plots of small narratives illustrate the grand principles, and the grand principles are imagined by recourse to the lives of individuals who have played them out. See, e.g., Andrew H. Plaks, "Towards a Critical Theory of Chinese Narrative," in Plaks, ed., *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 309–352.

¹¹ For her biography with translation from original sources, see Barbara Bennett Peterson, ed., *No-*



FIGURE 2: Lü Zhu flings herself from the balcony. From Lu Wenchao, *Lidai mingyuan tushuo* (Illustrated Stories of Notable Ladies through the Ages), preface dated 1779, *shang*: 32a.

courtesans could have a sense of honor that put men to shame. In the complicated tale of Liang Lü Zhu (the Lady of the Green Pearl), a beautiful and talented dancer becomes the subject of rivalry between her abusive master and a murderous prince who sought her for his own. When she spurns the prince, he takes revenge by accusing her master of a capital crime and condemning the man to death. Lü Zhu, reviled by her master on his way to the gallows, flings herself from a balcony, crying: “It is I who should die in your stead!”¹² (See Figure 2.)

Women as martyrs are a big theme in Chinese biography, and death scenes are always the centerpiece of their stories. A famous example from Liu Xiang’s collection, which was actually ridiculed as “virtue taken to extremes” by some later commentators, is the following (slightly abridged) story of “The ‘Chaste and Obedient’ Zhao Zhen Jiang of Chu”:

Zhen Jiang was the daughter of the Marquis of Qi and the wife of King Zhao of Chu. While King Zhao was away, a flood sent water rising around her palace. The king sent his retainer back to rescue her, but in his haste forgot to give the retainer the seals of office. The queen

table *Women of China* (Armonk, N.Y., 2000), 49–50. For the translation of the original passage from Xiang Yu’s biography in *Shi ji*, see Watson, *Records of the Historian*, 100–101.

¹² An illustrated book of “beautiful women” presents an aestheticized version of Lü Zhu’s and other stories of famous women, omitting the death scene and celebrating her talent instead. See Yan Xiyuan, comp., *Baimei xinyong tuzhuan* (Illustrated Life Stories of One Hundred Beauties, Embellished with New Poems), first preface dated 1790 (repr., Beijing, 1908; facsimile edition, Beijing, 1998), no. 88.

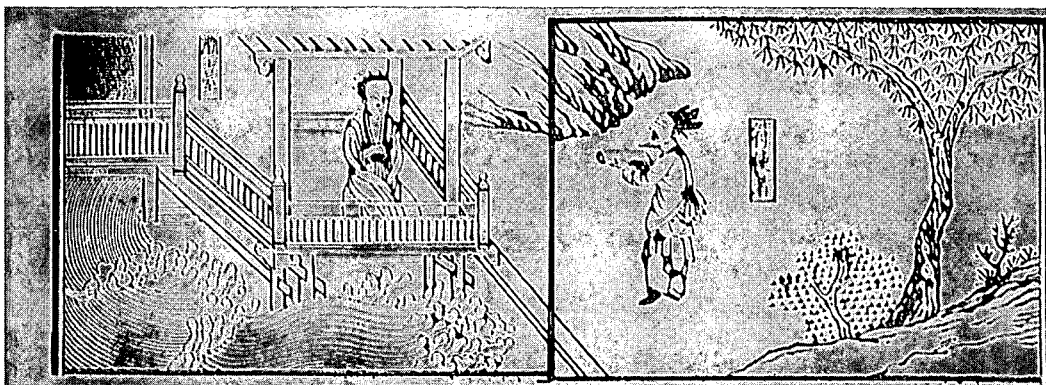


FIGURE 3: The “Chaste and Obedient” Zhao Zhen Jiang of Chu preparing to drown. From Liu Xiang, ca. 32 B.C.E., *Lienü zhuan* (*Biographies of Exemplary Women*), reprint of Song edition of 1214 (1824), 4/ 9a.

refused to go with the retainer because, lacking proof of the king’s seals, she could not trust him. She drowned.

The illustrated version of her story shows Zhen Jiang elaborating: “The king and his lady have made a vow. If he has charged you with fetching me, you must have his seal; yet now you do not carry it, and this humble woman dares not follow you away.” The retainer replies (urgently): “The waters are about to flood; if I go back to get the seals, I fear it will be too late.” The queen responds: “This humble woman understands that it is the duty of a pure woman never to betray a vow and always to be fearless in the face of death, guarding her chastity to the end. This humble woman knows that if I go with you, I will live, if I stay, I will die, but it is better to remain here and die than to abandon my vow [of chastity].”¹³ (See Figure 3.)

Domestic scenes involving genteel women of the governing class often featured widow suicide. Consider this memoir of the widowed mother of Zhang Huiyan, a mid-Qing intellectual:

I recall that when I was five, my mother wept constantly for nearly a month. Then suddenly one day she lay down and was very still. I was playing at the foot of her bed, and I remember thinking that she must have cried herself to sleep. In a little while my grandmother came, and only then did I realize that she had tried to strangle herself with her sash. Fortunately, they were able to revive her.¹⁴

Fortunately, indeed. Thanks to his mother, Zhang Huiyan—who became a brilliant polymath—received early schooling through a family connection in a nearby town. His vivid memories of his long-suffering mother are captured in other scenes, including one recalling a visit home after his first month of study. He was so eager to get there that he did not stop to eat dinner, and he went to bed so hungry that the next morning he was too weak to get out of bed. His mother set him straight:

¹³ For the original story, see Liu Xiang, *Gu lienü zhuan* (*The Original Biographies of Exemplary Women*), *juan* 5, no. 10. For an English translation, see Rev. Alfred R. O’Hara, *The Position of Woman in Early China According to the Lienü Chuan*, “*The Biographies of Eminent Chinese Women*” (Washington, D.C., 1945), 117–118.

¹⁴ Zhang Huiyan, *Mingke wen er bian* (*Collected Prose, Second Volume*; printed 1869), *xia*: 25a–b.

My mother regarded me scornfully and said: "How pitiful that you are so unaccustomed to going hungry! This is how your sister and brother and I feel all the time!" At this I burst into tears, and my mother began weeping too.¹⁵

Direct quotations make better scenes, as Zhang Huiyan—a master of the memoir—knew too well. In another classic memoir, this time for his paternal grandmother (the mother-in-law in the story of the suicide attempt above), Zhang Huiyan describes her poverty after her husband's death and then, to show her character, sets a scene where a well-meaning friend offers advice on rearing her sons for practical careers in trade or some other economically secure position. This is her reply: "For five generations before my father-in-law, this family was a family of scholars. My own husband continued that tradition. If I permit my own sons to end it, I will betray my father-in-law's dying wish!" (The scene with the dying wish is duly supplied in the same verbatim detail.)¹⁶

POSTMODERN THEORY AND CRITICISM have forced contemporary historians to question the presumptions of recording lives. Self-fashioning, multiple identities, shifting subjectivities—the instability and elusiveness of the biographical subject—have changed the biographer's agenda. The historian is no longer expected to chronicle a *life*, but rather to interpret a *performance*. Fascination with performance has heightened as studies of gender identity and sexuality reveal individuals consciously transgressing cultural norms, or physically changing their bodies to embrace new cultural roles. All of the female subjects in Jo Burr Margadant's collection of "new" biographies must perform creatively and selectively as they move from domestic space into public politics: they are breaking old molds and making new ones. Their biographers respond accordingly.¹⁷ Ironically, Chinese biographical conventions pose no difficulty for those of us who are interested in role performance. Performance of roles, indeed, was *all* that Chinese biographers cared about. They were singularly uninterested in selfhood or individual identities, and they had little patience with the notion that selves and identities could shift in any meaningful way. In Chinese philosophical and literary thought, what a person *did* was what a person *was*; action and knowledge were the same thing.

Recently, in writing a series of biographical stories about women from three different generations of a nineteenth-century Chinese family, I thought that their own memoirs would suffice for the material I needed.¹⁸ By immersing myself in the family's writings, I got some fine character sketches. Then I constructed a chronology of their complicated lives. But how to convey to my own readers the sense of intimacy and individual character that a good Chinese biography requires? I decided to follow the lead of Chinese historians and set my characters in scenes.¹⁹ The scenes had to be invented. I rarely knew the words my subjects spoke. But I had plenty of raw

¹⁵ Ibid., 24a.

¹⁶ Ibid., 22b.

¹⁷ Jo Burr Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000).

¹⁸ Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley, Calif., 2007).

¹⁹ With coaching from writer Eric Vitiello, to whom I am indebted.

material to make scenes not only plausible but historically accurate. For example, I had several colophons written on a painting that was important to the family's history. I knew the painter's name and family background; I knew the approximate time and occasion for the painting; and I had a short biographical sketch of every woman who composed a colophon. From there, it was a relatively simple thing to set the scene where the family members present posed for the painting. But then I had to set another scene in which the one absent sister (who is *not* in the painting) composes her own colophon. The scene required that she open a letter from her brother imploring her to send her colophon by mail from her marital residence far away in the capital, so that it could be copied onto the painting along with others composed by her sisters, whose life together in her natal home the painting celebrated. These two scenes revealed siblings wrenched apart, and cast the tone of the various sisters' colophons in completely different registers. Resentment, jealousy, loneliness, insensitivity, and pride suddenly leapt onto the page and into my scene, where just moments earlier a young matron holding a calligraphy brush had been sitting in placid repose.

Oh, good, I thought, let's try this some more. I had in my documents a much-copied description of the poetic talents of each one of the four Zhang sisters, a conventional puff written for some polite occasion by a close family friend. But setting a scene in which each sister in turn showed this family friend a poem she had written suddenly brought me up short. I imagined four daughters, each learning to write in turn, each joining family poetry competitions, each appearing on command to recite for her father's visiting friends on special occasions, each aware that "drafts" of poems would be saved for eventual printing and circulation. My sources *never* hinted that these sisters were party to a competition. When they wrote, and when they were written about, I heard only loving, appreciative, and sentimental thoughts. Plainly, however, young women like these, in the elite families of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China's Lower Yangzi region, who were singled out as "talented girls" from their youth, were under enormous pressure. My sources, in fact, sometimes commented on the enviable lot of elite young women who *escaped* the pressures of the civil service examination system that weighed upon their brothers. But my scene was telling me that these very same young women were drawn inexorably into competitive arenas where their talent was judged not only by family members, but also by a rather broad public readership, if and when their poems were published. True, an occasional source complained that women writers may succumb to a thirst for fame that will make them as corrupt as men. But it was only by setting scenes in my mind—imagining a young girl's first poem passed among her older siblings or her parents; imagining the author of a preface puzzling over how to match what he wrote for one sibling in composing a preface for her younger sister's poems; imagining an eldest daughter burdened with household responsibilities envying the leisured education of her much-indulged baby sister—only in such scenes was I able to reconstruct other aspects of women's lives that the written record would not reveal.

Even though I liked what my scenes were telling me, I also took comfort in recalling lines I read many years ago in an essay on short biography by Peter Ackroyd, who remarked that "in biographical narrative the writer rather than the subject is

paramount. If this . . . sounds paradoxical, perhaps it ought to be recalled that the only biographies that have survived the encroachments of time and forgetfulness are those that have been written well . . . Only well-written biographies survive because, by the alchemy of charmed language, the truth they reveal is the one that lasts.”²⁰ I would only add that language is charmed by the scenes that give it alchemy.

My most dramatic example of how a good scene reveals historical “truth” comes from an obscure member of the Zhang family whom I call “Miss Fa.” Miss Fa was a “faithful maiden”—that is, she had already been betrothed to the Zhangs’ eldest son at the time of the boy’s death as a teenager, and she later swore fidelity to her deceased fiancé by refusing another match and joining the Zhang household to live out her days as if she were his widow.²¹ That such a figure was complex goes without saying, but precisely because of the complexity of the situation, the family’s records barely spoke of her. I had resigned myself to discussing her as a fine example of glaring silences in the historical record when by accident I came upon a memoir of her sister-in-law that was full of juicy detail about Miss Fa’s “mental illness” and her fraught relationship with other young women in the Zhang household. This memoir was all I needed to inspire several imaginary scenes involving Miss Fa. Among them, the scene that proved most illuminating was the moment when the Zhang family learned of Miss Fa’s decision to move in with them as a faithful maiden. In creating that scene, I had to begin with the reaction of Miss Fa’s mother-in-law-to-be, Tang Yaoqing. This made me think backward in time to the death of Yaoqing’s son, some ten years before, and forward in time to her hopes for the future marriages of her four daughters and one surviving son. I had to imagine the reactions of other family members and the manner in which they were informed (as in a letter to Yaoqing’s husband, who was traveling), along with Yaoqing’s own fears and anxieties about what living with Miss Fa might be like. That scene, once set, sent emotional frissons in all directions. Yet every outburst (imagined in my mind) had a logic determined by biographical materials from many other sources. The full implications of a faithful maiden’s vow for the woman who would become her mother-in-law and the family into which she moved were not revealed to me, in other words, until I connected the dots of evidence required to frame a scene.

Sima Qian understood very well what this historian learned only by following his example: The best way to grasp the full meaning of a historical moment is to set a scene. Then watch it and see what you find out.

²⁰ Peter Ackroyd, “Biography: The Short Form,” *New York Times Book Review*, January 10, 1999, 4.

²¹ The complexity of the faithful maiden role is thoroughly explored in Weijing Lu, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 2008).

Susan Mann is Professor of History at the University of California, Davis. She is the author, most recently, of *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (University of California Press, 2007), which received the John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History. This essay was inspired by the challenge of writing women’s lives in that book. She is presently writing a book on sexuality in modern Chinese history, for use in undergraduate teaching.

AHR Roundtable
Separations of Soul: Solitude, Biography, History

BARBARA TAYLOR

IN JUNE 1795, THE PIONEER FEMINIST Mary Wollstonecraft traveled to Scandinavia to sort out some business matters for her lover, Gilbert Imlay. She was accompanied by her one-year-old daughter, Fanny, and her maid Marguerite, but as she moved northward, they were left behind to be gathered up on the return journey. It was a wretched period in Wollstonecraft's life. Imlay, who prior to Fanny's birth had been a devoted paramour, had been seeing other women since. She clung to him desperately, as if life itself were at stake—as it had been two months earlier when, wild with misery at his betrayals, she had attempted suicide. Now, journeying through strange lands with neither lover nor child, she was wracked by the grief of abandonment. Yet, as always, the literary professional was on the *qui vive*, alert to possibilities. Shortly after returning to London, Wollstonecraft brought out a volume of letters addressed to an errant lover, but in fact written for publication and never sent to Imlay. *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden* was one of her best-received works, a favorite especially with the young Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey, who enjoyed her self-portrayal as a melancholy solitaire, a companionless voyager in a loveless world. The image of the lone woman, shorn of all intimate ties, was touching but also pleasurably outré, a startling contrast to the familial, male-oriented feminine ideal of the late eighteenth century.¹

The "generality" of women, Wollstonecraft wrote in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, "fly" from solitude as from a "fearful void."² Trained to submission, leached of inner resources, most women find aloneness intolerable. Against this, she set her own profound responses to solitude, offering up a repertoire of intense—and divided—reactions to her Scandinavian sojourn. The agonies of a forsaken heart were set against the exaltations of a mind freed from constraint. "Here I am writing quite alone," she reported from Portor in Norway, after a hair-raising sea journey,

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¹ Mary Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), in Wollstonecraft, *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler, 7 vols. (London, 1989), vol. 6. For the young poets' reception of the book, and general Romantic enthusiasm for it, see Richard Holmes, "Introduction," in Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, *A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark: And Memoirs of the Author of "The Rights of Woman"* (Harmondsworth, 1987), 36–42.

² Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in Wollstonecraft, *The Works*, 5: 242, 190.

"something more than gay, for which I want a name."³ Yet returning to her lodgings in Tonsberg, she quailed at entering the room, "without lighting-up pleasure in any eye—I dreaded the solitariness . . . and wished for night to . . . close my eyes on a world where I was destined to wander alone."⁴ A farewell meal with some fellow travelers on the final leg of the trip left her stricken with sorrow, and something more: "I then supped with my companions, with whom I was soon after to part for ever—always a most melancholy, death-like idea—a sort of separation of soul; for all the regret which follows those from whom fate separates us, seems to be something torn from ourselves."⁵ What are we left with, who do we become, when we are alone?

SOLITUDE HAS BEEN A KEY FEATURE of human experience in all times and places. Yet little of its story has been told. Can such a powerfully personal experience have a history? If it can, then biography must surely be a chief route into it, just as a historical understanding of the solitary self is likely to yield valuable insights into the biographical subject.

Biography—it will be no news to readers of this roundtable—is a controversial enterprise for historians. Some of the features that have made it controversial—its belletristic character; its emphasis on individual agency at the expense of larger historical forces; its flattening of complex causal connections to fit a linear life narrative—are less pronounced today than in the past, or at any rate seem to generate less anxiety. We now possess many historical biographies that do a superb job of integrating their subjects into their historical contexts; life histories are no longer a genre apart. At the same time, the wall that once divided history from literature has been well and truly breached, with many historians incorporating life-writing and even fictional narratives into their historical monographs. A new literary boldness has entered the discipline, from which biography has been a chief beneficiary.

But there is one respect in which biography remains highly problematic for historians, and that is its psychological dimension. The role of personal psychology in history is possibly the most poorly developed field of modern historical discussion, plagued by "commonsense" prejudices, on the one hand, and hard-line theoretical diktats, on the other. All historians use psychology—it is impossible to write human history without it—but the psychology that most historians deploy is of the pick-and-mix variety, blending commonplace assumptions about human motivation with bits of pop psychology, often Freudian in flavor. The exceptions to this are those historians who embrace postmodernist anti-humanism, and thus assign no causal role whatsoever to individual psychology. For these historians, the "death of the subject" decreed by Foucault and his epigones has swept subjectivity off the historical stage. The "individual coherent self"—that is, the biographical subject as traditionally conceived—has been deconstructed and dismissed as a "bourgeois fiction." This is a development that calls for closer scrutiny.

The Western self has been receiving a lot of attention recently. Studies with titles like "Making the Self," "Constructing the Self," and "Inventing the Self" proliferate.

³ Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence*, 293.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 298.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 334.

As the active verbs make plain, virtually all these studies present selfhood as a cultural artifact or, in a variation on this, a discursive construct. A shared narrative unfolds that begins with a pre-modern, "extensive" self (a self rooted in communal life, lacking any sense of unique individuality) and then charts a shift (via the Renaissance, or the Enlightenment, or the Romantic Age: the putative transition points are multiple) to the modern Western self, a "bounded, unique" individual possessing innate character and psychological interiority: the "unitary" or "deep" self, as this modern subject type is often called.⁶ The story is basically a retelling of the familiar tale of the rise of bourgeois individualism, with the additional twist that it is not just the individualist character type that is deemed to originate with modern commercialism, but human subjectivity *in toto*. Inner experience—the private universe of psychic life—is also a historical invention, we are told: there is no subjectivity, only social phenomena that produce the effects of it. As one British follower of Foucault puts it, "we are 'assembled' selves, in whom all the 'private' effects of psychological interiority are constituted by our linkage into 'public' languages, practices, techniques and artefacts."⁷ This socio-historicist account of subjectivity, regularly paraded as a first-order heresy, is now such an article of faith in many academic circles that alternative views tend to be rejected out of hand, as in Dror Wahrman's *Making of the Modern Self*, where the "self within" is exposed as a cultural fabrication, a post-French Revolution "identity regime." But subjectivity, as Stephen Greenblatt once noticed with some embarrassment, tends to "cling" on, even in its most convinced critics, long after pronouncements of its demise.⁸

Biography, with its focus on the complexities of an individual life, highlights the deficiencies of this culturalist approach; biographies of the solitary self point up its psychological sterility. "Detached from the whole world, what am I?" Rousseau asked at the beginning of his *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*. "This must now be the object of my inquiry."⁹ The investigation plunged him deep into meditations on the inner life, which is where any inquirer into human solitude must follow him.

SOLITUDE IS ONE OF THE GREAT DEBATING POINTS in Western thought, spooling out a string of oppositions—self versus society, private versus public, country versus city, contemplation versus action—that stretch back to antiquity. Classical thinkers tended to favor sociality as more conducive to virtue, with Aristotle's denunciation of solitude as fit only for beasts or gods setting the dominant tone. Philosophical solitude of course was exempted, with the figure of Socrates standing on a lonely

⁶ The argument is made in scores of recent books and articles; for summary statements of it, see Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), xi–xviii; Nikolas Rose, "Assembling the Self," in Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London, 1997), 224–248; Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591–1791* (Cambridge, 1997), 14–24.

⁷ Rose, "Assembling the Modern Self," 226. As Lois Banner notes in her contribution to this roundtable, postmodern practitioners of biography, such as Jo Burr Margadant, tend to be similarly dismissive of subjectivity. Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 7.

⁸ Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 265–311; Stephen Greenblatt, "Epilogue," in Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), 255–257.

⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Reveries of the Solitary Walker* (1782; repr., Harmondsworth, 1979), 27.

hillside in frozen meditation for a full day and night symbolizing the mental autarky of the great sage. For ordinary citizens, however, society was essential to fulfill their *potentia*. This division between a socially embedded existence and a higher, solitary life reappeared in Christian thought as the dichotomy between the city of man and the city of God, where a spiritual elite dedicated to holy living were permitted to withdraw into monasteries or other forms of religious seclusion. With the Reformation, and its democratic leveling of access to the holy, this elite physical withdrawal gave way to a universal movement into the soul: an individuated form of spiritual retreat which, unlike monasticism and eremiticism, could be accommodated by ordinary life. A righteous man, Daniel Defoe wrote, could be “as perfectly retired from the world” in the London Exchange as in a hermitage. Heavenly meditation was the “essence of solitude,” not “monkish cells and forcible retreats.” “The business is to get a retired soul . . . and then we may be alone whenever we please.”¹⁰

From the mid-seventeenth century, a new scientific note was heard as enlightened anatomists of human nature entered the debate. Hobbes’s bleak account of man as a lone pleasure-seeking machine was countered by defenders of natural sociability who declared Hobbesian man “monstrous,” a “wolf” in human dress.¹¹ Latter-day Stoics quoted Cicero on civic duty: “we are not born for ourselves alone, but . . . mutually to help one another.”¹² “We are made for the Cements of Society . . .,” a Ciceronian correspondent wrote to the *Spectator*, “and Solitude is an unnatural Being to us.”¹³ Positions proliferated, as retirement poets hymned pastoral solitude as an escape from worldly corruption while moral sentimentalists warned that without social intercourse, men descended into egoist bestiality. Celebrations of solitude as the “school of genius” were countered by medical warnings about the debilitating effects of solitary cerebration.¹⁴ In 1757, Rousseau—Enlightenment Europe’s premier solitaire—took offense at words spoken by a character in one of his friend Diderot’s plays, “Only the wicked man lives alone,” which he regarded, no doubt rightly, as directed at him. His bitter protests were met with further provocation from Diderot, who reassured him that as hermits go, Rousseau was definitely his favorite, but “all the same, a hermit is a strange sort of a citizen.”¹⁵

Rousseau’s fame as a solitaire irritated him, partly because he blamed others for his isolation, but also because solitude was a true conundrum to him. “Detached from the whole world, what am I?” What is solitude? The question, now as in Rousseau’s day, tends to stop people in their tracks. The commonsense definition of soli-

¹⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: With His Vision of the Angelick World* (1720; repr., London, 1741), 8–9.

¹¹ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711; repr., Cambridge, 1999), 42; R. S. Crane, “Suggestions toward a Genealogy of the ‘Man of Feeling,’” *English Literary History* 1, no. 3 (1934): 242–244.

¹² Cicero, *On Obligations [De Officiis]*, Book I, 22. For the popularity of this text in early modern England, see Brian Vickers, “Introduction,” in Vickers, ed., *Public and Private Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Mackenzie-Evelyn Debate* (Delmar, N.Y., 1986), xiv.

¹³ *The Spectator* 158 (August 31, 1711).

¹⁴ Raymond D. Havens, “Solitude and the Neoclassicists,” *English Literary History* 21, no. 4 (1954): 251–273; Steven Shapin, “‘The Mind Is Its Own Place’: Science and Solitude in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 1 (1980): 191–218; Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York, 2003); Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self* (Chicago, 2003).

¹⁵ P. N. Furbank, *Diderot: A Critical Biography* (London, 1992), 151.

tude—an absence of other people—clearly won't do, first because one can of course be wrong about this: that is, be in the presence of others when one thinks one isn't (Rousseau tells a great story about this), but also because being with others is for many people the most solitary condition of all.¹⁶ Physical isolation, social disengagement, withdrawal, inwardness: none of these are solitude, although some may be preconditions for it. This is because solitude is not a unitary experience but a fantasy scenario, an imaginary staging of self that is far too complex, too psychically dense, to be captured by any simple opposition between absence and presence.

In a 1572 essay, "On Solitude," Michel de Montaigne described solitude as an inner space—a "room at the back of the shop," in his wonderful phrase—to which the soul retreated, not to hide itself but to commune with muses, lost friends, and company of a unique sort. "We have a soul able to turn in on herself . . . [to] keep herself company . . . to attack, to defend, to receive and to give. Let us not fear that in such a solitude we shall be crouching in painful idleness: 'in lonely places be a crowd unto yourself.'" ¹⁷ The lone self is no isolated monad but a palimpsest of emotional attachments; solitude is an occupied space. The theme recurs throughout Western thought, from Scipio's aphoristic "never less alone than when alone" to twentieth-century psychoanalytic depictions of the solitary psyche as an arena of unconscious sociality. The classic English-language psychoanalytic account is a 1958 paper by the English analyst Donald Winnicott, titled "The Capacity to Be Alone." Psychological solitude, Winnicott argues in this paper, is a capability that develops in infancy: first as the baby discovers aloneness by mentally withdrawing from his mother (or other caregiver) while in her comforting presence, and thereafter as he internalizes mother as a "good object" to provide a "protective environment" for his ego when he is alone. Solitude without such fantasy caregivers, Winnicott contends, is psychically intolerable. Thus "the state of being alone is something which (though paradoxically) always implies that someone else is there." We are selves composed of other selves, who facilitate—a favorite Winnicottian word—our solitude.¹⁸

Whatever one thinks of this argument, even a cursory glance over the history of Western solitude shows it to be teeming with imaginary presences. God of course has been the key figure, but loved ones alive and dead, heroes, audiences, interlocutors, and an animated Nature all feature. Religious recluses in the eremitical tradition were said to be in a condition of *solitudo pluralis*, that is, in the presence of the entire Christian Church. Protestant solitaires, by contrast, experienced God's presence without clerical mediation: for Robinson Crusoe, to take one of history's most popular solitaires, "the Deficiencies of my Solitary State" were more than compensated by the direct "Communications of [God's] Grace to my Soul."¹⁹ In solitude,

¹⁶ Ibid., 118.

¹⁷ Michel de Montaigne, "On Solitude," in Montaigne, *The Essays: A Selection*, trans. and ed. M. A. Screech (Harmondsworth, 1998), 100.

¹⁸ Donald Winnicott, "The Capacity to Be Alone," in D. W. Winnicott, *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development* (London, 1990), 30. Percy Bysshe Shelley, who found solitude "most horrible" ("I cannot endure the horror the evil which comes to self in solitude") in his essay "On Love," drew an equivalence between solitude and "that deserted state when we are surrounded by human beings and yet they sympathise not with us." Shelley, "On Love" (1818), in Duncan Wu, ed., *Romanticism: An Anthology* (Oxford, 1999), 850; Richard Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit* (London, 1974), 64, 34.

¹⁹ Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719; repr., New York, 1994), 82.

poets communed with their muses; scholars with their mentors; lovers with absent lovers; readers with fictional characters. Like Montaigne, Rousseau kept company with a second self, an alter-self with whom he maintained a solitary dialogue.²⁰ The capacity to divide oneself in this fashion, Lord Shaftesbury claimed, was a mark of the true sage, the wise man who, like Scipio, was “never less alone than when alone,” or—as Hannah Arendt later described the reflective mind—“never altogether without a partner and without company.”²¹

For most of Western history, sacred presences have loomed largest. Ardent believers converse with saints and angels, and receive the divine spirit as an immediate, physical presence: the feeling described by William James as the paradigmatic religious experience. *The Varieties of Religious Experience* is not usually treated as a study in the psychology of solitude, but the book opens by defining religion as a “purely interior” phenomenon, a mode of solitary subjectivity: “Religion shall mean for us . . . the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine.”²² Examining these “feelings, acts and experiences” as reported by mostly Protestant believers, what James found were repeated accounts of people gripped by “a feeling of objective presence, a perception of what we may call ‘something there,’” which in its tangibility and intensity exceeded any of the explanatory frameworks of empirical psychology.²³ Searching for the source of this feeling, James found it in the intrusion into conscious mental life of emotions and beliefs originating in what he called the “subconscious,” a “darker, blinder strata of [human] character” hidden from the conscious self but existing in a continuous, dynamic relationship to it. “There is actually and literally more life in our total soul,” he concluded, “than we are at any time aware of.”²⁴

Not all of this life was benign. While most of the experiences of inner presence described by James’s interlocutors involved profound sensations of love and comfort, others were terrifying and disorienting. “In solitude,” the psychoanalytic writer Adam Phillips comments in a reprise of Donald Winnicott’s argument, “the individual is attempting to find . . . that which is beyond his omnipotent control but not, by virtue of being so, persecutory.”²⁵ But the individual doesn’t always succeed in this. History shows a catalogue of malign inner presences—demons, devils, the black dogs of melancholy. Seemingly holy visitations might in fact be diabolic or—as belief in actual devils gave way to fear of the devil within—products of an “evil imagination” spreading its toxins through the soul. The imagination was highly controversial in the eighteenth century. Widely revered as the supreme human faculty—source of all creative genius, a mental pathway between man and God—it was simultaneously

²⁰ Rousseau, *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, 34.

²¹ Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 77; Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1958; repr., Chicago, 1998), 76. “Solitude,” Arendt writes, “is that human situation in which I keep myself company. Loneliness comes about when I am alone without being able to split up into the two-in-one, without being able to keep myself company”; Arendt, *The Life of the Mind* (New York, 1978), 185.

²² William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902; repr., Harmondsworth, 1985), 31.

²³ *Ibid.*, 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 501, 511.

²⁵ Adam Phillips, “On Risk and Solitude,” in Phillips, *On Kissing, Tickling and Being Bored* (London, 1993), 25.

abhorred for its lawless excesses, its wild Rabelaisian energies. Solitary fantasy was particularly suspect, as conducive to an “invisible riot of the mind,” a “secret prodigality of being”—the phrases are Samuel Johnson’s—which in pious minds bred “enthusiasm”: an ambiguous term which in its positive usage meant a commendably intense communion with the sacred—James’s quintessential religious experience—but used pejoratively referred to a delusional condition in which desires and fantasies were mistaken for the living God.²⁶ Solitude engendered both varieties, and distinguishing them was not always easy. “The imaginations of men, who lead their lives in too solitary a Manner . . . prey upon themselves,” the *Tatler* warned, “form[ing] from their own Conceptions Beings and Things which have no place in Nature.”²⁷ Beware of being too much alone, moralists counseled, lest your mind be filled with “fantastic pleasures and images of perfection which are truly and really to be found no where but in God.”²⁸

Mary Wollstonecraft always saw herself as something of an enthusiast. A compulsive fantasist, she simultaneously feared and cherished her “ardent imagination,” regarding it both as dangerously “illusiv[e]” and as a gateway to heaven. In 1787 she published a semi-autobiographical novel, *Mary: A Fiction*, featuring a young woman of “enthusiastic devotional sentiments” who spends her solitary hours conversing with God until He is “almost apparent to her senses.”²⁹ Like innumerable eighteenth-century literary heroines, Mary is a sensitive, pensive soul, given to ruminating in lonely places. Wollstonecraft later described the book as a “crude production,” and certainly it is very derivative, drenched in the influence of Edward Young and James Thomson, two leading poets of the “moonlight and melancholy” school whose hugely popular meditations on solitude the fictive Mary reads in a secluded cavern (which she dubs the Temple of Solitude).³⁰ But it also reflected Wollstonecraft’s own highly colored sense of religious interiority. Wollstonecraft was born into the established church, but by the time she wrote her first novel, her views were becoming increasingly heterodox, and she ended her days a Rousseauite natural religionist.³¹ Behind this shift of credo, however, lay a continuous sense of divine presence: a “constitutional attachment” to God, as her husband William Godwin described it, that wavered during some dark moments in her life, but never wholly left her.³² The divinely oriented imagination fosters an intimate bond with the sacred, experienced most powerfully in solitude. A 1795 letter from Norway described wandering alone on a mountainside, feeling an “ineffable pleasure” in God’s proximity.³³ “How solemn is the moment,” she wrote in an essay on poetic solitude the following year, “when all affections and remembrances fade before the sublime admiration

²⁶ Samuel Johnson, *Rambler*, no. 89 (January 22, 1751).

²⁷ *Tatler*, July 27, 1710, quoted in Lawrence E. Klein, “Sociability, Solitude and Enthusiasm,” in Lawrence E. Klein and Anthony J. La Vopa, eds., *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650–1850* (San Marino, Calif., 1998), 174.

²⁸ Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650; repr., London, 1930), 183.

²⁹ Mary Wollstonecraft, *Mary: A Fiction* (1788), in Wollstonecraft, *The Works*, 1: 16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

³¹ For Wollstonecraft’s religious views, see my *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge, 2003), 95–142.

³² William Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1798; repr., London, 1987), 215.

³³ Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence*, 279.

which the wisdom and goodness of God inspires . . . and the world seems to contain only the mind that formed, and the mind that contemplates it!"³⁴

Like all votaries of the solitary imagination, however, Wollstonecraft was wary of its dangers, especially for women. Women's imaginations were notoriously more susceptible than men's, more liable to corruption by vicious influences, particularly erotic influences. Religious enthusiasm in women was generally assumed to be lust-induced rather than divinely inspired; clerics and other moralists regularly accused women of confusing *eros* with *agape*. In solitude, all women were prone to "licentious fancies," whether in the form of devotional raptures or romantic rhapsodies. Thomas Laqueur's history of the eighteenth-century masturbation panic describes the targeting of lone female readers by anti-onanists, who decried women's tendency to immerse themselves in the pulse-quickening fantasies of mass-market romance.³⁵ Wollstonecraft—to the dismay of some of her modern readers—entered into this discussion with zest, denouncing romantic novels as "depraved" and condemning their female authors for encouraging "libertine reveries."³⁶ *Mary: A Fiction* opens with an account of Mary's mother, an indolent sensualist who spends her days alone in her boudoir reading novels, "those most delightful substitutes for bodily dissipation." She "dwelt on the love scenes . . . as she accompanied the lovers to the lonely arbours, and . . . walk[ed] with them by the clear light of the moon." "Had she thought while she read, her mind would have been contaminated."³⁷ Her daughter, whom she dislikes and neglects, is of course made of finer stuff, with a mind and heart turned to heaven. But Mary's loneliness makes her terribly vulnerable, and she too—despite divine consolations—eventually succumbs to erotic fantasy. She falls in love with an invalid genius with whom she envisages life as a "terrestrial paradise," and whose death leaves her truly solitary, right to her heart, "in which there was [now] a void that even . . . religion could not fill." Thus devastated, but fortunately by now in poor health herself, Mary spends the rest of her short life eagerly awaiting death and reminding herself that "only an infinite being could fill the human soul, and . . . when other objects were followed as a means of happiness, the delusion led to misery."³⁸ Wollstonecraft was a virgin when she wrote the novel, but later experiences did little to alleviate her pessimism.

"Could she have loved her father or mother, had they returned her affection," Wollstonecraft wrote at one point of Mary's religiosity, "she would not so soon, perhaps, have sought out a new world."³⁹ The insight was clearly autobiographical. The daughter of a brutish father and an uncaring mother, Wollstonecraft was haunted by the loneliness of the unloved child. God comforted her, but earthly relationships regularly failed her. "With a heart feelingly alive to all the affections . . . I have never met with one," she wrote to Imlay toward the end of her Scandinavian trip. "I once thought I had, but it was all a delusion."⁴⁰ She felt herself to be "an *isolé*,"

³⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft, "On Poetry" (1797 and 1798), in Wollstonecraft, *The Works*, 7: 8.

³⁵ Laqueur, *Solitary Sex*, 311–358.

³⁶ [Mary Wollstonecraft], "Review of Elizabeth Inchbald, *A Simple Story*," *Analytical Review*, in Wollstonecraft, *The Works*, 7: 370.

³⁷ Wollstonecraft, *Mary: A Fiction*, 8–9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁰ Ralph M. Wardle, ed., *The Collected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979), 311.

cut off from ordinary emotional ties. "I meet with families continually who are bound together by affection . . . and I am ready to demand . . . of Heaven, 'Why am I thus abandoned?'"⁴¹ Her response was to create idealized scenarios of friendship and love into which she tried to corral those around her, with predictably unhappy results. "There is certainly a great defect in my mind—my wayward heart creates its own misery," she wrote wretchedly to her publisher Joseph Johnson in 1792, after the collapse of her romance with the painter Henry Fuseli. "Surely I am a fool." Loneliness plus fantasy seemed inexorably to lead to disaster.⁴² Nine years after *Mary: A Fiction* was published, the dilemmas were re-explored in a second novel about a female solitaire, *The Wrongs of Woman; or, Maria*, published posthumously in 1798.

Maria, which Wollstonecraft wrote in the final months of her life and which was unfinished at her death, is a tale of enforced solitude. Maria is an heiress, the daughter of wealthy parents who care so little for her well-being that she ends up marrying the first cad who comes along, persuading herself that he is a man of virtue. A train of deception and exploitation finally sees Maria imprisoned by her husband in a lunatic asylum, which is where the novel opens. Alone in her cell, abandoned to her thoughts, she allows her imagination to take flight, conjuring up visions of true love with which she then adorns a fellow prisoner named Henry Darnford, a Gilbert Imlay clone. Aided by a friendly warder, she and Darnford become lovers. "Pity, sorrow, and solitude all conspired to soften her mind, and nourish romantic wishes," Wollstonecraft writes forebodingly. "Maria now, imagining that she had found a being of celestial mould—was happy."⁴³ But Maria is again deceived, and all five of the endings that Wollstonecraft drafted for the novel tell of her betrayal. "How difficult it [is] for women to avoid growing romantic, who have no active duties or pursuits," poor Maria reflects, but what is a woman of imagination and passion to do, abandoned to predatory men and her own lone fantasies?⁴⁴

Like the fictive Mary before her, Maria is a solitary fantasist of real energy. The eighteenth-century female imagination was stereotypically frenetic but shallow, lacking any real creative power or moral gravitas. Women's minds, Rousseau wrote to his friend d'Alembert, had none of that "celestial flame which warms and sets fire to the soul"; their fantasies might be "pretty," but they had "no soul."⁴⁵ Wollstonecraft's fictional heroines were a direct rejoinder to this, as the *Rights of Woman* was a fierce rebuttal of the dogmas of female character adumbrated in Rousseau's pedagogical novel *Emile*. Yet it was Rousseau, in one of those paradoxes for which he was famous, who provided Wollstonecraft with a model for her female solitaires, in the figure of Julie, the heroine of his wildly popular epistolary novel *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Julie is an Augustinian solitaire, a woman torn between desire and virtue, who seeks privacy to commune with God and to struggle for self-understanding. Her illicit affair with her tutor, St Preux—a liaison lived mostly at the level of fantasy—set hearts throbbing across Europe, and influenced innumerable later works, including

⁴¹ Ibid., 173, 311.

⁴² Wollstonecraft, letter to Joseph Johnson, ca. late 1792, *ibid.*, 221.

⁴³ Mary Wollstonecraft, *The Wrongs of Woman; or, Maria* (1798), in Wollstonecraft, *The Works*, 1: 173.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 94.

⁴⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Politics and the Arts: Letter to M. D'Alembert on the Theatre* (1758; repr., Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 103.

Wollstonecraft's *Maria*. Darnford lends Maria a copy of the book, and it is under Rousseau's spell that their affair is conducted. Maria experiences herself as Julie and Darnford as St Preux, and, for a time, at least, she is no longer alone: "Paradise bloomed around them . . . Love, the grand enchanter, 'lapt them in Elysium,' and every sense was harmonised to joy and social ecstasy."⁴⁶

Wollstonecraft first encountered Rousseau in the late 1780s, when she began reading and reviewing his works for the *Analytical Review*; soon she was one of his most ardent, if critical, disciples. It was his "opinion respecting men" which she "extend[ed] to women," she wrote in the *Rights of Woman*, in the midst of the argument with him that occupies so much of the text.⁴⁷ "I was always half in love with him," she told Imlay.⁴⁸ Reading his personal writings, she immediately recognized a fellow "Solitary Walker," as she dubbed herself in a reference to his *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, a maverick mind that "rambles into that *chimerical* world in which I have too often wandered, and draws the usual conclusion that all is vanity and vexation of spirit."⁴⁹ His celebrity image as a recluse fascinated her, especially in its openly erotic aspects. Reviewing his *Confessions* in 1790, she repeated his famous account of the genesis of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Living in rural seclusion, Rousseau had "felt himself alone, his heart having no real object for his imagination to adorn . . . Then the fancy seized him of describing some of the situations and of indulging the flighty desire of loving, which he had never been able to satisfy, and with which he felt himself devoured."⁵⁰

Transfixed by these fantasies, Rousseau, she wrote, "had directed all the warmth of his heart to one imaginary object" and created his lovely Julie, the "idol of his heart."⁵¹ Intoxicated with Julie's perfections, Rousseau then proceeded to transfer these onto a married woman, the Comtesse d'Houdetot, with whom he fell madly in love, with dire consequences. In her review, Wollstonecraft retold the story disapprovingly, as an example of a lascivious imagination working overtime; yet in the *Rights of Woman* and elsewhere, she celebrated the grandeur of Rousseau's erotic fantasies, pointing to their "noble origin" in his "sublime imagination" and reminding her readers that the "delusions of passion" give "strong proof of the immortality of the soul."⁵² After all, as Rousseau himself wrote in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, in the strongly platonic vein that runs through the text, what else is romantic love but a fantasy of perfection, nowhere truly to be found but in God? "Love is but illusion; it fashions for itself . . . another Universe . . . It perceive its object as perfect; makes it into its idol; places it in Heaven."⁵³ "Solitary Folk" like Julie and St Preux—or Wollstonecraft's Mary and Maria—demonstrate the profound creativity of the solitary mind, as it fashions an ideal world to inhabit.⁵⁴ But the price of such creativity

⁴⁶ Wollstonecraft, *The Wrongs of Woman*, 106.

⁴⁷ Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 90.

⁴⁸ Wardle, *The Collected Letters*, 263.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁵⁰ [Mary Wollstonecraft], "Review of JJ Rousseau, *Seconde Partie des Confessions*" (1790), *Analytical Review* 6 (April 1790), in Wollstonecraft, *Works*, 7: 232–233.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁵² Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 5: 143.

⁵³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie; or, The New Heloise: Letters of Two Lovers Who Live in a Small Town at the Foot of the Alps* (Hanover, N.H., 1997), 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

can be high. "Mistaken in the object of her attachment, imputing to him qualities which, in the trial, proved to be imaginary," Godwin wrote of Wollstonecraft's relationship with Imlay, Mary "proceeded to stake her life upon the consequences of her error"—which returns us to Wollstonecraft's Scandinavian journey.⁵⁵

Whether Imlay would have proposed the Scandinavian voyage to his lover had she not recently attempted suicide is impossible to judge, but certainly it must have been a relief to him to get her out of his hair. She left England angry and distraught, full of bleak thoughts and fearful for the future. "Adieu! adieu! My friend," she wrote to him as her ship set sail from Hull, "your friendship is very cold . . . I may perhaps be, some time or other, independent in every sense of the word . . . I will break or bend this weak heart."⁵⁶ The trip itself, with its many meetings and partings, became a replay of old losses and a rehearsal for the final solitude of death. "Black melancholy hovers around my footsteps," she wrote, as one lonely sight after another—an aged pine wood, a mountain waterfall, a deserted palace—filled her with thoughts of mortality, "the only thing of which I ever felt a dread."⁵⁷ Dread and misery stalked her. "Why am I forced thus to struggle?" she screamed to Imlay. "I have never suffered in my life so much . . . from despair."⁵⁸

Yet as the journey proceeded, solitude gradually showed her another face. Striding along mountain paths, rowing across fjords, writing alone in foreign rooms away from the world's "gaudy bustle," she felt herself expanding into the space around her, and gloried in the sensation. "I am more alive, than you have seen me for a long, long time," she wrote to Imlay after a day spent scrambling over rocky hillsides.⁵⁹ Thrilling to the dramatic countryside, she flexed her imaginative muscles, producing a series of vivid landscape sketches that delighted her readers, especially the young poets of her circle. "How often do my feelings produce ideas that remind me of the origin of many poetical fictions," she wrote after a wonderful walk through a Norwegian pine forest. "In solitude the imagination bodies forth its conceptions unrestrained, and stops enraptured to adore the beings of its own creation."⁶⁰ The sense of renewal drew her thoughts gratefully upward to God, "the author of my soul," and inward, as "turn[ing] over in this solitude a new page in the history of my own heart," she read what she found on it.⁶¹ The introspection triggered a fierce inner conflict, as she struggled to imagine a life apart from Imlay. She had become his creature—the object once of his love and desire, now of his resentment and pity—and she repudiated this: "I am not, I will not be, merely an object of compassion—a clog to teize you." "I am content to be wretched, but I will not be contemptible."⁶² The Imlay she loved, she mused, was a fiction, an "imaginary being" born of her erotic need, and she fought to free herself from the "delusion."⁶³ But she was haunted, possessed, and could not let go. "I cannot tear my affections from you though every remembrance

⁵⁵ Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 250–251.

⁵⁶ Wardle, *The Collected Letters*, 299.

⁵⁷ Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence*, 303, 281.

⁵⁸ Wardle, *The Collected Letters*, 296–297.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 303.

⁶⁰ Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence*, 286.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁶² Wardle, *The Collected Letters*, 310, 313.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 304, 311.

stings me to the soul.”⁶⁴ Being in the company of others intensified the sense of dependence. “I cannot live without . . . a passion—and I feel the want of it more in society, than in solitude.”⁶⁵ As the journey neared its end, the conflict became unbearable. “I am unable to tear up by the roots the propensity to affection which has been the torment of my life,” she wrote to Imlay from Dover, “but life will have an end!”⁶⁶ No thoughts of God rose to sustain her, and she returned to emotional disaster. Back in London, she found Imlay living with a new mistress and tried again to kill herself, this time very nearly succeeding. “I seem to have no home,” she had written to him from Norway; “now,” she wrote in her suicide note, “I go to find comfort.”⁶⁷

Solitude is border country, the boundary zone where self and other negotiate for possession of what Wollstonecraft would have called her soul. Early on in the journey, reflecting on her love for her child—that other continuous presence in her mind—Wollstonecraft brooded on the “imperious sympathies” that bound her to life. “I have . . . considered myself as a particle broken off from the grand mass of mankind . . . alone, till some involuntary sympathetic emotion, like the attraction of adhesion, made me feel that I was still part of a mighty whole, from which I could not sever myself . . . [even] by snapping the thread of . . . existence.”⁶⁸ The solitary self adheres to others in an involuntary relation that is sometimes replenishing, sometimes depleting, always risky. Wollstonecraft’s solitude of some two centuries ago was strongly marked by her times, in more ways than I’ve been able to indicate here. But to understand it, we need more than a historicist account of subjectivity as a protean cultural construct. We need a biographical lens that looks inward as well as outward, to focus on the constitutive elements of human subjectivity as well as its external determinants: we need to become students of the soul—in the original sense of psychology—as well as analysts of context and convention.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 303.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 308.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 316.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 317.

⁶⁸ Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written during a Short Residence*, 248–249.

Barbara Taylor teaches history at the University of East London. Her most recent book is *On Kindness* (co-written with Adam Phillips; Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009). Her previous publications include *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (Virago, 1983; Harvard University Press, 1992), *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), and *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (co-edited with Sarah Knott; Palgrave, 2005). She is currently writing a history of solitude in Enlightenment Britain.

AHR Roundtable

Rewriting the Lives of Eighteenth-Century Economists

LIANA VARDI

OVER THE PAST THREE DECADES, historians of France, like those of other countries, have tried to make sense of the renewed vogue for scholarly historical biography.¹ The issue appears more problematic in French history, perhaps because of the long dominance of the Annales school paradigm, which privileged structures over events and collective over individual mentalities. The theories of Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu likewise challenged the notion of coherent, linear selves that could be isolated from larger historical forces. Biographical enterprises that fastened on unique experiences seemed both trivial and methodologically and politically retrograde. By the 1980s, however, practitioners were growing increasingly frustrated with quantitative approaches that dismissed lived experience, precipitating a “return to narrative.” An ingrained mistrust of the biographical nonetheless continues to produce an unusual outpouring of self-reflexivity by those dabbling in the genre, especially in France.² Scholars describe their endeavors as “challenges” or “wagers,” as if they risk eschewing their usual critical acumen, ascribe too much coherence to disorderly events, and are tempted to endorse a “fictional” construct in telling life stories.³

In the heyday of social history, one response was to approach biography as a “case study,” assessing, or even testing, the effects of social forces on individuals.⁴ But a renewed focus on the contingency of human history has begun to push biography in

I would like to thank David Gerber as well as the reviewers of this essay for their helpful suggestions.

¹ See, for example, F. O. Touati and M. Trebitsch, eds., *Problèmes et méthodes de la biographie: Actes du Colloque Sorbonne 3–4 mai 1985* (Paris, 1985); Sabina Loriga, “La biographie comme problème,” in Jacques Revel, ed., *Jeux d’échelles: La micro-analyse de l’expérience* (Paris, 1996), 209–231; Jeremy D. Popkin, *History, Historians, and Autobiography* (Chicago, 2005); Christophe Cave and Simon Davies, *Les vies de Voltaire: Discours et représentations biographiques, XVIII^e–XXI^e siècles* (Oxford, 2008). There have been recent attempts to get away from a “Schumpeterian” pattern for the lives of great economists. See, for example, E. Roy Weintraub and Evelyn L. Forget, *Economists’ Lives: Biography and Autobiography in the History of Economics* (Durham, N.C., 2007).

² Professional biographers feel no such qualms. See, for example, Jean Lacouture in *Problèmes et méthodes de la biographie*, 227–231, or Nigel Hamilton, *How to Do Biography: A Primer* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008). English historians have long felt more comfortable with the enterprise. See Derek Beales, *History and Biography: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge, 1981).

³ François Dosse, *Le pari biographique: Écrire une vie* (Paris, 2004). In a long postscript to his biography of Jean d’Alembert, historian Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret warns of all the pitfalls of such an enterprise; Chaussinand-Nogaret, *D’Alembert: Une vie d’intellectuel au siècle des Lumières* (Paris, 2007).

⁴ Michel Vovelle, “Du quantitatif à l’étude des cas,” in *Problèmes et méthodes de la biographie*, 191–198.

a different direction.⁵ Our culture of healing wants to know how people coped with the vicissitudes of life, what accidents and twists of fate they struggled with, and what they achieved in the face of adversity.

I turned to biography for answers. It was only by delving into their lives that I could explain how four French Enlightenment figures, François Quesnay, the Marquis de Mirabeau, Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, and Jacques Turgot, came to study political economy, and what baggage they brought to that endeavor. I placed their economic writings within the context of their broader intellectual and personal interests. The history of economic thought is Whig history *par excellence*, fastening on pivotal figures who contributed to the advance of economics. My approach to physiocracy, a short-lived mid-eighteenth-century French theory that argued for the primacy of agriculture (superseded by classical economics), started from the opposite direction. I had been working on representations of the harvest in early modern Europe when I came across a review of rustic poetry in the physiocratic journal *Les Ephémérides du citoyen*. I already knew that Turgot had translated parts of Virgil's *Georgics*, and I decided to find out to what extent and to what ends he and other economists engaged with contemporary culture. Surprisingly, they proved voluble on this subject. Turgot, for one, launched French pre-Romanticism with his translations of Salomon Gessner and Ossian, a fact known to literary historians but ignored by political and economic historians.⁶ Du Pont wrote a physiocratic play and made stabs at a physiocratic aesthetic. Mirabeau was greatly troubled by the status of the nobility in the post-Louis XIV era and thought he might defend its honor better with the pen than with the sword. He gave up his commission in the army and toiled over a long didactic poem on the art of war. Dissatisfied with its progress, he entered the public sphere to defend provincial rights. Quesnay had been apprenticed to an engraver in the 1710s prior to becoming a surgeon. This lent him a visual sensibility that would translate into a depiction of his economic system in an arresting diagram.⁷

I was discovering another dimension to economic thought and stressing different formative influences from those generally considered significant to political economy (such as natural law, prior economic writings, notions of utility, etc.). Clearly, it was important to establish that I was dealing with significant "cultural" endeavors and not mere fleeting pastimes. In an age when everyone wrote poetry and was steeped in the classics, it would be easy to show that my economists wrote occasional verse or loved the theater. Understanding why they devoted so much energy to translation or aesthetic theory was another matter. I had to reconstruct the place of culture in their lives and its impact (if any) on their economic thought. This turned the project into a biographical endeavor. Each of these men, I discovered, had a point of view

⁵ This is a longstanding debate in the social sciences, and the different perspectives of sociology, anthropology, and history are discussed in Jean-Yves Grenier, Claude Grignon, and Pierre-Michel Menger, eds., *Le modèle et le récit* (Paris, 2001).

⁶ Paul Van Thieghem, *Ossian en France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1917), 1: 115; Nathalie Vincent-Munnia, *Les premiers poèmes en prose: Généalogie d'un genre dans la première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle français* (Paris, 1996), 64, 68; and Christian Leroy, *La poésie en prose française du XVIIe siècle à nos jours: Histoire d'un genre* (Paris, 2001).

⁷ It was known as the *Tableau économique* and represented exchanges among farmers and artisans in zigzagging lines in ratios whose progression Quesnay had calculated so that the initial investment might be reproduced. On Quesnay and the visual arts, see my forthcoming article "Physiocratic Visions," to be published in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* in 2010.

on art, literature, and the imagination which affected his approach to economics. Quesnay feared the intrusion of “imagination” in his theory, and especially in the texts available to the public. Yet he chose as his spokesman the Marquis de Mirabeau, who was incapable of reining in flights of fancy. Physiocracy itself was built on a formula that had to be taken on faith—despite its seemingly impeccable mathematical modeling—so that its relations with the imagination were complicated from the first. Mirabeau was drawn to physiocracy’s moral dimension, while Du Pont engaged with its spiritual underpinnings and cultural ramifications. Approaching the writing and dissemination of this particular economic doctrine through the lens of individual obsessions and intellectual trajectories yielded new insights about its ultimate fate.

In what follows, I will use the examples of Mirabeau and Turgot, the two noblemen in my group, to demonstrate how a biographical approach allowed me to weave together the personal, the cultural, and the economic.

BIOGRAPHERS OF VICTOR RIQUETTI, the Marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789), have fastened on two aspects of his life: as father of the great revolutionary orator Honoré Gabriel, the Comte de Mirabeau, and as co-founder of the economic movement known as physiocracy.⁸ François Quesnay (Mme de Pompadour’s physician) was devising a system for the creation of surplus wealth and converted Mirabeau to his views in summer 1757. Mirabeau wrote extensively on the doctrine and would have excited only moderate biographical attention had he not fathered one of the most famous figures of the French Revolution. As it happened, Mirabeau Senior had enormous trouble with a son who repelled him (Gabriel was disfigured by smallpox in childhood) and who proved unmanageable, licentious, and profligate to the point of being incarcerated several times by *lettre de cachet* at his father’s request. What is more, the marquis’s own marital troubles with a wife he deemed insane—whom he also had confined—were made public in a series of lawsuits in which their children took sides (Gabriel supporting his mother). The family’s dysfunctionality was so patent that it shocked contemporaries. The marquis had been known as *l’ami des hommes* (man’s friend) from the title of his most famous work—a rambling dissertation on virtue and the advantages of agrarianism—published in 1756–1757. A quarter of a century later, his reputation was in tatters. Given his treatment of his family, his appellation now inspired ridicule. Mirabeau’s adherence to Quesnay’s economic theory, followed by his imprisonment in 1760 for promoting a radical overhaul of taxation, had added to his luster, but it would fade as physiocracy grew increasingly controversial. Meanwhile, Mirabeau Junior, who never pretended to be anything other than a rogue, thrived and emerged in summer 1789 as a ferocious spokesman for the Third Estate, despite his noble birth.

The marquis left behind reams of correspondence and manuscripts that display

⁸ The fullest account remains that of Louis de Loménie, who undertook a multi-volume exploration of the family: *Les Mirabeau: Nouvelles études sur la société française au XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879), with additional volumes completed by his son Charles (Paris, 1879–1881). Gilles Henry, *Mirabeau père, 5 octobre 1715–11 juillet 1789* (Paris, 1989); Joseph Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (Oxford, 1954), 225; Hubert de Montlaur, *Mirabeau: “L’ami des hommes”* (Paris, 1992).

his hopes, ambitions, and insecurities. He worked out his ideas through dialogue, so close attention needs to be paid to his interlocutors. His childhood friend Luc de Clapiers de Vauvenargues, soon to gain fame as a moral philosopher, helped Mirabeau to clarify his stance on honor in the late 1730s, when he was (briefly) envisioning himself a poet and playwright.⁹ Another huge influence was the poet and magistrate Jean-Jacques Lefranc de Pompignan.¹⁰ Biographers have been exceptionally reluctant to address this relationship—Loménie, for example, dismisses it in two pages—because Pompignan became the philosophes' bête noire in the 1760s (after he attacked them at the Académie française), and hence Mirabeau's admiration for his *Poèmes sacrés* was something of an embarrassment.¹¹ And yet Mirabeau's 250-page commentary on these poems was his longest publication to date and spoke to a shared literary and moral sensibility.¹² If Pompignan inspired, but did not necessarily encourage, Mirabeau's efforts in the literary realm, his *Remonstrances* against the new *vingtième* tax on behalf of the Perpignan Cour des Aides, which he presided over, galvanized Mirabeau to enter the fray.¹³ Displeased with the opposition to this new tax on revenue, the controller general, Machault d'Arnouville, had dissolved the Estates of Languedoc.¹⁴ Mirabeau responded with a pamphlet championing representative institutions and calling for their establishment in all French provinces.¹⁵ That he chose Languedoc as the best of the four models he examined was no accident, as Marcel Marion noted more than a century ago.¹⁶ Pompignan aroused in Mirabeau loyalty and inspiration to become first a poet and then a "politician." The marquis came to see himself as the natural champion of embattled local interests and was treated as such by the Artois, Flanders, and especially Provence estates.¹⁷ He relished backroom maneuvering on their behalf, even while he complained that no one listened to him.¹⁸ This was the role he had always imagined for himself. *L'ami des hommes* turned him into a European celebrity and reinforced his vision of himself

⁹ D.-L. Gilbert, ed., *Oeuvres posthumes et oeuvres inédites de Vauvenargues* (1857; repr., Geneva, 1970).

¹⁰ As he tells the Marquis Longo in a letter of January 19, 1777, "Je n'ai eu de maître qu'à 23 ans; excellent et patient Aristarque, à la vérité, le meilleur poète et l'un des meilleurs et plus sages écrivains de notre siècle; [C'est ainsi, on l'a déjà vu, que Mirabeau parlait de Lefranc de Pompignan] il ne put arrêter ma vivacité qui m'a entraîné; un coeur chaud, riche, et germinant m'avait rendu familier le genre épistolaire." Lucas de Montigny, ed., *Mémoires biographiques littéraires et politiques de Mirabeau*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1834), 3: 134–135.

¹¹ Loménie, *Les Mirabeau*, 2: 133–134.

¹² [Victor Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau], *Examen des poésies sacrées de M. Lefranc de Pompignan* (Paris, 1755), addendum to M. Le Franc de Pompignan, *Poésies sacrées et philosophiques tirées des livres saints*, nouvelle édition considérablement augmentée, et enrichie de gravures (Paris, 1763).

¹³ Jean-Jacques Lefranc de Pompignan, *Dissertation sur les biens nobles avec des observations sur le vingtième* (1749; expanded ed., Paris, 1758).

¹⁴ These were dominated by the clergy, who were particularly opposed to a universal tax on revenue.

¹⁵ [Victor Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau], *Mémoire concernant l'utilité des États provinciaux* (Paris, 1750). A longer version was included in Book IV of *L'ami des hommes* (1757). The initial publication date of this expanded text is still debated. It might have been as early as 1751; another possible date is 1755. See François Quesnay, *Oeuvres économiques complètes et autres textes*, ed. Christine Théré, Loïc Charles, and Jean-Claude Perrot, 2 vols. (Paris, 2005), 2: 1233–1234.

¹⁶ Marcel Marion, *Machault d'Arnouville: Étude sur l'histoire du contrôle général des finances de 1749 à 1754* (Paris, 1891), 114.

¹⁷ For his engagement on their behalf, see Archives nationales, Paris, M806, K1161, and K1219.

¹⁸ Du Pont reported that Mirabeau's 1750 text "lay on every desk" when the controller general Calonne decided to revive provincial assemblies in 1787, as cited in Mirabeau's letter to Marquis Longo, Paris, July 8, 1787, in Montigny, *Mémoires biographiques littéraires et politiques de Mirabeau*, 4: 494–495.

as a well-intentioned sage, guiding his fellows toward a brighter future. His criticisms of luxury, financiers, and centralization were hardly unique, but they were central to Mirabeau's project to reinvigorate his caste.¹⁹

François Quesnay invited him to Versailles, and, hoping to gain Mme de Pompadour's patronage, Mirabeau agreed. He was bowled over by Quesnay's mathematical demonstrations that only nature, hence agriculture, created renewable wealth.²⁰ Yet he never fully grasped the formulas that undergirded that vision. Despite this, Quesnay turned Mirabeau into the public face of his new movement, and for a decade their joint compositions were published under Mirabeau's moniker of *l'ami des hommes*.²¹ Mirabeau complained endlessly about Quesnay's bullying to his friends, and especially to his youngest brother, who was his closest confidant. However impressed by Quesnay's intellect, Mirabeau had a very different temperament. Quesnay was prudent and obsequious to those in power, as befits a social climber; Mirabeau was boisterous and undisciplined, too outspoken and volatile to raise the status of his lineage through royal favor.²² He married hastily, sight unseen, to acquire estates in the French heartland, and he later purchased the duchy of Roquelaure in Armagnac, at ridiculous cost, in hopes that it would grant him a dukedom. It did not, and he was lucky to avoid bankruptcy by selling the land to the king for stud farms.²³ The marquis remained ambivalent about how best to achieve worldly success and still "help mankind," and this is mirrored in his social life. On Tuesday evenings, he entertained physiocrats; Friday receptions were reserved for his aristocratic circle.²⁴ These worlds did not blend.

It is hard to imagine his life without physiocracy. It offered an anchor for his restless mind and an outlet for his thwarted political ambitions. Mirabeau particularly relished dispensing advice to foreign monarchs about agrarian reform, especially once it became clear that Louis XV and his ministers paid him no heed. In the 1740s and 1750s, Mirabeau had urged the reestablishment of representative assemblies in which nobles would play a leading role. Physiocracy, however, advocated landed investments, no matter what their origins, and Mirabeau accepted this principle.²⁵ He recast his ideal advisory bodies as landowner assemblies, but failed to implant the notion within physiocratic political theory, which continued to favor

¹⁹ See Michael Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 2000); Jay M. Smith, *Nobility Re-Imagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005); John Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006).

²⁰ Letter to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, July 30, 1767, in Rousseau, *Correspondance complète de Jean Jacques Rousseau*, ed. R. A. Leigh, 50 vols. (Oxford, 1979), 33: 261–262.

²¹ These can be found in the Archives nationales, M778–785.

²² Loménie, *Les Mirabeau*, 1: 430.

²³ On Roquelaure under Mirabeau, see Peter Jones, *Liberty and Locality in Revolutionary France: Six Villages Compared, 1760–1820* (Cambridge, 2003), 65, 231–235.

²⁴ The variety of Parisian salons is covered, most recently, in Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: Sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005).

²⁵ Antonella Alimento, "Tra fronda e fisiocrazia: Il pensiero di Mirabeau sulle municipalità (1750–1767)," *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, 1988, 97–141. I see his commitment as far more personal. By 1767, physiocracy had publicly embraced "legal despotism" as its framework in Quesnay's *Despotisme de la Chine* (a series of articles published in *Éphémérides du citoyen* in 1767) and Le Mercier de la Rivière's *Ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (London, 1767).

absolutism. Mirabeau had been most articulate in defense of local institutions against centralization.²⁶ He lost that voice in adopting physiocracy.

JACQUES TURGOT (1727–1781), MINISTER OF FINANCE under Louis XVI (September 1774–May 1776), is a far more familiar figure in the eighteenth-century landscape than Mirabeau Senior. In contrast to Mirabeau, his personal life was a model of discretion.²⁷ He was also a far more sophisticated thinker, and although he agreed with some physiocratic precepts, he focused more directly on the role of “capital and capitalists” in the formation of wealth.²⁸ More significantly, he had real political authority and enacted a whole series of economic reforms as provincial administrator and controller general.²⁹ These so upset privileged groups (just as the rise in food prices after his freeing of the grain trade had aroused the ire of the populace in May 1775) that Louis XVI dismissed him from office in spring 1776. Some historians treat his downfall as the death knell of the Old Regime, but whether they adhere to this view or not, all regard Turgot as a pivotal figure and wrestle with his fate.³⁰

The very controversial nature of Turgot’s ministry, the risks he took by instituting major reforms, spilled over into questions about the man himself: Should his failure be attributed to structural deficiencies within the system or to his own weaknesses? Had he been too hasty, arrogant, and undiplomatic? Critics of Turgot had levied such accusations while he was still in office, while his colleagues initiated a long line of defense. Soon after his death, both Pierre Samuel Du Pont, who had served as his secretary, and his friend the Marquis de Condorcet produced biographies celebrating his qualities and denouncing his detractors.³¹ Studies of Turgot’s political life have since entailed some speculation about his character. Only those that focus solely on his economic thought apparently require no such detours.³²

There exist fine histories of Turgot’s administration.³³ Turgot’s status as philosophe derives from a handful of political and economic writings that appeared in either the *Encyclopédie* or the *Ephémérides du citoyen*.³⁴ His scientific credentials and

²⁶ For an alternative reading, see Michael Sonescher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality, and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 2007).

²⁷ All three Turgot brothers died of gout, as had their father, and Jacques Turgot felt he had little time to accomplish all he wanted. His decision not to marry, he explained to Du Pont, came from a fear of passing on this congenital affliction to his offspring.

²⁸ For example, Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*.

²⁹ For a general sense of the exceptional abilities of controllers general, see Michel Antoine, *Le cœur de l’État: Surintendance, contrôle général et intendances des finances, 1552–1791* (Paris, 2003); and for a portrait of another minister of finance, see Joël Félix, *Finances et politique au siècle des Lumières: Le ministère de L’Averdy, 1763–1768* (Paris, 1999).

³⁰ François Furet, *La révolution de Turgot à Jules Ferry, 1770–1880* (1988; repr., Paris, 2007), 243.

³¹ Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, *Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Turgot*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1782); and Marquis de Condorcet, *Vie de M. Turgot* (Paris, 1786). Edgar Faure, *La disgrâce de Turgot, 12 mai 1776* (Paris, 1961), remains the classic study of Turgot’s ministry.

³² A notable exception is Emma Rothschild’s *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), which emphasizes equity and flexibility in Turgot’s thought and action.

³³ J. Tissot, *Turgot, sa vie, son administration, ses ouvrages* (Paris, 1862); P. Foncin, *Essai sur le ministère de Turgot* (Paris, 1877); Douglas Dakin, *Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France* (London, 1939); Michel C. Kiener and Jean-Claude Peyronnet, *Quand Turgot régnait en Limousin: Un tremplin vers le pouvoir* (Paris, 1979); Jean-Pierre Poirier, *Turgot* (Paris, 1999).

³⁴ François Furet summarizes his writings as a “commitment to the public good and to the supreme

commitment to the advancement of science are now widely recognized, and his musings on history and progress have recently entered the canon.³⁵ These writings have cohered into a vision best expressed by Jean-Claude Perrot: "Turgot's intellectual development was so strongly defined that he invites us to bring together his activities as economist, physicist, and statesman into a general philosophy of knowledge."³⁶ Turgot has become an icon of the rationalist Enlightenment project. But the Turgot that aroused my curiosity was quite other: a man deeply engaged in literature who believed that no country could be self-sufficient in either physical or cultural products.³⁷ His linguistic and poetic theories, addressed by early biographers and eulogists, are perhaps too far removed from our own tastes for comfort and do not feature in any modern compilations of his writings.³⁸ An entire side of Turgot's intellectual arsenal is thus hidden from view. Turgot translated from six languages, not merely as a hobby that he shared with many of his classically educated contemporaries, but in order to change its practice.³⁹ He disliked rhyme, which he considered artificial, and became a champion of measured verse, whose rhythms, he felt, replicated the natural cadence of languages, as had been the case in ancient Greece and Rome. He therefore insisted that the classics should be translated this way. Turgot disagreed with those who regarded the French language as ill-suited for measured verse because it lacked strong contrasts between long and short syllables. Thus he hoped that the French would follow the example of modern English and German in their use of this technique. His commitment to linguistics led him to opt for a seat at the Paris Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres rather than at the Academy of Sciences.⁴⁰

Daniel Droixhe has demonstrated how Turgot's approach to etymology revolutionized linguistics. His theory of phonetics, rescued from total oblivion, further

authority of reason"; *La révolution de Turgot à Jules Ferry*, 242–243. Furet sees Turgot's *Mémoire sur les municipalités* (1775; written by Du Pont for Turgot) as his most original contribution, without tracing its paternity to Mirabeau's *Lettres sur la législation* (Berne, 1775). A less favorable interpretation of Turgot, which sees him sacrificing public welfare to long-term goals, can be found in Steven L. Kaplan, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1976).

³⁵ See Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago, 1975); Charles Coulston Gillispie, *Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); and Joël-Thomas Ravix and Paul-Marie Romani, eds., *Turgot: Formation et distribution des richesses, textes choisis* (Paris, 1997), in the Garnier-Flammarion editions of *Classiques de l'économie politique*, which includes his youthful addresses to the Sorbonne.

³⁶ Jean-Claude Perrot, *Une histoire intellectuelle de l'économie politique, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1992), 248.

³⁷ The contrast can be gauged from the nine-volume *Oeuvres de M. Turgot* published by Du Pont (Paris, 1808–1811), which include his literary pieces, and Gustave Schelle, *Oeuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant avec biographie et notes*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1913–1923), which do not.

³⁸ Except for Frank E. Manuel, who treats him as a Utopian but also wonders, as I do, whether his real forte was literature. Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris: Turgot, Condorcet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Comte* (New York, 1965).

³⁹ Without the infusion of new words through trade and foreign texts, he believed that languages stagnated and ossified, especially those that had adopted writing. Measured verse, with its emphasis on the sound of each syllable, would teach citizens how to pronounce their language properly and hence understand its spelling and grammar.

⁴⁰ Condorcet, permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences, wished to nominate him for a seat, but Turgot turned him down. Turgot's father had been a member of the Academy of Inscriptions, as were many eighteenth-century officials. Turgot succeeded to the seat of his brother-in-law, the Duc de Saint-Aignan, in 1776.

indicates the role that language played in his thinking.⁴¹ When one considers how much time he devoted to literary translation, to the detriment of “nobler pursuits” (such as writing a definitive economic text or even translating economic treatises), a different Turgot emerges, a man imbued with sensibility and not just sense, a person of flesh and blood whose ideas cannot be reduced to a single, rational, schema.⁴²

Turgot was not a “self-made” man, yet we know little more about his personal life today than the summary offered by Gustave Schelle a century ago.⁴³ This gap in the literature is all the more surprising since his father, Michel-Étienne, was *prévôt des marchands* of Paris (in effect its mayor) from 1729 to 1740, during Turgot’s childhood; was *président* of the Paris Parlement *Chambre des requêtes* as well as *conseiller d’état*; and had been mooted for the intendancy of Paris in both 1740 and 1742 and the Control General in 1746, suggesting the degree to which his youngest son tried to follow in his footsteps.⁴⁴ Jacques Turgot left the Church after his father’s death to train in the law, and then entered the royal administration. His oldest brother, Michel-Jacques, held one of the highest offices in the Parlement of Paris (*président à mortier* as of 1747).⁴⁵ His second brother, Étienne-François, knight of Malta and a naturalist of some renown, led the disastrous expedition to settle Guyana in 1764 and was made the scapegoat for its failure by the foreign minister, Étienne-François de Choiseul.⁴⁶ Turgot’s sister, Étienne, married at age twenty-eight the Duc de Saint-Aignan, peer of the realm, who was then aged seventy-three (and who lived to be ninety-two).⁴⁷ The relevance of such kin networks to Turgot’s career has barely been investigated.⁴⁸

Although Turgot’s mother was reportedly embarrassed by his social awkwardness, she actively promoted his career.⁴⁹ In 1761, he refused the intendancy of Rouen because his mother was lobbying to get him that of Lyon. In 1760, Turgot had approached the all-powerful Duc de Choiseul about the intendancy of Grenoble, re-

⁴¹ Daniel Droixhe, *La linguistique et l’appel de l’histoire (1600–1800): Rationalisme et révolutions positivistes* (Geneva, 1978), 212–213. See also Avi S. Lifschitz, “Language as the Key to the Epistemological Labyrinth: Turgot’s Changing View of Human Perception,” *Historiographia Linguistica* 31, no. 2/3 (2004): 345–365.

⁴² One need merely follow his daily activities as they emerge from his correspondence; see Schelle, *Oeuvres de Turgot*. His letters to his former secretary and later *premier commis* at the Control General, Jean Devaines, deal only with the literary interests they shared. Paul Bonnefon, “Turgot et Devaines, d’après les lettres inédites,” *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France* 8 (1901): 577–621. Turgot described himself as a dilettante.

⁴³ Schelle, *Oeuvres de Turgot*, 1: 1–76.

⁴⁴ Charles Philippe d’Albert, Duc de Luynes, *Mémoires du duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV (1735–1758)*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1860–1865), 3: 225; and E. J. F. Barbier, *Journal historique et anecdotique du règne de Louis XV*, ed. A. de La Villegille, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847–1856), 2: 265. See also André Picciola, *Le comte de Maurepas: Versailles et l’Europe à la fin de l’Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1999), 358. Maurepas pushed Michel-Étienne for the very post that he would offer Jacques some thirty years later.

⁴⁵ François Bluche, *Les magistrats du parlement de Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 306.

⁴⁶ This incident and its effects on Turgot have been investigated by Emma Rothschild in “A Horrible Tragedy in the French Atlantic,” *Past and Present* 192 (August 2006): 67–108. Étienne-François was a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences.

⁴⁷ See Schelle, *Oeuvres de Turgot*, 1: 16–18, for a summary of his parentage. Schelle mentions a correspondence between the *Prévôt* and his youngest son located at the château of Lantheuil in Normandy but cites it only once.

⁴⁸ Whether this will ever be possible is the big question that now faces any biographer of Turgot: the family archives at Lantheuil have been closed for nearly a decade because of a family dispute.

⁴⁹ André Morellet, *Mémoires de l’abbé Morellet de l’Académie française sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la Révolution* (Paris, 2000), 52.

minding him that he was related to Mme de Choiseul.⁵⁰ He failed to obtain such better postings. Similarly, the Paris Parlement refused to let him succeed to his brother's office of *président à mortier* in 1764, or to be named *prévôt des marchands* in 1768, showing that he was a controversial figure from the start, but also the degree to which he regularly invoked his background.⁵¹ The Duchesse d'Enville, Mme Du Marchais (later Mme d'Angiviller), and Mme Blondel devoted themselves to his welfare and advancement, as did other Parisian hostesses such as Julie de Lespinasse.⁵² To understand Turgot's life, his interests, and his achievements, all his networks and friendships have to be restored to their rightful place, including those that revolved around a shared passion for poetry.

MIRABEAU AND TURGOT DISLIKED EACH OTHER, and indeed, had little in common. Whatever Turgot's blueprint to reorder the French state, increasing his family's fortunes was not part of his plan. He contributed actively to the literary culture of his times *as well as* to modern economics. Mirabeau fought to reform mankind and benefit his own lineage at the same time. Anointed as the disseminator of physiocratic ideas, he was beset by contradictions that rendered his thought increasingly arcane and convoluted. His voice failed him because every fiber in his body pushed him toward nobiliary exceptionalism, away from the physiocratic melting pot. There were many rooms in Turgot's mansion, but he balanced his interests better than Mirabeau because he wasn't looking to them to resolve his existential dilemmas: they engaged him intellectually. The marquis yearned for a coherence that eluded him. Turgot, on the other hand, considered each of his undertakings on its own disciplinary terms.

None of the four economists (principally physiocrats) who make up my larger study would have been able to write "I have been interested in political economy since my earliest days." I have been curious about what got them there. They shared a common goal to reform the French economy in the 1760s and 1770s but were the products of different times and different trajectories (two were upwardly mobile commoners, two were of noble descent). They ranged from Quesnay, who was born in 1694 and was imbued with seventeenth-century rationalism, to Du Pont, forty years his junior, who embraced the age of sensibility. Like a league of superheroes, each of whom brings special powers and particular frailties, the movement for economic reform they developed was subject to their personalities, strengths, weaknesses, and previous experiences. Understanding how they came to political economy helps us understand how they wrote about it.

Rather than extracting a common thread, it is this very diversity that interested

⁵⁰ Letter to Choiseul, April 20, 1760, in Schelle, *Oeuvres de Turgot*, 2: 81.

⁵¹ The Parlement's refusal led to his brother's resignation from that body on July 31, 1764; Schelle, *Oeuvres de Turgot*, 1: 51–52. Family relations got him out of trouble when he was discovered to have spread verses denouncing the king's treatment of Charles Stuart. See Morellet, *Mémoires*, 53.

⁵² His relationship with the duchess is at present the best-documented: *Lettres de Turgot à la duchesse d'Enville (1764–74 et 1777–80)* (Louvain, 1976); Daniel Vaugelade, *Le salon physiocratique des La Rochefoucauld: Animé par Louise Elisabeth de la Rochefoucauld, duchesse d'Enville (1716–1797)* (Paris, 2001); Anne-Claire Baritault et al., *Curiositas humana est: Le Château de La Roche-Guyon, Un salon scientifique au siècle des Lumières* (Nesle-la-Vallée, 1998). Mme Blondel features regularly in Turgot's correspondence to Du Pont.

me. In the process, writings and concerns that had, on the surface, very little to do with economics, and had therefore been dismissed as irrelevant by other scholars, found their rightful place. From being disembodied forces, ideas became once more the products of men. In saying this, I do not mean to level all thoughts and occupations. Ingres and Einstein can play their violins in peace. What concerns me is the excision of relevant domains simply because they do not fit the expected mold—in this instance, the creation of “modern economics.” Let the myth of single-minded “rational” men producing a handful of “significant” writings be at last laid to rest and a more nuanced and variegated historiography take its place.

Liana Vardi is Associate Professor of History at the State University of New York at Buffalo. She has published on peasant life and cultural representation of peasants, including articles in this journal in 1993 and 1996. She recently completed a manuscript titled *The Necessary Arts: Economics and Culture in the Late French Enlightenment*. Her next project is a full-length biography of Turgot.

AHR Forum
Simon Schama's *A History of Britain*

Introduction

Undoubtedly one of the more successful television history programs in recent years has been the BBC broadcast *A History of Britain*, which was first aired in the UK in 2000 and was shown in the U.S. several years later. Written and presented by Simon Schama, in fifteen packed episodes it told the story of Britain from the Stone Age to 1965. A three-volume book edition was published at the same time. Already experienced in broadcasting, Schama has gone on to write and present several other television programs with a historical bent (most recently *The American Future: A History* [2008]); he remains committed to exploring the possibilities of the medium for educating the public in history. And he is a forceful advocate for the kind of narrative approach that guides the series: "Story is the thread that connects our scholarly work with the listening, reading public, and we break it at our peril."

Not all historians have been pleased with Schama's efforts. Some take issue with his overall interpretation, his particular emphases, and his selection of material; others are more concerned with the nature of the medium itself and the inevitable compression and simplification it requires. But few can quarrel with the power of television (as well as cinema) in shaping people's perception of history, nor with the desirability of having historians ensure that the public's understanding of history is as faithful and correct as possible. Few of us will have the opportunity to write a script for television or the cinema, or to present our interpretation of history to a viewing audience of hundreds of thousands, even millions, like Schama. But few of us have not taken advantage of the many very good television programs and movies that faithfully, though of course partially, sometimes even fancifully, conjure up the past, from *The Return of Martin Guerre* to Ken Burns's *The Civil War*. For a course on British history, Schama's *A History of Britain* is certainly among them.

For this *AHR Forum*, we asked three historians of Britain to assess Schama's history, in both its televised and its printed format. Miri Rubin, a historian of medieval Britain and Europe, looks at Schama's interpretation through the critical eyes of not only an expert in the period but someone who has experience in the world of broadcasting as well. A historian of early modern Britain, Linda Levy Peck, challenges some of Schama's choices in his narrative, suggesting that his emphasis on a strong narrative about nation and empire building leaves out crucial elements that would have been conveyed by more attention to analysis and social history. Finally, the modern ep-

isodes of *A History of Britain* are assessed by Peter Stansky, who generally views Schama's treatment of the period favorably, but who also somewhat wistfully wonders about the danger of "telly" history in "dumbing down" our understanding of the past. Simon Schama responds to these comments and criticisms, offering a vigorous defense of what he calls the "poetics of television history," which "presupposes a strictly nonfiction dramaturgy, bound together with a clear and compelling narrative," making it "quite as formidable a challenge as, say, the formal composition of post-Ciceronian oratory."

AHR Forum
The BBC's *A History of Britain*

MIRI RUBIN

In summer 1995, I was invited to a lunch hosted by the controller of the TV channel BBC2 in a fashionable West London restaurant. Although I did not know who the lunch partners were to be, I was told what we would discuss. With the millennium only five years away, the national broadcaster—mindful of its duty to offer improving and enjoyable nourishment—was thinking both backward and ahead. It seemed fitting to offer the nation a gift on the occasion: a story of its past, a history of Britain.

Though we were given few details about their ideas in advance, it was clear that the BBC chiefs wanted a comprehensive biography, a cradle-to-grave affair. So they collected historians of all periods and diverse affiliations for consultation. Among us were a charismatic “people’s historian,” a distinguished journalist and historian of Scotland, an expert on Tudor kingship, a Victorianist of great panache, a historian of Britain’s eighteenth-century global empire, and a medieval historian. That was me. To give shape and purpose to our meeting, a political journalist and interviewer, Brian Walden, acted as chair. With a blend of the skepticism born of experience and boyish charm born of enthusiasm, he presided over the unscripted event.

As I walked through the elegant street leading to the restaurant, I planned how I might “sell” the Middle Ages, how I might convey the dynamism of the period. I feared that its place in the enterprise might be in peril. True, no maker of a history of Britain would wish to exclude the Norman Conquest, the Becket Affair, the Magna Carta, Parliament, or the Black Death; that was sure. But I also sensed that a history of Britain made in 1995 would strive to be inclusive: of regions, peoples, genders, occupations, cultural milieus, dialects; in sum, of the great variety of experiences of the people of Britain. My task—as I understood it—was to convince the program makers that it was possible to do that for the Middle Ages, too. I expected to have to persuade the program’s planners that the earlier centuries need not be doomed to a treatment through kings, knights, and bishops alone—that “society” could be made accessible and interesting to millions of future viewers.

As I prepared my case, I imagined it to be one of advocacy, of reassuring the man who held the purse strings that the history of the Middle Ages could be made visually pleasing but also socially inclusive: with women and peasants, artisans and Welsh people, northerners and southerners, Flemings and Jews—the lot.

A historian of the Middle Ages in 1995 could rightly celebrate almost a half-century of exciting new research on the patterns of life, work, and death of people in villages and small towns alongside the burgeoning cities; of vernacular literatures

and parish art; of housing and clothing, food and drink. Alongside the study of material, indeed bodily, routines, of "how" people lived, historians had delved into—as the Chinese tale has it—what people "lived for": affective family ties, religious sentiment, a sense of lineage and commitment to ancestors, pride in locality and region, leisure and communal activities, the pleasure of exercising ingenuity and skills. My mind buzzed with righteous pride in my colleagues and our interlocking enterprises. I could not wait to argue the case for the "new" Middle Ages as an integral rather than quaint part of the history of Britain.

The lunch began without ceremony or plan, and so we, the historians, settled down to enjoy our food and drink and to muse about the purpose of the gathering. An hour or so later, we were greeted and asked to speak about our ideas for the proposed history series. The Scottish historian was vehement in arguing that Scotland should not be included; since it is a nation apart with its *own* history, it deserved, if anything, a separate history of Scotland rather than a recurrent vexing presence within a history of Britain. The "people's historian" exhorted passionately, and contrariwise, that the Irish and Ireland should play a meaningful part in the history; he emphasized the influence of the Irish—monks, poets, migrant laborers, freedom fighters, and terrorists—on the history of Britain. Without a serious consideration of Ireland, any history of Britain was bound to be not just incomplete but fundamentally flawed. The self-nominated spokesmen for the non-English parts of the story were clearly in disagreement.

Next the eighteenth-century historian demonstrated her awareness of the visual demands of the medium by conjuring an image—albeit a static one—around which the story of that century might be told: the cup of tea. From the steaming china receptacle, the stories of trade with Asia could unfold, including the British enterprise of tea production through a plantation economy and the labor bonded to it. The fashionable social mores of preparing, serving, and drinking tea in Britain, in all its social variation, and the related domestic settings and fashions in dress and behavior might be explored. There was a vision of a global, integrated imperial nation to be explored in multiple settings for human dramas involved in producing what became the quintessential image of the British—a nice cuppa.

What was emerging from all our contributions was a sense of enthusiasm. Turning our ideas into a TV history would have meant a passionate engagement with history and its making, a gargantuan enterprise with many locations and points of view. It would have included kings and queens but also peasants and artisans, regional life as well as parliaments and courts. It would have meant a lot of very hard work, not so much on the part of the historians, but as a TV production. It was indeed dizzying and exhausting even to listen to the variety of possibilities raised around the lunch table. But it was impressive and exciting, too, and so much of the history had never been told before.

The rest is history. We received a modest payment for our efforts, and we never heard from our BBC hosts again. A few years later, it became clear that although we, the historians of Britain, had been dropped, the idea of a BBC history of Britain had not.

Inasmuch as the lunching historians had conjured an image for a history of Britain, it was that of a patchwork quilt, each patch made by a different pair of hands,

all painstakingly sewn together to create a whole that amounted to much more than the sum of its parts. The BBC chose instead to make a shimmering cape of many colors but of a single texture: luxurious silk. Much like the highly successful *Civilisation* presented by Kenneth Clark in the 1960s, it was to be narrated by a single authoritative figure. The historian Simon Schama, one of the many creative British people working in the United States, was to be the sole presenter. There were no talking heads to lend support, just a vast team of backroom researchers.

In the presence of Schama, we know that we are being treated to excellence. It flows from his historical intelligence, his charm, his command of rhetorical skills. His talk and his text are alive with alliteration, hyperbole, metaphor, simile, and personification. He exudes confidence and a certain wistful energy. I doubt that any other single historian could have presented *A History of Britain* much better. Schama's eloquence, and his willingness to become our omniscient historian—ranging from the Neolithic dwelling to twentieth-century diplomacy—are qualities that few historians can muster. He conveys an empathy that creates a coalition of sympathy—for serfs, for women, for slaves—with the viewers. The ease with which Schama pronounces “we the British,” “our kings,” and “our climate” made him a most welcome guest in the sitting rooms of English-speaking people, and—as importantly—in their children's classrooms, too.

Although the *AHR* Forum has occasionally been an arena for polemic against individual historians or works, I do not consider the historian of *A History of Britain* to be a problem for discussion. I wish, rather, to consider the production values of the project—the ideas that made it happen. For underlying the series is a strong sense of what TV history should be, and the historian-presenter is its servant, not its master.

A History of Britain is a magnificent parade of historical figures that are larger than life. They fit in well with the obsession with celebrity in which fin-de-siècle British culture reveled: there is William the Conqueror (“the first data-base king”), Thomas Becket (“the first commoner to affect the course of British history”), John (“useless”), Elizabeth I (“full of manly authority”). The viewer is invited to feel grudging admiration for the ruthless alpha males such as Henry II, Edward I, and Oliver Cromwell. A few women play a role; they seduce or mourn, or both, like Eleanor of Aquitaine, Anne Boleyn, and Mary Queen of Scots. Center stage is one of *A History of Britain*'s favorites: Elizabeth I, virgin mother to the English nation. Week by week, chapter by chapter, person by person—the highborn and those talented and good-looking people around them—here is a historical *Dynasty*, power-dressing and all.

The stories told are of the greatest human interest—blends of ambition, fear, and desire—and they make compelling viewing. Underlying *A History of Britain* is the belief that human nature, particularly the nature of those born to rule, is timeless, unchanging, and thus easily recognizable by viewers who may love or loathe the characters. The series frequently borrows from the glossy idiom of contemporary political culture—there is spin, there is propaganda—in the courts of William the Conqueror, Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, and Charles I.

Such borrowing across the centuries is utterly defensible, and it makes for racy and sometimes riveting television; it keeps people interested. Yet while *A History of*

Britain relentlessly employs the language of contemporary politics, unlike modern politicians it is interested not at all in the opinions and lifestyle choices of the people of Britain. While contemporary politicians recognize the importance of keeping in touch—hence the tedious ubiquity of focus groups—*A History of Britain* addresses “the people” only in times of crisis. They are treated in the course of the Peasants’ Revolt, the Spanish Armada, or the first Scottish War. Only the bacterium that caused the Black Death forced a different approach; the tone of the episode “King Death” explores a wider range of social situations than the other episodes do. With its choice of kings and queens as subject matter, this landmark history, the BBC’s millennium gift, is lacking in curiosity about the people of Britain themselves.

The episode on the Reformation, for example, traces the familiar intrigues of Henry VIII’s marital and dynastic life. Religious ideas are just so many options within the bustling court. Yet religion had for decades been subject to heated conflict. Laypeople and clergy alike debated the vexed issues of access to the Bible, the nature of priesthood and sacraments, the power of saints and images to console and heal. While Henry VIII jousted, hunted, and danced, whole regions of continental Europe were already challenging the traditional arrangements of religious authority. British thinkers and writers were central to the drama that saw Europe’s house divided over these issues of substance, not just of appearance.

The conversations about the paths to salvation were not the lot of monks and theologians alone; they were the stuff of daily life. The first autobiography in the English language was dictated by Margery Kempe of [King’s] Lynn (ca. 1373–d. after 1439), a mother of fourteen children from a well-off merchant family. It is a confessional diary. In her thirties, she left her family and embarked on a religious quest. She went on local and then long-distance pilgrimages, endured periods of meditation that ended in heavy weeping, and encountered disapproval everywhere. Margery’s contemporary, another Norfolk woman, Margery Baxter, habitually pestered her neighbors with arguments against priestly privilege and the use of images in devotion. Religious change in the sixteenth century was not determined solely by the urges of a testosterone-rich king and his dynastic desires; its agents were many among the people of Britain. Yet the chapter “Burning Convictions” situates the Reformation between the sheets, in court alone.

An inspired exception is the use in this episode of computer-generated imagery (CGI) to re-create the colorful interior of a medieval parish church, and then to strip its altars and remove its rood screens or paint them white. This was a simple but imaginative device, which, despite its artifice, conveys a historical insight that is based on careful documentation: the dismantling of church furnishing and ornament—and their restoration, too—during the unfolding of the “long Reformation” in Britain. It helped convey a sense of how dramatically changed these communal institutions were—there were some nine thousand parishes in medieval England alone—and how collective as well as individual lives were affected.

A History of Britain could have captured the devotional and emotional communities of Britain with their diverse styles and languages. Prayers were offered in Welsh, Kentish, Lowlands Gaelic, French, and Latin. Attitudes ranged from wholehearted embrace of cults of saints and images to skepticism bordering on discomfort with material manifestations of the divine. People argued about the here and the

hereafter in homes, taverns, courts of law, and workshops. *A History of Britain* treats religion as something experienced by people who are witnesses to the huge transformations forged by their masters. Most historians today—from Caroline Bynum to Eamon Duffy—would consider them more involved, engaged, even opinionated.

The treatment of late medieval and Reformation Britain exemplifies the orientation of *A History of Britain*, what its makers deemed important and less important. It strives little to discover and discuss the agency of the people of Britain. True, this would have been a demanding task, but it is one that the BBC, with its unrivaled mandate, its responsibility, and its unique drawing power, should have considered. If not the BBC, then who could be expected to broadcast authoritatively and with enthusiasm about politics with a small “p,” the history of continuities and stabilities alongside the morality tales of dynastic ambitions and follies?

The BBC could have chronicled the intricate customs and arrangements through which Britain produced food, by which its peoples managed the environment—rivers, forests, meadows, fen, and turf. There are numerous dramas for the making on the precocious energy of local government: by the ninth century, taxation supported the defense of the realm on land and sea; the twelfth century witnessed an explosion of more than a thousand market towns in which peasants sold surplus and bought a few luxuries while artisans made and sold their wares. By the fourteenth century, there were local commissions in the East Anglian fens to maintain dikes against flooding. People interacted everywhere, endowed with responsibility, acting in public, fearful of loss of face, but accustomed to being part of a system of interlocking local, regional, and national concerns.

The manor—and there were some in all parts of the British Isles—was a bustling community of rights and duties, of lordship and neighborhood. Work was hard for serf-tenants, but it was predictable at most times. Almost everyone was mobilized for the public tasks of work and governance. Men held official positions as assessors, churchwardens, and jurors; women educated the young, ran households, and worked in fields and workshops. The law reached everyone regularly: manorial law tracked peasant lives through fines and licenses to marry, bury, and inherit; church courts scrutinized morality and offered support for those abused in marriage; town councils fined bakers and brewers who adulterated bread and ale, butchers who purveyed putrid meat, and women who sold sex outside licensed brothels. People traveled cheaply on Britain’s rivers and along its coasts to sell, visit, and go on pilgrimage. They walked and rode to join armies or give testimony in court, and occasionally to march in protest. They sang and recited, danced and lampooned. They dreamt about plenty and coped with penury. They led interesting, rich lives, and historians have labored hard to discover them.

These lives are no longer buried in the records. When Virginia Woolf looked for Tudor women, she could not find them, not even in the prestigious history of Trevelyan:

Occasionally an individual woman is mentioned, an Elizabeth, or a Mary; a queen or a great lady. But by no means could middle-class women with nothing but brains and character at their command have taken part in any one of the great movements which, brought together, constitute the historian’s view of the past.

She had recently visited Girton College and examined the library but found no such history:

What one wants, I thought—and why does not some brilliant student at Newnham or Girton supply it?—is a mass of information; at what age did she marry? How many children had she as a rule; what was her house like? Had she a room to herself; did she do the cooking; would she be likely to have a servant? . . . could one collect it and make a book of it. It would be ambitious beyond my daring.

Woolf wrote more than eight decades ago. She was right to sense that some brilliant women would in not too far a future begin to write that absent history. But everything she asks could be said of men as well; and we are fortunate now to know a great deal about men and women (and not only those of the “middle class”). That history is no longer “scattered about somewhere,” no longer just a wistful dream. Over the last two generations, historians have made these lives available, evaluated their meanings, their contradictions, their similarities to and differences from our own life-worlds. To make such history available would have been a challenging task; its tenor would have been very different from that of *A History of Britain*. It would have also probably been more attentive to the question of *how* we know, and would have made the use of “we” and “ours” less easy.

Why, then, was the story of the people of Britain not told by *A History of Britain*? Or rather, is *A History of Britain* a history? Is a story onscreen told by one person through the antics of kings and queens a history? Is this indeed the only historical genre that the twenty-first-century public will accept?

The demographics of history programming in the U.S. and the UK are quite similar: viewers are mostly white men over forty. It is to Schama's credit that *A History of Britain* attracted more than the usual audience, up to 3 million viewers. This achievement launched a golden period for commissioning history programs. The other most successful sole presenter is David Starkey (one of those who lunched in 1995). His frenetic erudition attracts viewers, who sense that behind the garrulous turn of phrase lies expertise. Starkey sticks to the domains he understands well: monarchs and their courts. Viewers sense that he has studied every object, document, and location related to Tudor history very closely. They enjoy the escapist privilege of being guided through courts with the historian who has examined intimately every surviving garment that once touched Elizabeth I's body.

The opposite end of the spectrum of expertise and erudition is inhabited by a father-and-son team, Dan and Peter Snow, enthusiastic schoolboys both. The historian's authority cedes here to history as experience in Wellington boots. Their 2004 series *Battlefield Britain* retold battles on location, with the aid of some heavy machinery and much digital technology. They affect a bumbling amateurism combined with physical energy, and offer the viewer in (his) armchair and slippers something new: an experience of battle not unlike that offered by state-of-the-art computer war games. The episode on the Battle of Shrewsbury (1407), for example, analyzed the terrain and weather, the spaces suddenly filling up with diagrams and digital figures. Like *A History of Britain*, it offers the English-speaking viewer a set of stimuli embedded in the past that are easily absorbed and pleasing.

All three types—Simon Schama, David Starkey, Dan Snow—share a single rhe-

torical ploy: they set themselves apart from an imagined pedantic, somewhat narrow, professional historian. The Snows do so easily; neither is an academic historian. Starkey and Schama work to make it clear that they are unlike their sibling historians. When urbane and sophisticated historian of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century northern Europe and America Simon Schama says, "Historians like a quiet life and usually they get it," it is not clear whether he includes himself among their number.

If you do not trust historians to behave, to be able to amuse and delight, then you keep them away from the screen. So *A History of Britain* used no other historian's voice. When Schama stood in Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor's shrine, in a space rich with layered and complex meanings, how I yearned for the erudite and articulate Paul Binski to be ushered in for a few penetrating comments, based on his knowledge of each stone and mosaic tile shown. Such well-placed voices would have contributed texture and fine discernment, sharp and challenging observations that had not passed through the screens of research assistants. They would have, moreover, reminded viewers of the deeply collective nature of the historical enterprise. It would have also suggested that there are different points of view to be had, and that history is above all an act of advocacy embedded in debate.

Where public broadcasting is cut off from the tyranny of big budgets, images, and ratings, that is, on radio, the historian is not considered to be an embarrassing drudge. BBC Radio 3 and Radio 4 offer ample space for historians to follow documentary trails, to ponder the histories of institutions, and to develop arguments at length. One of Radio 4's most popular programs, with a mass following and a lively website and blog, is *In Our Time*. Under the baton of Melvin Bragg, three academics—very often historians—enact a forty-five-minute seminar on topics ranging from science to philosophy, set within historical contexts. The program does not "dumb down" but rather flaunts its seriousness without being riddled with jargon. Professional expertise is celebrated. The training of historians in the UK, like that of the nurse, schoolteacher, or surgeon, is supported by the citizen-taxpayer. Why not make use of what they have to offer?

The inversion of genre that sees history turn into costume drama can also produce an opposite effect. The BBC's dramatization of Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*, broadcast in fifteen episodes in winter 2005, offered a sharply drawn picture of Victorian lives, and in it Dickens's contemporary intelligence is still at work. There are relations between men and women, rich and poor, servants and mistresses, London and the regions. Above all, there is the law, its power to raise hope and to enslave. Here is an experience that heightens historical awareness and begs questions about continuity and change. Imagine a BBC *History of Britain* that captured something of that powerful evocation of time and place, of the interlocking lives of rich and poor, country and city, men and women.

This may sound like blasphemy to some, but other historians will feel comfortable with the presence of the literary text in our imaginary history classroom, and it is with the classroom that I wish to finish this discussion. *A History of Britain* is much used in teaching, and that is where historians are taking charge.

I have never taught with *A History of Britain*, but I have discussed it with colleagues who are university teachers as well as schoolteachers. It appears that in the classroom, the series can be used for all its strengths, and supplemented effectively

for what is left out. All the points I have raised so far—about the histories excluded, the solo delivery, the absence of expert opinion, and the resulting distortion of history as collective enterprise—can become the stuff of heated class discussion, a guided testing of historiographies and histories.

The visual stimuli of *A History of Britain* are a useful resource for situating events and life-worlds. A good example is the episode “Nations,” which focuses on Edward I (1272–1307) and the wars in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. We visit battlefields, castles, and fortified manor houses, and a century unfolds over the hour. The classroom is introduced to terrains, technologies of war, the distances involved in shifting armies, and the advantages enjoyed by those conducting guerrilla-style warfare. The class begins its work with a clear argument told by a master narrator. But this is just the beginning: the story of dynastic ambition, about a stage in the making of Britain, can be made into other and different histories, too. Students are guided to read other historians, to consider primary sources, and to discuss. Every historian worth her salt can use the opening episode as a platform from which a term’s work can unfold, a deconstruction in the classroom.

With the aid of inspired teachers and interested parents, the BBC’s *A History of Britain* can be made into the basis of classroom discussions and conversations over family suppers. But without these, it can reinforce the celebrity-driven narratives so characteristic of the decades we have just lived through.

A History of Britain offers numerous opportunities to be cherished by historians. All this is Schama’s personal achievement: he is someone we can welcome to the classroom; he oozes intelligence; and his heart seems to be very much in the right place. I just wish he—and the BBC—liked historians better.

Miri Rubin is Professor of Medieval and Early Modern History at Queen Mary, University of London. She has edited several volumes and is the author of *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Yale University Press, 1999), and *The Hollow Crown* (Penguin, 2005). Her most recent book, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*, was published by Yale University Press earlier this year. She is currently at work on an edition of the *Passio of William of Norwich*.

AHR Forum
Schama's Britannia

LINDA LEVY PECK

ON JUNE 29, 1604, WILLIAM CAMDEN presented a paper entitled "Of the Diversity of Names of This Island" to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in London.¹ Together with his colleagues, the author of *Britannia* addressed the historical roots of the names of Britain, Albion, and England, just as the House of Commons debated King James's proposal for the Union of England and Scotland and began the process that created a unified state and a United Kingdom. Flash-forward four hundred years. Simon Schama's *A History of Britain*, the most ambitious treatment of British history ever created for television, aired on British and North American television between 2000 and 2002. Conceived and written in the late 1990s with devolution in the air and European Union legislation overriding English law, it presented the growth of the unitary British state even as that very construct was being deconstructed.

Schama, a brilliantly direct narrator, vividly evokes personalities, analyzes complex issues, and makes immovables—stately homes, landscapes, and stones—speak. He embeds his narrative with anecdote and microhistory that add texture, interest, and often novelty. In this he combines the skills of the narrative historian with the new historicist. Schama's *A History of Britain*, in fifteen hour-long TV episodes and the books based on them, has enjoyed significant popularity, bridging academic and popular history with easy mastery. The audience for Schama's series is broad, from students who love British history to a general public of all ages eager to learn more about the past—their own and others'.

Schama's *A History of Britain* poses several questions. The first, why a narrative of British history, and why now, can be answered in part by the BBC's desire to tell the story of one history that in some ways was coming to an end. But as historians, we are equally interested in asking other questions. How British is Schama's Britain, and whose Britain is it? What are the benefits and limitations of the all-knowing narrator on television? Does television as a medium offer only simplification for the discussion of history, or does it also offer amplification, the possibility of using sight and sound to explore further than the written word? Schama's treatment of the period 1500–1750 can be used to consider some of these questions.

I wish to thank Barbara J. Harris, Stanley L. Engerman, and the anonymous readers for the journal who read earlier drafts of this essay.

¹ Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses Written by Eminent Antiquaries upon Several Heads in Our English Antiquities*, 2 vols. (London, 1771), 1: 90–100.



FIGURE 1: The title page of William Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1607 during the Union debates, presents a map of England and Scotland flanked by Neptune and Ceres. Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 4508, Copy 2. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Schama aims to look not only at the history of England but at the history of Britain, conceived as England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and later the British Empire. In the wake of the loss of that empire, the realignment of Commonwealth countries such as Australia and New Zealand with the Pacific Rim, and the movement for devolution—the self-governing of each of the entities making up the United

Kingdom—and away from English hegemony, historians since the 1970s have focused on Britain and Britons, and in particular the multiple kingdoms of early modern Britain. J. G. A. Pocock has argued for the study of British political thought. Conrad Russell and John Morrill have focused on the British context of the English Civil War.² Most recently, Tim Harris has argued that the multiple kingdoms must be dealt with together if we are to understand the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution.³ Of course, such naming and renaming is fraught with cultural and political implications. Nicholas Canny, for example, argues that early modern Ireland should be understood in a European as well as a British context.⁴

Naming may also be merely a matter of changing political fashion. Thus John Clapham's *The Historie of England*, published first in 1602, was quickly renamed and republished as the first part of *The Historie of Great Britannie* after the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne.⁵ Similarly, while Schama is eager to incorporate the Scots into his history and calls attention to Scottish and Irish archaeology, the Queen of Scots, and heroic highlanders, he rarely discusses in detail the differing social structures and practices, culture, and law in the multiple kingdoms. Peoples and communities play a lesser role than the creation of institutions and the state in Schama's *A History of Britain*.

Nevertheless, Schama's images are arresting and his argument is occasionally offbeat, designed to make us rethink the narrative with which we are familiar and to pose different questions. Beginning with archaeological finds in the Orkney Islands, Schama dramatically retells the story of Britain from the Neolithic Age to the present. While his focus is state and empire building, he shows us changing aspects of Britain through material culture, landscape, paintings, books, prints, and film. Schama's writing, combined with his interest in the visual, makes this one of the most exciting television series since Sir Kenneth Clark's pathbreaking BBC series *Civilisation*, broadcast originally in 1969. Indeed, *A History of Britain* shares certain similarities with *Civilisation*: an emphatic narrator and a focus on the triumph of the West.

SCHAMA'S UNDERTAKING WAS NOT, of course, new. History came early to TV, and it has taken the form of historical documentaries, historical reenactments, docudra-

² J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject," *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 601–621; Conrad Russell, "The British Problem and the English Civil War," *History* 72 (1986): 395–415; Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991); John Morrill, "The Britishness of the English Revolution," in Ronald G. Asch, ed., *Three Nations—a Common History? England, Scotland, Ireland, and British History, c.1600–1920* (Bochum, 1993), 83–115; Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, eds., *The British Problem, c.1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke, 1996).

³ Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (London, 2005).

⁴ Nicholas Canny, "The Intersections between Irish and British Political Thought of the Early Modern Centuries," in David Armitage, ed., *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 2006).

⁵ John Clapham, *The Historie of England: The First Booke Declaring the Estate of the Ile of Britannie under the Roman Empire* (London, 1602); Clapham, *The Historie of Great Britannie Declaring the Successe of Times and Affaires in That Iland, from the Romans First Entrance, Untill the Raigne of Egbert, the West-Saxon Prince; Who Reduced the Severall Principalities of the Saxons and English, into a Monarchie, and Changed the Name of Britannie into England* (London, 1606).

mas, and historical fiction. In 1952–1953, *Victory at Sea* documented World War II in the Pacific with extraordinary visual newsreel footage of planes and ships accompanied by an unseen narrator and a famous score composed by Richard Rodgers and Robert Russell Bennett. It set the fashion for military history, which remains one of the most popular forms of historical narrative on television. Historical reenactments, based on widely read books of historical fiction, memoir, journalism, and history, have been popular, including Alex Haley's *Roots* in 1977, David McCulloch's *John Adams* in 2007, and the HBO docudrama *Recount* in 2008. Television programs and stations devoted to historical documentaries, such as *American Experience*, *Frontline*, and the History Channel, as well as *Masterpiece Theatre*, show that there is a significant audience for historical problems and historical fiction as well.

English and Irish history, especially the Tudors, have often provided popular subject matter for historical documentaries. David Starkey's series *Henry VIII*, *Elizabeth*, and *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* created a vivid portrait of the Tudor court, while more recently his *Monarchy* traced the personal lives of English kings and queens in the rich settings of court collections. Robert Kee presented *Ireland: A History* in thirteen episodes in 1980. With its focus on modern Ireland and the divide of Irish politics, Kee evoked the glory of Irish monasticism but spent only one episode on the history of Ireland to the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603. But Schama's *A History of Britain*, the most ambitious of these series, has made dynamic use of the visual possibilities of television and its immediacy to create argument through images, material culture, and original documents.

TV as a medium is visual, aural, and direct, and shapes its story in a way different from the printed word. Moreover, the development of music videos and thirty-second advertisements has affected all productions on TV, including history. As a result, quick cutting in the editing of the story is meant to surprise and engage the viewer. The simultaneous combination and overlap of the word, the visual, and the aural in a TV program offers texture and depth that in a book the historian can only hope to offer through "thick description."

Yet visual images do not tell the stories by themselves. The historian still shapes the account, whether in a book or on TV. While the choice of words may make the argument directly, the choice of images makes the argument indirectly. Take this example: In one episode, "The British Wars," Schama, who is always shown in the credits walking on a shoreline—which evokes the island nation—opens with a portrait of James VI and I; quickly turns to John Speed's collection of maps titled *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, published in 1611; zooms in on Edgehill on Speed's map; and immediately connects us with the Battle of Edgehill, where Charles I raised his standard against the parliamentary forces in 1642. James I, whose aim was to keep the peace and who did so for almost two decades, is then forgotten, and the audience is asked to focus on Charles I and the Civil War, the first in a series of wars, along with the Glorious Revolution and the wars between England, Scotland, and Ireland between the 1640s and 1745 that created the modern British state. This is Schama's choice as narrator and historian. But had he juxtaposed a different set of images, we might have an alternative story. Imagine: Schama is seen walking down the Strand in London's West End; cut to the sculpture of James I in the courtyard of the Bodleian Library "seated under a canopy of state on which is carved the

words 'BEATI PACIFI' (Blessed are the peacemakers)."⁶ Schama, now standing in front of the Royal Exchange in the City, reads the shop inventory of one of the Exchange's retailers, while John White's pictures of Virginia, title pages of tracts on silk, tobacco, coffee, rice, and sugar, and images of coffee drinkers flash on the screen. Sir Thomas Roe's published speech to the House of Commons in 1641 on behalf of the East India Company claims that Indian goods were not foreign but became naturalized upon entering Britain.⁷ William Petty, the father of economics, calls for a skilled labor force in 1648 based on his tract on education, and Samuel Hartlib proselytizes for improvement in agriculture and manufacturing in the 1650s.⁸ Pages of the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* from the 1660s publish claims for the secret of making porcelain and the history of trades. This set of visual images would tell a different story, one of the development of London, retail shopping, increasing international trade, diversifying the economy, education, and improvement. We would have an alternative story of the seventeenth century, one that would require rethinking "The British Wars."

What story the historian tells then can be debated. How the historian tells the story can take different forms. Most often it has taken the form of the narrative. When Lawrence Stone predicted the return of narrative history in 1979, he might well have been describing Schama's *A History of Britain*: "the organization of material in a chronologically sequential order and the focusing of the content into a single coherent story, albeit with sub-plots . . . its arrangement is descriptive rather than analytical and . . . its central focus is on man not circumstances . . . Directed by some 'pregnant principle,'" Stone suggests that it "possesses a theme and an argument . . . No narrative historians, as I have defined them, avoid analysis altogether, but this is not the skeletal framework around which their work is constructed . . . they are deeply concerned with the rhetorical aspects of their presentation. Whether successful or not . . . they certainly aspire to stylistic elegance, wit and aphorism."⁹

ELEGANT AND WITTY, SCHAMA'S NARRATIVE tells the story of Britain's state building and its material culture. In the period 1500–1776, his Britons are primarily kings, courtiers, nobility, and gentry. Schama constructs the history of the early modern period with episodes titled "Burning Convictions," on the impact of the Reformation; "The Queen's Body," on the battle between Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots; and "The British Wars," "Revolutions," and "Britannia Incorporated," which provide a robust Whig narrative from 1603 to 1776 describing the growth of

⁶ Geoffrey Tyack, *The Bodleian Library, Oxford: A Guide* (Oxford, 2000).

⁷ Sir Thomas Roe *His Speech in Parliament Wherein He Sheweth the Cause of the Decay of Coyne and Trade in This Land, Especially of Merchants Trade: And Also Propoundeth a Way to the House, How They May Be Increased* (London, 1641).

⁸ *The Advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib: For the Advancement of Some Particular Parts of Learning* (London, 1648); Samuel Hartlib, *A Discours of Husbandrie Used in Brabant and Flanders; Shewing the Wonderfull Improvement of Land There; And Serving as a Pattern for Our Practice in This Common-Wealth* (London, 1650); Hartlib, *The Reformed Common-Wealth of Bees . . . Containing Many Excellent and Choice Secrets, Experiments, and Discoveries for Attaining of National and Private Profits and Riches* (London, 1655).

⁹ Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past and Present* 85 (1979): 3–24.



FIGURE 2: Wenceslaus Hollar, *The Royall Exchange of London* (1644). The Royal Exchange, founded by Sir Thomas Gresham in the City of London in 1565, was a meeting place for international merchants. The arcade above contained retail shops. Folger Shakespeare Library, ART Vol. d86, no. 1. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

English institutions and British expansion through the wars of the multiple kingdoms. Turning to Britain's global reach in the eighteenth century, Schama ends not with the American Revolution but with the Scottish Enlightenment and the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

Schama shapes his narrative with striking juxtapositions of anecdote and material culture, light and indirect comments on historiography, and insightful connections. For the early modern period, he focuses more on the country and the landed, less on towns and on London. When he does focus on London, it tends to be on Wren's St. Paul's and, later, Hogarth's Gin Lane rather than the City and the development of the West End. One touching exception is his discussion of Thomas Coram's London Foundling Hospital, where he stops the narration to look at the tiny objects given by mothers to children they were giving up.

Schama gains the viewers' attention by making striking choices. Thus, in his episode on the Reformation, instead of focusing on the break with Rome or the emergence of Protestantism, he asks what happened to Roman Catholicism. He reminds us that many Roman Catholic churches had been vandalized in a generation. In particular, he uses computer graphics to great effect by virtually rebuilding the magnificent Holy Trinity Church at Long Melford, replacing the stained glass windows, painted ceiling, and altar cross that were destroyed by Protestant iconoclasts. In



FIGURE 3: Tobacco, coffee, chocolate, and tea were exotic imports in early modern England. *A Broad-Side against Coffee; or, The Marriage of the Turk* (1672) presents a Turk and two Englishmen drinking coffee and smoking tobacco while being served by an African. Folger Shakespeare Library, J147, p. 63. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

saying that students of his age “grew up with the idea that the Reformation was inevitable,” Schama refers indirectly to the historiographical debate between A. G. Dickens, J. J. Scarisbrick, Christopher Haigh, and Eamon Duffy on the nature of late medieval Roman Catholicism in England.¹⁰ He points out that on the eve of the Reformation, Roman Catholicism was popular and the Tudor monarchs were pilgrims. Indeed, Henry VIII had walked barefoot to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.

Distancing himself ironically from those he calls “serious historians” who focus

¹⁰ See, for instance, A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (London, 1989); J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984); Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

on the social and political origins of the Reformation or "The Tudor Revolution in Government"—the latter, of course, a reference to Geoffrey Elton's work on Henry's *imperium*—Schama proclaims, "We come back to Anne: historical prime cause number one." Identifying himself with those who see the break with Rome as coming from the top, he points out that Anne developed a group of clerics to gather material on the royal supremacy, and that Henry began to use the term "imperial" from about 1530, gained the Submission of the Clergy in 1532, and crowned Anne in 1533. That, of course, did not make England Protestant, as many historians have pointed out. Schama follows a conventional narrative of Henry's reign, Henry's conservative turn, Edward's Protestant church, and Mary Tudor's return to Roman Catholicism.

Schama's brilliance with anecdote and material culture is further demonstrated with "The Queen's Body," a title that evokes both abstract political theory and specific body parts. He makes use of Elizabeth's ring finger and Mary's scalp to examine two queens, "one a politician, the other a mother." Opening with the two tombs in Westminster Abbey commissioned by James VI and I when he became king of England, Schama gives equal time to Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots. He concludes in a terrific ending that it took them both to produce Great Britain. Together, he suggests, they did have a baby: *Magnum Britannia*. In between, Schama details the problems and interactions of the two monarchs.

Schama substitutes biography for analysis. His is not an analytical history of multiple kingdoms. The series tells us little about Scotland in the late sixteenth century, the development of the kirk, feuding aristocratic factions, and changing land usage that prompted Scottish migration to Ireland. If I were choosing a television program on Elizabeth, I would choose the BBC's *Elizabeth R*, in which Glenda Jackson gives a wonderful performance, or HBO's *Elizabeth I*, in which Helen Mirren's reenactment of the speech at Tilbury is superb. But if Schama's "The Queen's Body" short-changes the Elizabethan regime, which began before Mary fled to England and continued after her execution, this segment of *A History of Britain* challenges the traditional anglophile focus of most English historians.

As Schama used the funeral monuments of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots to frame "The Queen's Body," he anchors "The British Wars" with the Banqueting House. Built by King James and crowned by Charles I with the wonderful Rubens ceiling apotheosizing his father, the Banqueting House ultimately became the backdrop for Charles's own execution. Schama provocatively argues that the dream of Britain and a united kingdom killed England in the seventeenth century. Rejecting Conrad Russell's suggestion that the Civil War was "like a road accident," he suggests that it was "a war of ideas about liberty and obedience." Indeed, in "Revolutions," Schama places Hobbes's *Leviathan* center stage along with the issues of sovereignty and de facto kingship. Cromwell, too, wanted union, but Schama argues a union of republics, not kingdoms. Like the Stuarts, Cromwell subdued both Scotland and Ireland, wrestled with parliaments, and repeatedly sought a solution to the problem of rule and succession. At the same time, Schama argues, Cromwell's Protectorate did create a model of the modern British constitution, a chief executive answerable to Parliament.

The restoration of Charles II, Schama emphasizes, brought the return of the visual. While he mentions the telescope and microscope, he spends little time on the

Royal Society, suggesting that science could do nothing about the Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of 1666. The fire, however, did offer the opportunity to rebuild London, an opportunity that the Royal Society and its members took up with alacrity. Christopher Wren intended to rebuild London as a great Roman city.¹¹ Schama argues that the government created in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution was actually a reasonable version of the Protectorate.

In "Britannia Incorporated," which covers the years from ca. 1690 to ca. 1750, Schama addresses the issues of the successful achievement of union and the growth of the British state and its economy. To begin, he contrasts the clocklike work of English government and finance with the traditional time of the Scottish highland clan leaders who supported James II. Drawing on John Brewer's *Sinews of Power*, he describes how the English bureaucracy grew in support of its war machine, and how the Bank of England and the National Debt created government finance that the Stuarts would have envied. In England, as the rage of party receded, Schama suggests that the great landowners, consolidating their landed estates, now "stopped shouting and started building." (Had they ever stopped?) Robert Walpole proved a masterful manipulator of the House of Commons, and MPs who had fought for parliamentary privilege now fought over the spoils. Union with Scotland was achieved in 1707 through a financial and trade deal, in exchange for which Scots agreed to accept seats at Westminster and give up their parliament. Efforts to restore the Stuarts failed in 1715 and again in 1745, when the highlanders were finally defeated. By 1765, however, Scotland was flourishing, and the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and Adam Smith, described the stages of development through which human beings had achieved progress. It was through their analysis, Schama argues, that Scotland showed the future of Britain.

DESPITE THIS STIRRING CONCLUSION to Schama's discussion of early modern Britain, it is still necessary to draw attention to some striking omissions in his treatment of the period. History on television offers important advantages and disadvantages. It allows for striking visual and aural connections, while at the same time it may require compression. Surprisingly, Schama omits discussion of the godly and puritanism in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He does not discuss the Marian exiles and the Elizabethan settlement. This is especially surprising given the attention to the issues of liberty and religion to which he turns when he discusses the English Civil War. Schama omits Mary's nemeses John Knox and George Buchanan. Knox had attacked women rulers in his book *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*.¹² Having alienated Elizabeth, he was not welcome in England and made his way to Scotland, where he shaped the Scottish Kirk and helped to undermine the rule of Mary Queen of Scots. Buchanan became James VI's tutor and taught him Calvinist resistance theory, against which the young king rebelled,

¹¹ James I, too, had expressed his desire to make London the New Rome in his many proclamations regulating London building. See Thomas G. Barnes, "The Prerogative and Environmental Control of London Building in the Early Seventeenth Century: The Lost Opportunity," *California Law Review* 58 (1970): 1332-1363.

¹² John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558).

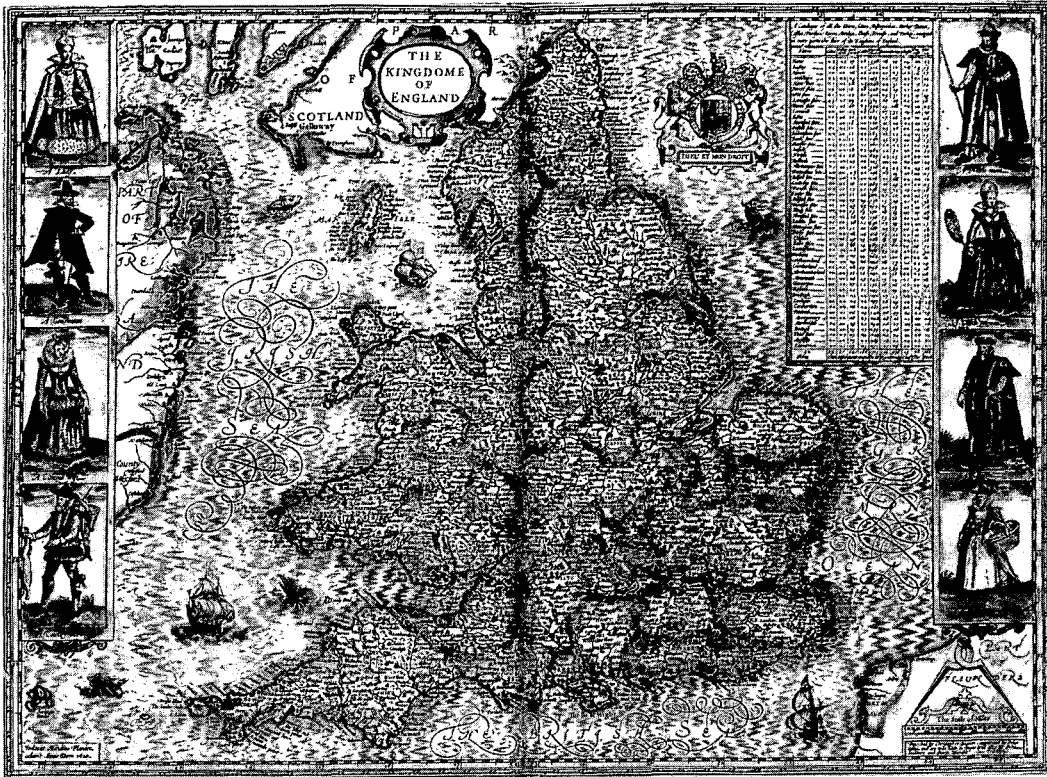


FIGURE 4: John Speed's Map of England also maps social status. Figures of nobles, gentry, citizens, and countrymen and -women wear clothing and accessories illustrating their rank. From Speed, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1616). Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 23044. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

penning his own high views of kingship in the *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. Furthermore, Schama leaves out the debate between the Presbyterian Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift over the nature of the English Church, and the important work of Richard Hooker. He settles for calling the English Church a middle way, omitting the historiographical debate between Nicholas Tyacke and Peter White over whether it was a Calvinist church, albeit of the most moderate kind, an issue that is key to discussions of tensions leading to the Civil War.¹³

Schama rarely includes women in his sequences on early modern England except for royal biographies of Anne Boleyn, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth I, and Mary Queen of Scots. While he does include Leveller women who petitioned for the release of the four Leveller leaders in 1649, he omits discussion of the "Agreement of the People," the Putney and Whitehall debates, Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, and Parliament's response with the Test Act in 1673. Because he includes so little discussion of social history, he has little discussion of gender.

Furthermore, with the reign of James I omitted in the TV series, we lose key British issues such as the Plantation of Ulster, the Plantation of Virginia, and the early development of the East India Company; and constitutional issues such as the

¹³ See, for instance, Nicholas Tyacke, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," *Past and Present* 115 (1987): 201–216; and Peter White, "A Rejoinder," *ibid.*, 217–229.

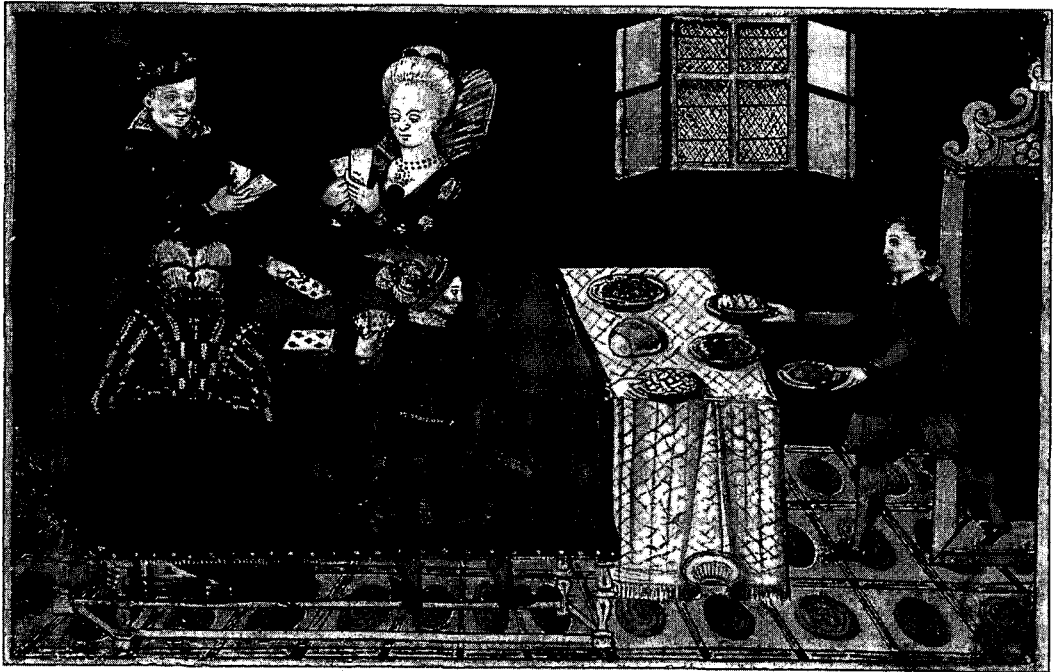


FIGURE 5: Men and women play cards and dine in an inn, early seventeenth century. Folger Shakespeare Library, ART Vol. c91, no. 8d. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

revival of impeachment after 150 years, a sword for the House of Commons, and a legacy to the United States Constitution. The King James Bible is omitted in favor of John Speed's mapmaking. The omission of the Gunpowder Plot means that anti-Catholicism, a long-running theme in British history, is omitted, which seems odd given that the fate of Roman Catholicism is the theme of Schama's treatment of the Reformation and, later, the Restoration.

In contrast to the television program, however, the book by Schama that accompanies the series fleshes out his argument. James I finds his appropriate place in the first chapter. To make his argument that "Britain destroyed England," Schama emphasizes King James's designs to bring union to the multiple kingdoms. He focuses on the subduing of the Western Isles in 1608 as the precursor to English colonial rule around the globe rather than the more prominent plantation system in Ulster. Other than this strong emphasis on the problems of the multiple kingdom, Schama follows the conventional narrative of James's reign, from the Hampton Court conference, to the Overbury murder scandal, to the Spanish match. He does make striking use of David Underdown's *Fire from Heaven* to discuss the impact of the godly when they held power at the local level, as they did in Dorchester.¹⁴ Yet the book, too, finds little place for the differing social, economic, and legal histories of the multiple kingdoms. The differences between the book and the television program make clear the important advantages and disadvantages of the two genres.

¹⁴ David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

SIMON SCHAMA'S *A HISTORY OF BRITAIN* is a striking achievement. It tells one story of nation and empire building. Other such histories might take other forms, address other subjects, and include other views. For in "doing history" on TV, narration is certainly not the only way to tell a dramatic story. Ken Burns has systematically chosen to use primary sources, still photographs, the spoken word, and historians of different views to create a rich texture for his documentaries on American life and culture. From *Brooklyn Bridge* in 1981 to *The Civil War*, *Jazz*, *Baseball*, and *The War*, Burns has presented the story of American society in a strikingly different way. Especially in *The Civil War*, he replaced the single all-knowing narrator with the many voices of letter writers, newspapers, and speakers, both men and women, many little-known, some famous. Burns describes his procedure this way: "the careful use of archival photographs, live modern cinematography, music, narration, and a chorus of first-person voices that together did more than merely recount a historical story. It was something that also became a kind of 'emotional archaeology,' trying to unearth the very heart of the American experience."¹⁵ While American historians have disagreed with Burns's historical analysis, and he has been criticized as well for under-representing African Americans, American Indians, and Latinos, his approach to doing history on television has been pathbreaking. While some narrative structure is provided by the counterpoint of historians such as Shelby Foote and Barbara J. Field, the effect is more like that of an orchestra with many different instruments playing rather than a conductor giving a lecture on what the music is about. More recently, Spike Lee's *When the Levees Broke: A Requiem in Four Acts* looked at the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, combining a variety of interviews, voices, pictures, and music mapping a natural disaster, political mistakes, and personal survival. Other histories of aspects of Britain might look at the diversity of its peoples, communities, societies, cultures, and gender, as well as its politics and institutions. And we can find additional ways to tell their stories. Such histories, moving beyond the all-knowing narrator telling one narrative, should include multiple voices, multiple viewpoints, and conflicting evidence. Such histories quite directly demonstrate the practice of history as well as the performance.

¹⁵ Ken Burns describes his method in a statement on the PBS website: <http://www.pbs.org/civilwar/film>.

Linda Levy Peck is Columbian Professor of History at George Washington University, where she has taught since 1998. She is the author of *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (Routledge, 1982), the award-winning *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Routledge, 1990), and *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), and editor of *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991). She is currently working on a study of money, mobility, and marriage in England between 1600 and 1730.

AHR Forum
Simon Schama: *A History of Britain*

PETER STANSKY

HISTORY ON TELEVISION IS VERY POPULAR, perhaps more so in Britain than the United States. There it tends to be shown on the major channels, as reflected by the fact that *A History of Britain* was broadcast on the BBC. In the United States the series was shown on a cable station, the History Channel (which some refer to as the Hitler Channel because of its seemingly relentless attention to World War II). Ken Burns is probably the figure who is best known for the presentation of history on TV in the U.S., and his work appears primarily on noncommercial public television—on the member stations of PBS, the Public Broadcasting System. A variety of serious programs in both countries feature academic talking heads, but there is a stronger tradition of “crossover” academics in Britain: those who travel on the Oxford-Cambridge-London axis. Our British colleagues appear with more regularity in the press, particularly as book reviewers. This trend is most grandly expressed on television; the British have even coined a term for such academics: “telly dons.”

It began with A. J. P. Taylor, whose immensely popular lectures were bravura performances delivered without notes, but who was nothing more than a talking head—albeit a very effective one. Perhaps the attention span of the public is underestimated; they might be happy with a more straightforward lecture. Even so, in the eyes of some, Taylor went too far in reaching out; he may well have lost, to his fury, the appointment to the Regius Professorship, the grandest history chair at Oxford, because of his willingness to write for the *Sunday Express* as well as his popularity as a broadcaster. But no doubt the defining moment for the development of this genre belonged not to an academic but rather to Kenneth Clark’s *Civilisation*, an immensely popular series in 1969. Clark was a public intellectual, an art critic, former director of the National Gallery in London, a wealthy man of the world. His series set the style of an urbane Englishman walking and talking in beautiful or striking historical sites, enlightening the viewing public. Fast-forwarding to the present, probably the three most eminent “telly dons” in the field of history at the moment are David Starkey, Niall Ferguson, and Simon Schama.

As serendipity would have it, the question of the “telly don” and history has been recently and dramatically raised in Alan Bennett’s *The History Boys*, a highly successful play in London and New York, and now a film as well. In Bennett’s story, eight senior boys are being crammed at a school in Sheffield in the hope that they might achieve a place at Oxford or Cambridge. A special teacher, Irwin, is hired to coach them, in addition to their regular teacher, Hector, the hero of the play. Bennett

has in effect launched an attack on the “telly dons.” He sees them as intent on “dumbing down” history, trying to make it clever, dramatic, and eye-catching rather than “true” both to itself and to its practitioners. (The play is set in the 1980s, but it may draw more upon Bennett’s own experiences as a schoolboy in the 1950s.) The movie version actually softens the attack. In the play, but not in the movie, we have videos of Irwin on television years later. He uses the same lines he has hammered into the boys, most notably, “If you want to learn about Stalin study Henry VIII. If you want to learn about Mrs Thatcher study Henry VIII. If you want to know about Hollywood study Henry VIII.”¹ But the play goes on much more explicitly about the overreaching importance of being clever, rather than expressing one’s own views, in order to capture attention and impress the examiners. Irwin instructs the boys: “The wrong end of the stick is the right one. A question has a front door and a back door. Go in the back, or better still, the side. Flee the crowd. Follow Orwell. Be perverse. And since I mention Orwell, take Stalin. Generally agreed to be a monster, and rightly. So dissent. Find something, anything, to say in his defence. History nowadays is not a matter of conviction. It’s a performance. It’s entertainment. And if it isn’t, make it so.”² One of the boys tells us how Irwin used this approach in his later broadcasts: “Notoriously he would one day demonstrate on television that those who had been genuinely caught napping by the attack on Pearl Harbour were the Japanese and that the real culprit was President Roosevelt. Find a proposition, invert it, then look around for proofs. This was the technique and it was as formal in its way as the disciplines of the medieval schoolmen [Irwin’s earlier academic interest].”³

Indeed, the play is much blacker; it begins with Irwin as an adviser to the government outlining a strategy to some Members of Parliament for justifying the elimination of trial by jury by arguing that it is an expansion of liberty. Bennett may have felt that he went too far, for in the movie version, co-written with director Nicholas Hytner, the splendid history teacher Mrs. Lintott mildly remarks to Irwin in the concluding flash-forward, “School [for you] was just an apprenticeship for television. I enjoy your programmes, but they’re more journalism than history.”⁴ The rival teacher, Hector, is somewhat self-indulgent and overly clever in his way, but his aim is to put the boys in touch with the past and with themselves, primarily through literature. He too is cramming them for their general papers and to impress their examiners and interviewers. Nevertheless, he believes that the point is knowledge for its own sake and for what it means for the individual. This is clear in the scene that is at the heart of both the play and the movie. A central character, Posner (Bennett’s voice), an outsider as a Jew and a homosexual, discusses with Hector the Thomas Hardy poem “Drummer Hodge.” It is the connection with oneself that literature and history at its best can achieve. Hector says: “It is as if a hand has come out and taken yours.”⁵ The movie treats its characters more kindly; Posner ends up doing what Hector wanted, “passing it on” as a successful, if sexually frustrated, schoolteacher, while in the play “he lives alone in a cottage he has renovated himself,

¹ Alan Bennett, *The History Boys* (London, 2004), 58.

² *Ibid.*, 35.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Alan Bennett and Nicholas Hytner, *The History Boys: The Film* (New York, 2006), 106.

⁵ Bennett, *The History Boys*, 56.

has an allotment and periodic breakdowns.”⁶ I believe that in both versions, if less so in the movie, *The History Boys* vividly raises the danger of popular history: that in seeking for effect, it will betray itself. How does the work of Simon Schama figure into this equation?

In order to capture its readers or viewers, does popular history oversimplify, does it distort, is it too intent on being clever? In his introduction to the printed version of his play, Bennett admits to having “cheated” twice on history examinations: first on an entrance exam he took for Cambridge, and then on his final exams at Oxford. He does not mean that he actually cheated, but rather that he concentrated, as Irwin recommends, on working out what would impress the examiners. In the introduction, he mentions Niall Ferguson as representative of a true-life version of Irwin. He quotes a review by the historian R. W. Johnson of Ferguson’s *The Pity of War* as “an extended and argumentative tutorial from a self-consciously clever, confrontational young don, determined to stand everything on its head.”⁷ Bennett remarks that with Ferguson, as well as Andrew Roberts and Norman Stone, “a sneer is never far away and there’s a persistently jeering note.”⁸ Yet although he includes Schama in the category of “telly don,” it is not clear what he thinks of him. “The doyen of TV historians, Simon Schama, is in a league of his own.”⁹ Schama, presumably with Bennett’s approval, has written a pleasing essay in the National Theatre program for the play about being a “History Boy” at his school. It is also noted in the program that not only is the text of the play available in the National Theatre shop, but so are copies of Schama’s *A History of Britain*. Ironically, the announcement omits the modest “A” in the title of the book. Schama disarmingly makes an important point about that “A” as indicating that he regards his work as selective and not definitive; it is his particular take on the history of Britain.

The History Boys raises intriguing, indeed compelling, questions about history and how it should be presented. These issues are certainly present in Schama’s work, most intensely so in the video version, which has had a far larger audience than the accompanying written text. But I believe that the written text is in many ways actually more satisfactory as a historical work than the video, although it is less dramatic. Doesn’t TV, by its very nature (or so its practitioners seem to believe), demand that its presentations be dramatic and each particular episode within the hour be quite short? The various parts that make up the presentation of history visually could easily be extended in time, but the received wisdom, likely one fears correctly, asserts that the attention span of the viewer is limited, and after a few minutes the story must move on. Despite its considerable length—and here I am considering only the third section of the series, on the modern period, 1776 to 2000—Schama makes no claim to be all-inclusive. The 2000 date is a bit of a misnomer, as only a comparatively few pages (and minutes on the screen) cover the period from the Second World War to the end of the century. I happen to agree with that decision personally, as I too—perhaps paradoxically—find it hard to regard as “history” the period of time that I have actually lived through myself as an adult. (Perhaps it is also, although some

⁶ Ibid., 108.

⁷ Ibid., xxiii–xxiv.

⁸ Ibid., xxiv.

⁹ Ibid.

might dispute this, that British history becomes less interesting after the Second World War as the nation firmly declines into a secondary position.) As Schama himself writes, "I have trouble treating any period contemporary with my own life as history at all."¹⁰ He points out that the volume is not a textbook, although it could serve as one. Nor does it claim to be an original work of scholarship.

Much more can be presented in the written text than can be encompassed in a TV series. The third volume both begins and ends with handsome color photographs of nature, the first a presumably untouched image of Honister Pass in the Lake District, and the last an anonymous picture of the British fields, shaped by man. (Onscreen, the series concludes on a beach.) In the book there are eight chapters, with two chapters corresponding to each of the four episodes in the screen version. Each episode has its own overarching theme: nature and change, women and society, the empire, Winston Churchill and George Orwell. There is a loose sense of the political framework over the years, but more central and effective is an appealing emphasis on the cultural and social, generally relayed through selected individuals. There are in the first section familiar figures such as William Wordsworth, as well as somewhat less familiar ones, such as the politically radical artist Thomas Bewick. A sense of human suffering is vividly conveyed through Bewick's vignettes of, among others, tramps and hanged men. While life for the rich became more elegant, as in the languorous figure of Sir Brooke Boothby painted by Joseph Wright of Derby, Schama also emphasizes the dreadful state of the poor and the enslaved. Starvation is present throughout the text and film, beginning in this first part in the horrors of the workhouse. Although the book traces the growing power and dominance of Britain in the world, it does not hide the iniquities present both at home and in the empire.

The first two chapters concentrate on nature and new ideas. The next two move the story forward through the theme of "Victoria and Her Sisters," as it is called on the video, the chapters in the book being "The Queen and the Hive" and "Wives, Daughters, Widows." Schama captures excellently the special British combination of the domestic and the grand, most dramatically present in the royal family. Victoria's, one might say, was the ultimate bourgeois family. At the same time, she was the imposing monarch with a full sense of her entitlements, queen and ultimately the empress of India. She once signed a letter to her grandson the Kaiser "Grandmama, V.R. & I.": Victoria Queen and Empress. She enjoyed the same pleasures as her subjects, as she and her family as well as the multitudes arriving from all over the country on special trains viewed the Great Exhibition of 1851. A few years before, in 1848, thousands had also gathered in London, at Kennington Common, on the south side of the Thames, to convey the radical Chartist Petition to Parliament. London was braced for riot and unrest. But no revolution occurred. Timidity? Good sense? Their potential destination had been the Houses of Parliament, rebuilt in Victorian Gothic, designed by Sir Charles Barry with interiors by A. W. N. Pugin. His works were a celebration of this immensely rich society at the same time that they questioned the new machine age, which lacked what some, including Thomas Carlyle, thought was the organic and religious nature of the medieval past. Schama

¹⁰ Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: The Fate of Empire, 1776–2000* (New York, 2002), 9.

relates the accomplishments of the period, as well as the criticism of them, mostly through an emphasis on feminist issues: John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor; the heroic Mary Seacole, who organized nursing in the Crimea; and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848). That novel provided a devastating picture of the state of the country, revealing how many of those in the most powerful nation in the world were on the verge of death from starvation. "'Clemmed'—starved—is the word that strikes like a hammer blow over and over again in *Mary Barton*. It is both reproach and battle cry."¹¹ There are also effective moments with the great photographer Julia Margaret Cameron and the first British woman doctor, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. The second section ends with Lady Constance Lytton, a daughter of Lord Lytton, an insouciant viceroy of India who cared little for its starving multitudes. Imprisoned as a suffragette, on a hunger strike, Lady Constance carved a V into her breast, not as a celebration of Victoria but as a plea for the vote.

Starvation is indeed one of the great themes of this work, and it largely dominates the two chapters on the empire. Lady Constance was a volunteer to hunger; the suffragettes provided the model for subsequent Irish and Indian hunger strikers. Schama dwells on the devastating starvation of millions in both India and Ireland, and holds the British to blame. Resources were available in both places to alleviate the situation. (And pointing out the similarities of the Indian and Irish situation is an imaginative strength of the work.) The thinking of the time was to permit "natural" and economic forces to take their course. Schama makes much of the role played in India and Ireland in pursuing this policy by that exemplary civil servant Sir Charles Trevelyan, the brother-in-law of Thomas Macaulay, he who preached the blessings of Western civilization for the Indians. The politicians and the civil servants, with rare exceptions, had the best of intentions for improving the lot of those in their charge, but their and the military's methods were arrogant, brutal, and frequently misjudged, particularly in the suppression of the Indian Uprising of 1857. Schama's account is effective both in the book and on the screen, summoning up both the glory and the costs, moral and actual, of the empire. Britain ruled far more territory and more of the population of the world than any other nation then or at any other time in human history.

The twentieth century is dealt with in the last two chapters. The title of the first, "The Last of Bladestover?," is derived from the name of the country house in the H. G. Wells novel *Tono-Bungay* (1908). It was a symbol for the decline of the "old" Britain; but in fact the approach is not all that clearly worked out. This last section is actually dominated, to great effect, by what Schama calls in the TV version "The Two Winstons," standing for Winston Churchill and George Orwell, drawing on the name of Winston Smith, the everyman of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. It is the culmination of his method of telling the story through individuals.

How effective is the popularization of history through a TV series? I recently received a newsletter from the History Department at the University of California, Berkeley. Some of the department's courses are now available through podcasts, and faculty are able to present their courses for students' consideration via video "trailers." Our students as well as their teachers regard the Internet as a valuable research

¹¹ Ibid., 184.

tool. Imaginative presentations are easily achievable. With their extensive use of visual elements, they can be, as is this series, amazingly vivid and more immediate than texts, even texts that are full of illustrations, as the Schama volumes are. But there is the nagging question: Is this a “dumbing down” of history, with only a fleeting and meretricious effect, what the “telly don” Irwin of *The History Boys* would like, or is it something more lasting? Does it share the richer world of Hector? Is Schama Irwin or Hector? One suspects that he is something of both. In order to present history in this way, can the Irwin ever be totally excised? I doubt it. Visual presentations are immensely powerful. On the British history e-mail list H-Albion, there are periodic discussions of the accuracy of historical movies. In most cases, the conclusion is that they are full of errors. And yet there is also general agreement that they serve the vital function of interesting the young (as well as their elders) in historical figures and even in historical problems. Schama’s films do not, as far as I know, contain the kinds of major errors that are found in so many films. But there is the related issue that the medium does seem unable to present the nuances, the qualifications, the ambiguities that can be expressed in a written text. It is less a “dumbing down” than an incomplete presentation. On the other hand, one would not expect a film to be parallel to a monograph. But even here, the text version contains so much more. Yet it is less vivid, it is less likely to “turn on” the reader.

In my view, however, Schama on the page is more of a blessing than Schama on the screen. Kenneth Clark set a very high standard for urbanity and charm. Schama is a less elegant figure than Lord Clark. Whether deliberately or fortuitously, the decision was made to present him onscreen as a less engaging figure than he is in person. To begin with, presumably to make him appear more approachable, he is almost invariably dressed in academic dowdy. I don’t understand, however, why the director doesn’t have him relax and smile from time to time; he is always so grim and dour, and he moves his head in an awkward and angular way. Why do so many of the sentences he utters sound as if they were written in italics? It is not the sneer that Bennett mentions, but his style does move in that direction. To the extent that the series succeeds, and it does to a considerable degree, it triumphs over its style of presentation. Schama’s excellent words win out. That is one reason why I prefer the written version.

Another generic defect, one common to many such TV series, is what I regard as the abomination of historical reconstruction. Although I am not sure, I have the impression that there is one actress who keeps reappearing, as Mary Wollstonecraft, then as Wordsworth’s lover as well as Harriet Taylor. She may also be in the scene with others suffering at the siege at Lucknow. The same two little girls prance around quite a few times: as recipients of a Rousseau-like education and as poverty-stricken nineteenth-century waifs. I assume that they received, but in my view misguided, wisdom is that the variety created by having real people impersonating figures from the past is needed onscreen. I find historical dramas perfectly acceptable. But the interjection of actors and also of obviously constructed sets into what purports to be an accurate historical narrative makes one question the veracity of the points being made. Please, can we dispense with actors making cameo appearances dressed in period costume? Let us see an illustration and allow our imagination to work on it. In my view, it is even more historically irresponsible—and this is a common failing

of the genre not limited to the Schama series—when there are films that look as though they might be of the actual events discussed, but we know that they could not be. We do assume that the color shots of Orwell about to wet his bed and of boys in a class, in color, are not of the young Eric Blair, his real name. And some might think, quite wrongly, that Orwell had a camera with him in the grubby shower room of the “down and outs.”

The interplay of Winston Churchill and George Orwell, not an immediately apparent connection, is a brilliant stroke. Might it be an example of what Bennett attacks—the Stalin/Henry VIII “too clever by half” syndrome? Actually not: The use of the two, their similarities and differences, is illuminating. Nevertheless, in the area in which I’ve done some research myself—George Orwell—I was disconcerted by errors and wrong emphases that one would not have expected. Considering that Schama is telling the story of Britain from 3000 B.C.E. to the present, perhaps one should be forgiving. But he has chosen to do so by concentrating on selected individuals. There is no reason for him not to have the details completely right.¹²

The pairing of Churchill and Orwell is not merely a rhetorical point in the style of Irwin. Both Churchill and Orwell had hopes for a better England. Both, Orwell less obviously so, were intense patriots. Schama regards May 28, 1940, as perhaps the most significant date in the course of the war—a day that stands out more dramatically in the film version. That was the day when Churchill, by what would appear to be mostly willpower and rhetoric, made it clear to the Cabinet that no matter how dire the situation appeared, there was no question but that Britain would fight on. Against so many indications to the contrary, he made the Cabinet believe—and ultimately the people as well, who were less defeatist to begin with than many of their rulers—that victory would be the eventual outcome of the war.

¹² He cites in his bibliography the standard biographical sources on Orwell then available to him: Bernard Crick, Michael Sheldon, Jeffrey Meyers, and the studies by William Abrahams and me. But he has not read them quite as carefully as he should, nor has he used, apparently, the magnificent scholarly edition of Orwell’s works, in twenty volumes, edited by Peter Davison. Perhaps it’s a bit arcane, but Davison has illuminating references to the scholarly literature on the bed-wetting episode. It has been taken as a typical indication of Orwell presenting the worst about himself. But it turns out to be more complicated and in fact makes what I think is an even more interesting point about Orwell. He was not a bed-wetter at all but was drawing upon the experience of a contemporary of his. Orwell was more than willing to change the facts to make his point more compelling; he was an artist, not a historian. Historians are not allowed knowingly to change the facts, although Bennett’s Irwin might have approved. To mention other errors, Orwell wrote his two patriotic poems—one to encourage recruiting and the other on the death of Lord Kitchener—not at Eton, as Schama states, but while still at his prep school, St. Cyprian’s. It is true that he was at Eton on scholarship, but he was a King’s Scholar on the basis of intellectual achievement and not need. Quite a few of the King’s Scholars contemporary with him, such as Steven Runciman, were very well off. Orwell, however, was too poor to travel, and wouldn’t have gone on vacation to Athens while a schoolboy, as one of the photographs in the book informs us. Athens was the name of the spot on the Thames where Etonians went swimming. As Schama states, Orwell did not go on to university, as most King’s Scholars did, but many other Etonians at the time went into the family business directly from school. This in effect was what Orwell did in joining the Burmese police force; his father had been in the Opium Service in India. Despite his lackluster performance at Eton and his family’s comparative lack of affluence, which Orwell liked to exaggerate, one suspects that money would have been found if his teacher, the distinguished classicist A. S. F. Gow, had been encouraging rather than discouraging about such a course of action. *The Road to Wigan Pier*, his report on the effect of the depression in the north of England, sold very well, it is true, but that had little to do with its genuine intrinsic quality and much to do with the huge sales guaranteed by its being one of the subscription books of the Left Book Club. What was controversial about the book was not its attack on the workers, who are treated with great empathy and admiration, but rather his notorious, negative depiction of middle-class socialists.

When the Second World War broke out, Orwell rediscovered his own intense patriotism in such works as "My Country Right or Left" and *The Lion and the Unicorn*. Britain was a family, even if the wrong members of it were in control. Churchill was worried about economic privation early in his career, less so later during the war itself, when he was famously uninterested in the social reforms promised in 1942 by the Beveridge Report. But during the war, he spoke to and for the people of Britain, and so did Orwell. Schama ends his series with praise for Churchill and Orwell and what he sees as their support for social justice and "bloody-minded" liberty. They both had a conception of an archetypal Britain, a rural dream, a combination of the grand and the domestic. An ideal Britain was important to both of them, as it is for Schama, too. He begins his third volume with a search for the original Briton in a natural setting and ends it in much the same way, quoting Orwell on the "Golden Country" where in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* Julia and Winston make love. "It was an old, rabbit-bitten pasture, with a foot-track wandering across it and a molehill here and there. In the ragged hedge on the opposite side the boughs of the elm trees were swaying very faintly in the breeze, their leaves stirring in dense masses like women's hair. Somewhere near at hand, though out of sight, there was a clear, slow-moving stream where dace were swimming in the pools under the willow trees." Schama concludes: "In Orwell's fugitive Golden Country nature, love, freedom and history are all ravelled up together. Some before him called such a place of hopes and blessings 'Jerusalem.' And some of us, obstinately, think we can still call it Britain."¹³

The film version of this history of Britain is a powerful way to present history. No doubt many of us see it as our primary obligation to forward the subject through research, valuable, we hope, on its own, but also providing the underpinnings for such enterprises as this. But we must not neglect the need to present and explain the past to the wider public. We are now more than ever in an electronic and visual age. We have an obligation to make history accessible in a responsible way. I believe that there are problems of presentation with this medium. Schama is not guilty of the excesses threatened in the stage version of *The History Boys*. There is a powerful moment in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* when Winston Smith believes he has an ally in O'Brien. They decide that the most important toast they can make is "To the past." The greatest accomplishment of the popular history found in the Schama series, more vividly but I fear inevitably blunter and less nuanced in the film version, is to give us a richer understanding of the British past. It would seem, unfortunately, that in order to make a film effective, there needs to be something of Alan Bennett's Irwin, but Schama has not neglected Hector. Is history "dumbed down" by television? That is, I believe, an ever-present danger, but on the whole, in the Simon Schama series, history survives more or less intact.

¹³ Schama, *A History of Britain*, 558.

Peter Stansky is the Frances and Charles Field Professor of History Emeritus at Stanford University. He has published on modern British history, most particularly on William Morris, the Bloomsbury Group, and George Orwell. His two latest books are *Sassoon: The Worlds of Philip and Sybil* (2003) and *The First Day of the Blitz* (2007).

AHR Forum
A History of Britain: A Response

SIMON SCHAMA

IF I CONFESS TO SOME ASTONISHMENT at writing this response, it is only because I am even more astonished—and moved—that the *American Historical Review* judged a fifteen-part television series worthy of sustained critical consideration in the pages of an *AHR* Forum. I would be churlish not to preface my comments without first thanking all three commentators for the intellectual generosity with which they approached their subject, and the marked absence of condescension toward a project which, had they tackled it themselves, they would, I believe, have discovered to be every bit as exacting as any more conventionally scholarly project.

It is eleven years since I started work on *A History of Britain*, nine years since the first film shoot in Orkney, and six years since the last episodes were broadcast on terrestrial channels in Britain and the United States. (Although, gratifyingly, the series has had a continuing life on cable broadcasts and on DVDs, both as an educational tool and as popular entertainment.) So looking back on the enterprise from this distance is, for me at any rate, something of an exercise in cultural history itself. But it is also an opportunity to reflect on the part that the television documentary plays in diffusing historical knowledge; provoking debate and enriching the common culture with a sensibility informed by the past could not be more timely. For the scholarly community is surely at a crossroads in considering the forms by which history is communicated within and beyond the academy. The digital moment is no less pregnant with consequences for the survival of the interpreted past than was the transition from oral to written word in antiquity, and from written to print culture in the Renaissance. Whether we like it or not (and I have my own load of mixed feelings), we are unquestionably at the beginning of the end of the long life of the paper and print history book. The exigencies of economic austerity are likely to only hasten a process that is already under way. Print books will of course survive their eventual demise in the marketplace of knowledge, and monographs custom-printed from digital sources will doubtless endure as physical objects, perhaps even on library shelves. But in shorter order than the profession has yet taken in, most history will be consumed, especially beyond the academy, in digital forms: on interactive web-sites; as uploadable films; from electronic museum sites, archives, and libraries—a prospect toward which most university scholars seem (at best) cool, and to which we are taking precious few steps to acclimatize future generations of historians.

While I was working on *A History of Britain*, moved by the possibility of passing on some insight to students about the ways in which scholarly history might be pop-

ularized for much broader audiences without compromising its integrity, I was rash enough to propose an optional graduate seminar called "History beyond the Academy." I thought I might actually offer instruction on scriptwriting, on developing treatments and budgets for a variety of hypothetical projects: radio documentaries, digital textbooks, interactive public exhibitions, children's books, films. Further, I imagined that along with disciplined practical instruction about these skills, such a class would debate the long and complicated history of the relationship between scholarly and popular writing. I have always tried to preach what I have practiced: that the two lives of a historian, within and without the academy, are mutually sustaining, each necessary for the other to flourish, and that without their interdependence we are doomed to an intellectual half-life, cut off from the nourishment of, and responsibility to tend the curiosity of, the non-academic world. The proposal was greeted in some quarters with polite dismay as an act of pedagogical subversion. "Do you want to create second-class citizens among the students?" was one rhetorical question put to me by way of dissuasion. (For the record, I persisted and, some years later, though only once, taught the course as planned.)

It was from this conviction that our calling not only invites us but requires us to reach beyond the academy that I undertook, with great trepidation—and exhilaration—*A History of Britain*. Although it is sometimes referred to as "The BBC History of Britain," my cautionary resort to the indefinite article was of course not casual. Whatever the outcome of the series, my role as narrator and interpreter presupposed the provisional, candidly subjective character of the project. I have never pretended otherwise. In fact, it was, I confess, a slight impatience with the assumption (in, for example, Ken Burns's documentaries) that a multiplicity of voices somehow guarantees balance or authentically interpretive pluralism that provoked me, perhaps perversely, to raise the hermeneutic stakes by offering one historian's vision. As all the commentators have pointed out, there were many inherent dangers in the approach, not least narrative arrogance. But I deliberately set out to challenge what seemed to me the unexamined assumptions of pseudo-balance presupposed by the choir of talking heads approach.

It doesn't require much knowledge about filmmaking to realize that the impression of openness given by replacing a single voice with a quartet or more is, in fact, just that. Unless one of those voices supplies the script (at which point pluralism ceases), the director selects those whom he or she chooses to be heard. What is said, how much of a voiced comment is heard, and where it gets cut into the body of the film is invariably an auxiliary of the directorially written script, and its effect is conditioned by its relation to the visual archive. In these documentaries the single director is the historian, whatever the captions may say. And the edit is the final draft. The scripts for *A History of Britain*, on the other hand, were entirely mine. There was no "vast team of researchers," just a single junior colleague per film, usually the assistant producer, who also had to deal with locations, fixers, and the usual production multitasking that makes documentaries possible. So for better or worse, almost all of the research work that went into those scripts was my own. The determination of locations was likewise a collegial process, with discussions about how this or that site might work with evidence and storyline. If not on a shoot, I was part of the editing process by which the "pieces to camera" were integrated with archival

evidence, attending screenings of the cut through its many stages or making edit suggestions long-distance. I worked with the composer John Harle and directors on the score, and in some cases on the dub itself. For critics who think I had already arrogated too much authority to my narration, I suppose this hands-on integration into the production compounds the sin. But faced with the choice between, on the one hand, a role that restricted me to on-camera opinions, with the creative history really being made by directors and editors, and, on the other hand, the possibility of more total immersion, I had no doubt which approach would be more satisfying and, for the audience, more honest.

A History of Britain was never purely monovocal. But instead of cutting to colleagues, the films were thickly seeded with contemporary voices, from Orderic Vitalis to George Orwell, sometimes deliberately offering competing versions of the same event. And when dispute was material to the historical matter—for example, in Oliver Cromwell's treatment of Irish prisoners of war and civilians—I did my best to present both sides of the argument, without, however, disingenuously abdicating my role as arbitrator of evidence, the same persona that we all habitually adopt in our writing. What I did not want was for the films to turn into seminars, for those are two incommensurately distinct forms of communication. (For that matter, just how genuinely open the professorially led seminar ever is to a democratic plurality of opinion is quite a question, as Pierre Bourdieu has reminded us.) But given that my task was to try and create a broad popular audience for the narrative of British history, and to hold it week after week, my choice was to eschew an echo chamber of authorities in favor of a companionship in which the narrator took viewers along with him on a journey of shared illumination. When the opinionated voice provoked, the provocation was, I hope, always candid, stirring debate, counter-argument, and dissent, often robustly expressed on the website, which was itself richly supplied with both general and scholarly essays, many of which took healthy exception to my own version.

In this kind of project, story must come first, the handmaid and condition of analytical debate, not the other way about. This is no more than to follow the obvious rule set out by the historians of antiquity, and it corresponds to the most rudimentary phenomenological understanding of the way non-scholars order the experience of time. Re-presenting (with all the knotty issues of evidence retained) is one of the most complex and demanding tasks that historians can set themselves, even though professional scholars, wary of narrative theory, sometimes imagine it to be the amateur version of the discipline. Story is the thread that connects our scholarly work with the listening, reading public, and we break it at our peril. To weave those threads into a rich fabric, the executive producers (Janice Hadlow and Martin Davidson, both thoughtful historians in their own right) and I believed that a single unapologetically opinionated writing and speaking voice could create and retain a mass audience, the breadth of which was commonly said at that time to be unavailable to television history. Many commentators cite the great example of Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation* as a model, to which I would also add the more inspirational example of Jacob Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man*, and Alistair Cooke's stunning tour de force *America: A Personal History of the United States*. But at the time of the planning of a television history of Britain, that tradition of personal essay had almost entirely

died out. This was not entirely the case, since writer-presenters such as Michael Wood remained a model of what could be done in this medium, but it was still largely true that the interpretive single-voice form had largely been written off as a vestigial remnant of oak-paneled patrician broadcasting. Democratic television, on the other hand, was assumed to be fly-on-the-wall actuality: a day in the police station, the trauma room, or the schoolroom in the deadpan style of Fred Wiseman, and often very brilliantly realized for television by directors such as Roger Graeff.

But at the very heart of the kingdom of fly-on-the-wall, there were subversives—Michael Jackson, then controller of BBC2, and Janice Hadlow, then in charge of one of the two history divisions of the BBC—who nourished a suspicion that if you stood the received wisdoms on their head, you might be closer to the truth. Their belief, widely dismissed at the time as quixotic, was that there was a pent-up public demand for a single-voiced, chronologically ordered history on the grand scale, richly informed by social and cultural history but unapologetically *événementielle*, when the events in question happened to be of the order of magnitude of the Norman Conquest, the dissolution of the monasteries, the Civil War, the Industrial Revolution, the Irish famine, and so on. And not just on television, but in schools around Britain, where history was being rationed to perhaps two hours a week at best, and where the curriculum was set out as a series of disconnected modules known as “Hitler and the Henries,” the non-academic public was being starved of just such a grand narrative.

I never intended the series to be empty of social history, still less of the experience of “the people,” as Miri Rubin and to some extent Linda Levy Peck charge. Nor was it. But television is a work of the eye, and the life of the people necessarily had to be embodied in what could be looked at: dwellings and artifacts—the tiny, profoundly poignant Saxon church at Bradwell; the surviving remnant of a lost Catholic world in the rood screen paintings at Binham Priory; the shocking photographs of the Indian famines of the late nineteenth century taken by missionaries; and, as Peck kindly mentions, the unspeakably moving tokens left by mothers depositing their infants at the Foundling Hospital. The very first images seen (other than the tidal shore) were of the village of Skara Brae and the hearth and ornaments made in that world remote both spatially and temporally from the Anglocentric world. And if, at the end of the film, the camera moved in on the exquisite “Alfred Jewel” in the Ashmolean, it was both as a materialization of royal sovereignty and to convey a sense of the precarious allegiance to that earliest of English courts on the part of those who beheld it. We took viewers into a fifteenth-century manor house, the deserted cottages of Irish famine victims, the fields of Bengali cultivators, the homeless shelters of London in the Slump. Equally, where the voices of people remote from the center of power were available and integral to the bigger plot, we did our best to make them heard: from the world of the Roman legionaries on the Hadrianic frontier preserved in the Vindolanda tablets, to the anonymous Irish monk who believed he might be the last survivor of the Black Death, to Leveller women and the victims of Peterloo.

So what, exactly, needs defending here? The decision to fill the second episode with the story of the Norman Conquest or the third with the struggle between church and state in the reigns of the Angevins? If so, I readily plead guilty as charged.

Professor Rubin wanted a much more intensive dose of social history and a good deal less narrative of the powerful, but of course at the heart of many of the formative dramas were insurrections against the mighty—from the Peasants' Revolt to the Puritan revolution to Chartism—that we could hardly have been more conscientious in examining. But it is true that our remit was to put social flesh on the history of power, for contests over power were what ultimately created Britain.

In the end, though, ostensible dichotomies between narrative and analysis, between political and social history, exist more in the methodological imagination than in historical practice. Filmmaking is the best instructor in the meaninglessness of that divide. Meeting the technical demands of a medium where it is imperative that one assumes no prior knowledge of a subject or period, while refraining from patronizing the viewing audience, is itself a serious education in the economy of explanation. In any given program, there would be self-evidently major issues—Cromwell's treatment of the Irish, Jacobitism, the Sepoy rebellion—all of which, if the historian is doing his work properly, presuppose familiarizing the audience with the responsible protagonists, their ideologies and actions—before it is possible to introduce debate. All this takes time, narrative care, and a respect for the intrinsic dramaturgy of the medium. Films are not consumed like books and cannot be written like them. (Which is why I wrote three companion volumes, precisely to expand the scope of what I was able to compass in a bare fifty-eight minutes.) Within the covers of a book, readers may move back and forth as attention and interest prompt. In the television documentary, propulsive visual and spoken energy is critical. In these respects, the medium is actually something of a throwback to pre-professional forms of historical narration, all the way from Herodotus, the crafting of narrative that *performs out* its analysis rather than headlines it. It must use scholarship responsibly without ever subjecting the audience to a sense of their being examined or overburdened with scholarly dispute, yet it must speak to that audience's trust that the narrator has earned his credibility with knowledge.

So there is, in fact, a poetics of television history, which needs to be respected if the form is to accomplish its own particular kind of communication—for millions rather than thousands. Such a poetics presupposes a strictly nonfiction dramaturgy, bound together by a clear and compelling narrative arc, and its making is quite as formidable a challenge as, say, the formal composition of post-Ciceronian oratory. Documentaries never work as a succession of loosely stitched-together sequences about this and that matter, social or political, each given their ration of minutes according to some preconceived hierarchy of significance. The distinction is the difference between even the most skilled lecture and a film able to retain its audience from beginning to end (a tougher assignment on television than in the cinema given the freedom to wander between choices). Profusion risks confusion, and confusion is the harbinger of boredom, which in turn is the cue for a switch to Monday night football. Peter Stansky remembers the scintillating lectures delivered by A. J. P. Taylor as television performances, but those happened more than forty years ago, in a different cultural universe. Since then, the challenge to deliver knowledge, argument, and nonfiction stories through the digital media has become much more formidable, and if historians want to reach an audience beyond the academy (of course it's possible that the vast majority do not), then some attention has to be paid

to the particular demands—and rich opportunities—offered by long-form documentary film and video.

One historian's inclusiveness is another's unforgivable omission, of course, but in any event, the pursuit of inclusiveness is the death of plot. To take a specific instance of what Professor Rubin surprisingly dismisses as the "antics of kings," the foregrounding of the great conflict over law, and the relative authority of church and crown which was at the heart of the matter in the Henry II–Becket dispute, needed setting up (as did the history that would culminate in Hastings and Domesday) so that viewers, the vast majority of whom would not have known much about the Angevins, could become familiar with the parties and persons involved. And of course there are occasions when the fate of not just the state but the people hangs on the person of the prince. I own up to believing—as forthrightly stated—that however prepared by religious dissent since the Lollards, in the end the English break from Rome was an act of the redefinition of sovereignty executed by a monarch desperate for a male heir. It seems peculiar to have to defend this view as antiquated. All that matters is whether it is true. That Anne Boleyn also happened to be a learned Protestant is material to this issue, and I tried to say as much. But the notion that that program paid no attention to the experience of the world beyond the court is an inattentive reading of the film, and I appreciate Professor Peck's alternative view. Equally, of course, the issue of issue for Elizabeth I was one that would affect the entire fate of English religion. What we were doing with "The Body of the Queen" was, as is often the case in the whole series, "debate by stealth," in this case applying the questions set out in Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies* about the distinction between the body natural and the body political (made moot in the queen's case), as well as much more recent literature on gender and sovereignty, to the fatefully intertwined story of Elizabeth and Mary Stuart. Those who wanted to experience the film as an engagement with the politics of gender, the reproductive biology of sovereignty as it played out across the Anglo-Scottish border, could do so; those who wanted to sit back and drink in an astounding dynastic drama could do that, too. I don't see any need to apologize for our attention to the second kind of demand. Both kinds of audience were entitled to their respective needs, and we tried our level best to satisfy them without compromising scholarship or debate.

All this took hard work. I confess to being a little surprised that in her account of the meetings with BBC producers during an earlier version of the project, Professor Rubin rather airily divided up the labor into what she imagined historians would, or rather would not, do, and what "the production team" would tackle, the more strenuous labor, she implies, being undertaken by the latter. But for this historian, at any rate, both the magnitude of the challenge and the satisfaction of creation rested in that division of labor being made moot, in the historian doing his best to master the exacting craft of television film. This means, at the bare minimum, relearning scriptwriting as an entirely different exercise from book writing, one that not only has to be constantly responsive to what the viewer is looking at, but has to be conceived, from the outset, as a series of visual sequences, each one itself a succession of shots, understanding, in fact, the syntax of the cut. (I am personally allergic to the meaningless dissolve except in instances where it dramatizes the memory link between past and present. In one of the episodes in my most recent series, *The*

American Future: A History, for example, we mixed through from a shot of a stony creek on the Gettysburg battlefield to a Civil War photograph of the same site with a dead soldier lying in the gulley.)

I don't altogether disagree with Peter Stansky's objections to the clumsiness of poorly enacted reconstructions. Done badly, they can induce cringe-making alienation from the historical moment rather than realize the ambition of bringing the viewer close to it. But sometimes a kind of film synecdoche or emblematics can work powerfully on the viewing imagination, especially when both approaches have a connection with the documentary and cultural report. So, for example, a shot of a single bonnet bowling along a field in the aftermath of Peterloo worked, I believe, quite well in summoning the ghosts of the massacre, since contemporary reports commented on the clothes of the victims left behind in the panic. Instead of a wide shot of the Cabinet War Rooms (very much a museum of a moment), we used shots of apparently incidental details—a row of coat hooks, an ashtray—to convey the whole.

And when rooted in a strong sense of the iconology of the period, emblematics can visualize a historical scene far more expressively than either a shot of a document or a low-budget piece of acting. To convey the fury of Henry II at the defiance of Becket, for example, we used close-up shots of a hawk's beak opening and shutting (to the rhythm of unseen proffered mice), an image entirely in keeping with the spirit of royal bestiaries and the falconry of which the king was fond. We used the same kind of technique with a white peacock's display to suggest the significance of charisma for the Elizabethan court, making the kind of connections between plumage, virginal whiteness, the elaborate ruffs of court dress, and the grandiose paintings that captured them, all in a single shot. And sometimes less is simply more. To convey the plight of the fugitive Mary Stuart from Scotland, we took up position at exactly the right place, near Workington on the Cumbrian side of the Solway Firth, where the Derwent flows into the sea. But there was no boat and no fake Queen of Scots. All the camera did was to track slowly along the shore, shooting the slow lap of the waves while the commentary evoked the documented record of her sorry condition. The eyes of the viewer saw tidal water, but their mind's eye saw the queen.

I can't emphasize enough that these aren't "tricks" designed to bewitch the viewer into historical romance. The royal hunt, the reality of exile, and the relationship between power and display are all serious historical matters on which matters of sovereignty turned. The same sort of attentiveness inspired the idea of illustrating, albeit briefly, the effects of the Black Death with emptiness and absence, unattended farm implements, or the Popish Plot with the playing cards that were circulating at the time. In many instances, the careful building of the visual and narrative structure of a film turned on the realization of a unifying conceit. The last program in the series had somehow to give a sense of the fate of the British Empire from the turn of the twentieth century to the Second World War, a feat of economy that would have been impossible had we tracked conscientiously through from the Liberal governments of Edwardian Britain to the Labour victory of 1945 and everything in between. Instead I decided to concentrate on what two utterly different figures made of the destiny of Britain in the age of economic disaster and totalitarian aggression: Churchill and Orwell, to begin with Churchill's death and to end with Orwell's. But as the fifteenth program in a long, sustained narrative also had to serve as coda, the director, Clare

Beavan, and I decided that the style would give the feeling of Mass Observation documentary, black and white even when it was actually not. And the mood would be an engagement with elegy, a deep strain in British writing, prose and verse, and the binding conceit would be the lament for, or resistance to, ruin.

Sometimes serendipity is the best ally. I had been filming a sequence (in the end dropped from the edit) for the late-eighteenth-century episode at the Royal Naval Dockyards at Chatham. Between shots of masts and spars, during the inevitable waits for the location to be lit, I wandered into a warehouse-cum-dry dock that was, in fact, half breakers' yard, half repository of rubbish, inhabited mostly by pigeons and piled high with the debris of centuries: cannonballs; a motor launch broken in two; a 1940s vintage limousine covered with feathers and bird droppings; bits of submarine. Seen from a high platform above, it was a wonderland of imperial redundancy. And it gave us both a sequence near the beginning of "The Two Winstons" and our poetic motif. Off we went, the director and I, hunting for abandoned and boarded-up country houses and, most challengingly, an airfield of the right World War II vintage that had not been converted for more modern use. After a very long search, we found one in Norfolk, complete with original control tower and broken windows, Tannoy speakers, and long grass growing in the cracks opened in the runways. Eureka. For the defiant Churchill speeches of 1940 at the time of the Battle of Britain, we needed neither the much-viewed archive footage of the prime minister nor photo stills of the "Few" by the side of their Spitfires, much less a Winston impersonator in a dubious homburg. All we needed were yawning-wide shots of that airfield, open and desolate to the flat country and the superlative *vox humana* of Churchill sounding over the East Anglian wind. What *we* were fighting against, of course, was familiarity. Running the film archive would simply have made that problem worse, because it would have subconsciously cued up the imminence of the eventual victorious outcome. What Clare Beavan and I wanted to restore was a sense of the terrifying loneliness of the British at that moment. Ghostly emptiness was the way to do that, with not so much as the faintest sound of cranking aircraft engines to cut the admixture of bravery and fear. Behind the sequence, of course, was the usual serious historical issue: the yen by Halifax and others to find a way to settle with the Axis without compromising the empire. Pulling the viewer into a mood that had nothing of the bulldog breed about it would, we hoped, restore contingency to the history.

Now, I recognize that this account may seem a long way from what most of the readers of the *American Historical Review* recognize as the work of the historian. Our first duties are to nourish our academic community and our research, to ensure that future generations of historical scholars are sustained and encouraged and that new paths of research and debate are opened. Courses have to be taught, dissertations examined, articles and books written, appointments made. In making the fifteen episodes of *A History of Britain* for the BBC, I had to ask for exceptional generosity of leave from my kind colleagues at Columbia University, although between the three spells of shoots, I returned to campus as working professor. But the main obstacle to broadening our conception of what it means to be a historian in the digital age is, I think, force of habit, the axiomatically self-reproducing nature of the profession—the sense that somehow, popular and scholarly history are mutually depleting. I can only say that everything I did and everything I learned while making these films

led me to believe that the very opposite is true: that the two arms of our métier are mutually strengthening, and that without an abiding sense that we can work to make the past live for the public, we will doom ourselves to an intellectual graveyard: that of the connoisseurship of the dead.

Simon Schama is University Professor of Art History and History at Columbia University. In addition to *A History of Britain* (2000), his television work for the BBC includes *Rough Crossings* (2005), *Power of Art* (2006), and *The American Future: A History* (2008). His books have won the Wolfson Award for History, the W. H. Smith Prize for Literature, the National Academy of Arts and Letters Award for Literature, and the National Book Critics Circle Award for Non-fiction. He has been an essayist and critic for *The New Yorker* since 1994.

Featured Reviews

PETER LINEBAUGH. *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 352. \$24.95.

At the conclusion of *Whigs and Hunters* (1975), E. P. Thompson famously reflected on the rule of law, concluding that the rhetoric and rules of a society “are something a great deal more than a sham,” more than merely an ideological prop of the ruling class; he cautiously asserted the universal value of the rule of law. Two decades later, Ranajit Guha, just as famously, countered that the British colonial state ruled by means of “dominance without hegemony,” decrying the notion that rule of law ever existed under the Raj or could have the universal benefits suggested by Thompson. Peter Linebaugh was himself among that group of gifted scholars who studied with Thompson at the University of Warwick and who have subsequently done much to influence our historical understanding of the law, custom, and crime. He now offers a wide-ranging book on Magna Carta, seeking to recover its vital properties in their fullness. If Thompson worried aloud about the contemporary significance of his exhaustive reconstruction of forest government and the origins of the infamous Black Act of 1723, Linebaugh shows no such doubt about demonstrating the medieval charter of liberties’ relevance for securing global social justice. To this end, readers are first introduced to Subcomandante Marcos and the indigenous peasants of Chiapas, outraged Nigerian women who in 2003 seized a Chevron-oil terminal, women of the upland hamlets of Vietnam suffering from the enclosure of forest reserves, and then to the Native Americans of the Adirondacks, the seventeenth-century conquest of Ireland, colonial Kashmir, and Amazon rubber tappers. The red and green threads connecting these regions and historical moments are environmental havoc, expropriation, and ordinary peoples’ struggles to protect common rights, resources, and social norms.

In a sense, Linebaugh retells a familiar story: what Karl Marx described as the primitive accumulation of capital, the processes by which commoners were stripped of the last vestiges of their independence through the imposition of full capitalist relations of ownership and production. But the story is told from a

new perspective, a historical vantage point so distant and obscured by political distortion that its significance has been lost to historians “derelict” in their duty to foster collective remembrance. Linebaugh is struck by the similarities between the experience of the “long twelfth century,” culminating in King John being brought to heel by his barons at Runnymede, and present-day global debates. Linebaugh seeks, sometimes disjointedly, occasionally maddeningly, but never uninterestingly, to realign our present with a freshly understood past. As he explains, his study of Magna Carta moves on four interpretative fronts: documentary, legal, cultural, and constitutional. Most critically, he is concerned to reunite the Great Charter of 1215 with its companion Charter of the Forest, stressing not only those provisions protecting the civil liberties of individuals from state despotism but also those confirming various communal or common rights necessary to subsistence. The Charter of the Forest specifically reduced the bounds of the royal forest, restricted encroachments on common usage, and reined in legal and administrative abuses of royal authority.

The provisions of Magna Carta with which non-medievalists are probably most familiar are found in the crucial chapter thirty-nine, from which habeas corpus, protection from torture, trial by jury, due process, and the rule of law derive—given substance, in the first instance, by fourteenth-century statutory interpretations that went beyond the document’s original intent or sense. The charter was granted equally to “all free men of our realm,” a key phrase in Magna Carta’s history. Still, in early thirteenth-century England such language excluded “villeins,” bondmen or serfs (legal terminology was far more ambiguous there than in France). As for women, Linebaugh points to the chapters guaranteeing widows their marriage portion and inheritance and protecting them from being forced to marry. Important as these provisions were for improving the legal position of widows, one doubts whether they arose “from a grassroots women’s movement that contributed to the construction of alternative models of communal

life" (p. 29), or rather from concerns of feudal barons seeking to protect their family property from a grasping monarch. Intriguingly, Linebaugh asks what can be made of a change that occurred between 1215 and 1217 and was retained in subsequent confirmations of the law, which granted a widow "her reasonable estover in the common." Technically, estovers refer to gatherings from the woods. In answer to the question why this clause was added to the charter, the author surmises that the civil war which continued after 1215 demanded the recruitment of crossbowmen and other commoners to the king's service, in turn producing large numbers of widows. The significance of this addition is then twofold. First, it suggests how traces of the struggle for the commons found their way into the charter. Second, it provides a bridge, along with several other chapters, connecting Magna Carta to the smaller Charter of the Forest of 1217.

Linebaugh stresses the overwhelming importance of wood in the age before coal. Common access to wood for household use and rights such as "herbage," "agistment," and "pannage," which allowed controlled pasturing of livestock on forest land, were often critical to sustaining the lives of commoners. At the center of Linebaugh's book, one finds the long erosion of common rights due to the enclosure and privatization of land, the victory of the commodity over the commons, and popular resistance to these incursions. At best, however, the two charters display an uneven relationship to the complex processes of social and political transformation. The leaders of the great peasant and commoner revolts of late medieval England, stretching from Wat Tyler and John Ball in 1381 to Robert and William Kett in 1549, paid little attention to either document. As Linebaugh discusses, the sixteenth-century commonwealth writer, Robert Crowley, championed the cause of the poor, reminding a rapacious gentry of primitive Christianity's egalitarian injunction and warning of God's swift vengeance. Crowley thus represents the radical Christian tradition that Rodney Hilton identified as constituting the main continuity linking medieval peasant movements. Andy Wood, in his new book on the 1549 rebellions, demonstrates the overlap between the language of commonwealth writers and the voice of rebels, a heterogeneous mixture of popular monarchism, legalism, and Christianity. "Commons," "common pasture," "commonweal," and "common laws" are terms shot through the archive of the oppressed.

It was only with the early seventeenth-century struggle between crown and parliament that Magna Carta was "transformed from a medieval document rarely cited, though frequently confirmed, into a modern constitutional law, from a feudal particularization of privileges into a charter suitable to commerce, property, and individualism" (p. 78). While certain parts of Magna Carta, principally chapter thirty-nine, "evolved in creative response to events," other parts, such as chapter seven providing widows their "reasonable estovers of the common" and the entire Charter of the

Forest, slipped into disuse "with the conjuncture of renewal of slavery, colonial conquest, enclosure of common lands, and manifold assaults of women" (p. 72). Linebaugh insists that this disappearance was inseparable from the settlement of Atlantic colonies, including Ireland, the Caribbean, and mainland America. This tantalizing proposition packs a lot of history into a few sentences. But the question remains whether Magna Carta can sustain the historical burden Linebaugh places on it.

As Linebaugh ably demonstrates, the seventeenth-century jurist Edward Coke dusted off the Great Charter and spun ancient law into modern civil liberties. But while he did not ignore the Forest Charter, Coke elevated Magna Carta to the status of fundamental law, while subordinating the Charter of the Forest to statute and common law. Tellingly Coke used the word "common" as a verb, acknowledging a general claim to "common in a forest." Linebaugh wants to maintain the usage of the word "common" as a verb, thereby emphasizing its significance as an activity. The rights to common were local and customary and often outside the reach of the Charter of the Forest; it is questionable whether the Charter of the Forest ever possessed the sort of expansive, general protections of customary practices or common rights the author ascribes to it, given its restriction to an ever-dwindling territory designated as royal forest and thus subject to forest law. Perhaps it is not surprising that the Digger leader Gerard Winstanley had no time for Magna Carta and that Levellers such as "Freeborn" John Lilburne and Richard Overton summoned Magna Carta to their defense but left the Forest Charter to mold.

From the seventeenth century, Magna Carta began its transatlantic journey, alluded to in various royal charters establishing English colonies. In keeping with its English fate, the charter's forest provisions were ignored by colonists who intruded on the woodlands of Native Americans. "Magna Carta," writes Linebaugh, "became an instrument of both colonial independence and acquisitive empire" (p. 89). Whereas Magna Carta curtailed the powers of the sovereign and returned the forest, the Declaration of Independence is viewed simply as "a document of acquisition." In similar fashion, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) justified "a continental landgrab" and "a project of privatization" (p. 124). Sides in the global class struggle are drawn with sharp clarity. So while Linebaugh notes the exclusion of African slaves from *Common Sense*, he fails to acknowledge Paine's well-known anti-slavery essay published a year earlier. Whatever the intentions of America's founders, the libertarian logic of the Declaration of Independence possessed its own expansive quality and has had a global history more than matching that of Magna Carta. Certain proposed connections appear strained. "Must" we understand blacking, the method adopted by the poachers of Waltham forest, "in an Atlantic racial context," as "blackface performance?" Linebaugh asks whether "the themes of blacking and slaving actually overlap" and finds connections:

Waltham Chase is near the naval base at Portsmouth and its naval shipyards, which consumed enormous amounts of timber; in terms of the law, Philp York, who prosecuted forest commoners under the Black Act, later ruled as attorney general that baptism did not bestow freedom on slaves, thus allowing slave owners to force slaves in England to return to America. Furthermore, both poachers and pirates held mock trials, "and in the rituals of trials they preserved the forms of Magna Carta" (p. 110). Perhaps, but despite the egalitarian rituals of multiracial pirate "commonwealths," evidence shows that pirate crews often treated slaves who fell into their hands with scant regard for their common humanity.

This book is at times caught between the author's keen sense of the nuanced measure of history's complexity and a compulsion to neaten its political edges. It also is something of a tour de force. In a strong chapter detailing the fate of India's forests and the obliteration of customary rural usage under the Raj, Magna Carta is an absent presence. Linebaugh offers, for example, a fascinating discussion of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894). In his Mowgli stories, Kipling did not summon a golden age but rather "a specifically Indian characterization of a recently lost commons" (p. 163). Nineteenth-century expropriation of India's forests prefigures twentieth-century global subordination of common rights to the interests of privatization and commodity exchange. The following chapter on Magna Carta and the United States Supreme Court documents the charter's active force as positive law. Linebaugh concludes that Magna Carta has served to protect and expand the interests of private property, coexisting "with the robbery of indigenous peoples' lands and the expansion of racial slavery." Magna Carta was cited infrequently during both the early republic and between the two world wars, an absence coinciding nicely with the expansion of slavery and the threat of socialism. The Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause constitutes, according to Linebaugh, "the most decisive legal translation from Magna Carta to America." The Su-

preme Court explained on numerous occasions how the phrase "due process of law" stems from the phrase "law of the land"—the later phrase having been first used by Edward III in his 1354 confirmation of Magna Carta. However, rather than protecting the freed persons as intended, extending the Fifth Amendment due process clause to the states "was used to defend the robber barons of the gilded age." Thus, Magna Carta was pressed into the service of corporate America and laissez-faire doctrine.

Linebaugh registers Magna Carta's "odd relation" to American law, "familiar and indifferent, obsessive and ornamental, fundamental and incidental" (p. 184). In the chapter "Icon and Idol," the ornamental is well illustrated in the architectural commemorations of Magna Carta found on the door panels of the Supreme Court, the courthouses of the Midwest, and the field of Runnymede. As Magna Carta became increasingly irrelevant to Supreme Court decisions during the interwar decades, it assumed "vast and durable prominence in the architecture of government" (p. 208). Against the hegemonic grain of ruling-class legal and cultural authority, Linebaugh sets the resistance of those without property, including Indians, African-American slaves, the factory proletariat, and women, and efforts to reclaim Magna Carta's role as a fundamental law of restitution. In his conclusion, he again poses Thompson's question: "Is law part of the ideological superstructure and exclusive to particular historical epochs? Or are there immutable principles of law discovered through history and thenceforth forever valid?" (p. 272). Certainly due process, habeas corpus, and freedom from torture reassert their status as compelling law in times when they are subject to mendacious disregard. Linebaugh's passionately argued case for reuniting these legal guarantees with a historically informed regard for a "planetary common" will undoubtedly serve to stimulate debate well beyond the academy.

JAMES EPSTEIN
Vanderbilt University

NICOLÁS WEY GÓMEZ. *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 592. \$39.95.

This book presents itself as an elaborate answer to what might seem to be a trivial question: why did Christopher Columbus tend toward the south in all four of his voyages of discovery? On the first voyage, for example, he headed southwest to the Canary Islands before striking out across the Atlantic, and then headed south once he made landfall. Similar decisions marked his subsequent journeys, particularly the third, which began with a stab south from the Canaries, followed by a frustrated attempt to cross the Atlantic at a latitude near the equa-

tor. Columbus's "southing" is usually explained in practical terms, particularly the need to find favorable trade winds for ocean crossings, but according to Nicolás Wey Gómez, Columbus's southing responded to ideological as well as practical concerns. That southing, Wey Gómez argues, was rooted in the admiral's engagement with the geographical culture of his day, and particularly with the importance it accorded to "place" and its emphasis upon latitude. Once we begin to understand Columbus's southing in this light, he adds, we begin to

realize that Columbus's voyages were not about the discovery of America, a New World to the *west* of Europe, but about the problematic invention of the tropics to its *south*. The argument represents one of the most original contributions to the history of the Columbian enterprise in many years, one that attempts nothing less than to rewrite our understanding of the role of the Columbian enterprise in the foundation of the modern world by rewriting our understanding of the cultural geography of late medieval Europe.

According to Wey Gómez, Columbus's enterprise reveals a pattern of thought that is "systematic" but "contradictory" (p. 400). Wey Gómez's Columbus, like that of other scholars, was a relatively learned person who studied the geographical debates of his day well before the first voyage of 1492. Columbus was among those who believed that the proportion of earth to water on the surface of the globe was relatively high, with the result that either the *orbis terrarum* wrapped around the majority of the globe, or the *orbis terrarum* was not the only major landmass that existed. Either possibility, the prevailing accounts tell us, suggested opportunities for exploration in the Ocean Sea. In the first instance, the longitudinal distance between Western Europe and Asia would be relatively short, and thus navigable, allowing one to reach the East by sailing west. In the second instance, the ocean was likely to reveal previously unknown lands to an enterprising sailor. Most scholars believe the Admiral clung to the first hypothesis, although some have argued that his real intention all along was to discover an unknown land. But in either case, there is little doubt about the direction in which Columbus set his gaze and sailed his ships: *west*.

To this commonplace assumption of Columbus scholarship, Wey Gómez responds by insisting that latitudinal questions mattered at least as much, if not more so, than longitudinal ones. His thinking was "systematic" in that it consistently assigned importance to the latitude of places, expecting certain types of resources (gold, spices) and certain types of people (dark, submissive) to appear under tropical skies, and needing to account for those instances when they did not. In doing so, Columbus followed established patterns of thought laid down by the ancient Greeks and significantly revised by their medieval commentators, particularly Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280). Wey-Gómez is magisterial in his rediscovery of the importance to late medieval European geography of latitudinal zones as the framework for understanding the nature of places and of the people born to them.

Wey Gómez places Columbus among those like Albertus Magnus and Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420) who were beginning to revise crucial aspects of this geography. For Columbus and those like him, the significance of the idea that the proportion of land to water on the surface of the globe was large was not just, or even primarily, that it made it possible to imagine a navigable distance between western Europe and eastern Asia, but that it filled the torrid zone—the hot, arid wasteland that girdled the Earth at the equator—with

land. This is what we see on Martin Behaim's *Erdapfel*, the 1492 globe that, according to Wey Gómez and others, represents a geography that probably coincided with Columbus's own ideas (p. 193–96). This land, moreover, was not the wasteland that the ancients had imagined it to be but a relatively temperate, populous, and wildly productive region of the Earth. Albertus Magnus had provided the theoretical framework for believing this might be the case, and the Portuguese experience along the coast of Africa bore it out. In fact, Wey Gómez argues, "Castile's invention of a tropical domain it called the Indies" was not a matter of inventing "America" out of lands believed at first to be "Asian," but of extending into the western Atlantic "Portugal's invention of the tropical domain of Guinea" (p. 296).

This is not to say that Columbus was not interested in "the East," but rather that the concept of "the East" is too blunt an instrument to understand what Valerie Flint has called Columbus's "imaginative landscape." Wey Gómez emphasizes the latitudinal distinctions that divided the East into a temperate north and a tropical south. Thus, against those Americanists who treat place-names derived from Marco Polo such as "Cathay" and "Mangi" as if they were almost interchangeable labels of "Eastern" locales, Wey Gómez insists on the distinction between the two. "Cathay" designated a *temperate* province, the civilized domain of the Great Khan, while "Mangi" referred to a place on the margins of his empire, within the *tropical* "Indies" of Marco Polo. In one of the most compelling portions of his argument, Wey Gómez uses the distinction between temperate Cathay and tropical Mangi to interpret Columbus's decisions on his first voyage, and his statements in the journal of that voyage, demonstrating how our understanding of this well-known source document can be thoroughly transformed by a reorientation in our understanding of the geographical culture that informed its production.

It is in Columbus's thinking about the people of the Indies that so interest him, however, that we see how he clung to traditional thinking and discover the "contradictory" nature of this thought. Although Columbus proved he could reconceptualize the climate and ecology of the torrid zone, he could not, or would not, do the same for its people. "While the Columbus of the *Diario* had proved that the torrid zone in the Indies was unimaginably temperate," Wey Gómez writes, "he had failed to reject the tripartite geography of nations that accorded temperate polities the natural right to govern themselves and others" (p. 100). Columbus transforms the classical torrid zone into the modern tropics, temperate and bountiful, but inhabited by people incapable of governing themselves: at once attractive to Europeans because of their riches, but available to them because of the inherent inferiority of their inhabitants. It is in this very productive contradiction that Columbus's interest in the tropics becomes a tropics of empire, an imperial troping. The ideology of empire in the west acquires an astounding pedigree in the philosophy of

place, particularly as it was conceived by medieval schoolmen.

That pedigree—not to mention the coherence and focus of the argument as a whole—comes at a price. In order to discuss Columbus's southing, Wey Gómez entirely sets aside the "westing" that has been the focus of Columbus scholarship and that has been so powerfully associated with the technical, practical dimensions of his project. But in throwing out the baby of westing, he also throws out the bath water of practice. For example, "While longitude may speak to a technical feat," he writes, "latitude speaks to a geopolitical process" (p. 49). "Westing" becomes (merely?) practical, while southing is "geopolitical" and therefore ideological. The consequence is that Columbus the sailor is forgotten in favor of Columbus the self-educated cosmographer. To put it another way, the ideology motivating the Columbian enterprise is divorced from its material conditions. We are offered a Columbus who sails forth on the wings of an emergent geographical paradigm, not on the impulse of trade winds identified through a lifetime of practical experience with the sea. Certainly, it must be an oversimplification to consign *techné* and *praxis* to the longitudinal dimension of Columbus's enterprise of the Indies, while understanding its latitudinal dimension in exclusively ideological terms. What role did Columbus the sailor play, we are left asking, in the invention of the tropics? To what extent did that invention arise from the interests and experiences of the sailor, rather than just the geographical tradition of the learned?

But if Wey Gómez himself does not answer this question, perhaps it is because Columbus is not really his subject. The book is peppered with remarks that gesture toward a more fundamental concern. For example, "Even as the belt of the tropics seemed to be gradually displacing Mediterranean Europe as the uniquely temperate, and thereby, civilized center of the inhabited world," Wey Gómez writes, "Columbus and his ideological heirs would insist on construing tropical peoples as Europe's moral periphery. This, to my mind, was and remains a fundamental paradox of imperial geopolitics" (p. 53; emphasis added). On the larger tropicality of imperial geopolitics from Columbus's day to ours, of course, Wey Gómez can only provoke questions, not settle them. Even if we remain within the early modern

Iberian context, we find ourselves facing the persistence of longitudinal interests in Spanish imperialism. In the wake of the Magellan-Elcano voyage, Spain asserted its claims over lands that it would eventually call the "*Indias del poniente*" or "Indies of the West," a category that included tropical Maluku and Manila but also temperate China and Japan. Clearly, the dynamics of southing and westing do not disappear, even if we join Wey Gómez in setting Columbus's westing aside. The West continues to be privileged, as it had since ancient times, as the direction in which *imperium* moves, and continues to have relevance not only to the practicalities but to the ideology of empire.

But in remarks like the one just cited, Wey Gómez clearly joins the ranks of those who believe Atlanticists "need at least to consider the deployment of a new metageography or mental map about early modern power relations and spatial structures if they would understand the changes ushered in by the Admiral of the Ocean Sea" (Peter A. Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13: 1 [2002]: 181). Like all really important books about Columbus, this one functions as a myth of origins, one that invites us to consider the broader implications of thinking about the invention of America as, in effect, a doubling of sub-Saharan Africa. The political opposition between north and south, Wey Gómez tells us, has been more important to the history of the modern world since the beginning of the colonial enterprise than the relationship of east to west. That opposition, moreover, has deep roots in the geographical culture of the West. If indeed, as Bernard Bailyn has argued, Atlantic history has its origins in the emergence and development of the Atlantic alliance since World War II, then Wey Gómez provides us with a Columbus tailor-made for a post-Cold War world, one in which the disappearance of the old superpower rivalry has allowed the tensions between the rich north and the poor south that have been there all along to come to the fore. Columbus's southing, then, is no trivial matter. It is not the course of Columbus's ships that is at issue, but the course of the modern world.

RICARDO PADRON
University of Virginia

JAN DE VRIES. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 327. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$22.99.

Over fifty years ago, E. J. Hobsbawm cast a pall over the history of the industrial revolution by claiming that the living standards of the laboring poor may well have declined rather than improved as Britain industrialized in the first half of the nineteenth century ("The British

Standard of Living, 1790–1850," *Economic History Review* 10 [1957]: 46–68). The intervention set off a major debate between "pessimists," who argued that industrialization was a catastrophe that devastated working-class families, and "optimists," who contended it was a

crowning achievement that bestowed material benefits on men and women across the social spectrum. A high-stakes referendum on the consequences of modern capitalism, the debate still rages today, as pessimists and optimists thrust and parry with the latest weaponry of the social sciences.

Spanning three and a half centuries to take in change across northwestern Europe and parts of North America, Jan de Vries's monumental work fundamentally transforms the terms of this debate. At its core stands a bewildering historiographical paradox. On the one hand, economic historians have all but validated Hobsbawm's pessimistic appraisal of the first industrial revolution, extending it back in time to the middle of the seventeenth century. Summarizing a large body of technical research, de Vries shows that between 1650 and 1850 real wages in Europe stagnated: "the 'pessimists' appear to have won the debate" (p. 85). On the other hand, social and cultural historians have recently discovered that a "consumer revolution" swept England, the Low Countries, and parts of France and Germany in precisely the same period. In an impressive and badly needed synthesis of current work on consumption, the author describes how ordinary men and women went on a buying spree of historic proportions. They filled their homes with beds, dressers, and pottery; expanded their wardrobes to include white linens and brilliant calicoes; sported new accessories such as fans, umbrellas, and pocket watches; sipped exotic beverages (tea, coffee, and chocolate) laden with sugar; and smoked, chewed, and snorted prodigious quantities of tobacco. Their ancestors would have been amazed.

Hence the conundrum: how could consumption soar among middling and popular classes whose wages remained frozen? Like a magician revealing a favorite trick, de Vries unveils the answer: the household economy. Challenging depictions of the early modern "family economy" as inherently backward-looking and defensive, he draws on the work of economist Gary Becker to posit "an adaptive, strategizing entity capable of responding to the opportunities and threats of the market" (p. 103). The wage-consumption paradox vanishes, the book argues, when we shift our attention from the individual to this dynamic household. During the long eighteenth century, households deliberately increased their supply of market labor to pursue new kinds of consumer goods. In the throes of an "industrious revolution," families reallocated time from leisure and unpaid housework to market labor, as husbands worked more intensively for longer hours while wives and children shifted toward proto-industrial wage work. The resulting rise in market labor more than offset stagnant wages, substantially increasing the purchasing power of the collective household. It was this reorientation of the family to the labor market that allowed ordinary people to raise their level of market-based consumption.

De Vries extends this fascinating story to the second half of the nineteenth century when the industrious revolution reversed itself, but before we follow him there

it is worth pausing to consider his argument so far. For it is already a bold and provocative thesis, a gauntlet thrown down before an august federation of consumption critics that includes thinkers as diverse as Herbert Marcuse and John Kenneth Galbraith. How much more difficult it is to lament the moral and cultural consequences of consumer society if, long before the grinding factories of the industrial revolution and the slick copy of professional advertising, working people embraced consumption of their own volition. Even during the industrial revolution, the author speculates, workers may have willingly submitted themselves to factory discipline to obtain higher wages than they could realize on their own. "After the manner of Ulysses requesting to be tied to the mast of his ship as it sailed past the sirens, factory discipline forced workers to do what they wanted to do but could not do unaided" (p. 115). Transcending the book's specific historical claims is an unabashed apology for the division of labor and the increasing levels of consumption that such division yields.

I will leave it to readers to judge for themselves the ultimate value of capitalism. Better to consider the historical claims of the book, which are far-reaching and controversial in and of themselves. Scholars familiar with the underbelly of the eighteenth century will first want to challenge some of de Vries's basic premises. Although the period undeniably experienced an aggregate surge in consumption, it also witnessed spiking bread prices, wildly fluctuating industrial cycles, and desperate vagrancy; below the commercial prosperity that lifted the standard of living of many men and women lay a precarious "economy of makeshifts," to use Olwen Hufton's term, through which the destitute scrambled to make ends meet. The persistence of poverty begs the question: was the rise in market labor the result of heated consumer aspirations or cold necessity? The book demonstrates beyond a shadow of a doubt that the pull of new clusters of goods—or, more accurately, the characteristics of comfort, pleasure, and respectability that such goods embodied—drew men, women, and children of the middling sort into the labor market. But what of the working poor, still a large swath of the population, whom de Vries in his less careful moments folds into his argument? Was their entrance into the plebian rat race self-imposed? One Dutch historian recently found that for some families the wages of wives could "mean the difference between starvation and survival." These households were indeed working harder, but they were doing so just to scrape by "rather than to increase their consumption" (Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Couples Cooperating? Dutch Textile Workers, Family Labour and the 'Industrious Revolution,' c. 1600–1800," *Continuity and Change* 23: 2 (2008): 256, 261). Such findings do not call into question the entire industrious revolution thesis, but they do suggest that a more finely contoured map of the socioeconomic order is necessary when plotting the rise of consumption. De Vries's optimism would be more convincing if he gave a fairer assessment of the social limits to his thesis.

An altogether different link between labor and consumption surfaces, moreover, when we consider the imports that flooded Europe from Asia and the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As de Vries rightly observes, such imports were an integral part of the revolution in consumption, spreading further down the social hierarchy than many European-made durable goods. And yet, it was not solely the industriousness of European households that made these goods affordable. Cotton calicoes were irresistibly inexpensive in Europe because the cost of labor was so low in India. More pointedly, sugar and tobacco were cheap and widely available thanks to the rise of plantation slavery in the New World. Is it possible to speak of a global industrious revolution or perhaps an Atlantic one? If so, it is important to recognize that some of the labor involved was coerced. The counterpoint of New World slavery complicates the picture, to say the least.

Having described how northwestern European households adapted to the labor market in pursuit of new kinds of goods, the book moves swiftly to the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the industrious family gave way to the "breadwinner-homemaker" household. From 1850 to 1950, women and children moved out of the paid labor force as, first, wives assumed greater responsibility for unpaid housework and then children were sent to school. Benefitting (at last) from rising wages, men became the sole breadwinners in many families. De Vries not only documents the reorganization of the working-class household in this period but, in the most polemical chapter of the book, asserts that the reason for such a dramatic change in family structure lay in shifting consumer aspirations. After 1850, wives re-allocated their time toward household labor to achieve new consumer goals: domestic comfort, cleanliness, personal hygiene, and the enhanced social "respectability" that came with home improvement. Only those with sufficiently high income could in effect purchase these items of utility on the market by hiring domestic servants. Aspiring families that could not afford servants had wives, who now labored at home. A new division of labor emerged that remained dominant until the second half of the twentieth century.

Many historians attribute this division of labor to the resurgence of a patriarchal ethos that divided nineteenth-century men and women into "separate spheres." Pushed out of the paid labor force, women endured a suffocating domesticity until the advent of modern feminism. Although well-versed in this historiography, de Vries will have none of it. Blithely dismissing the notion of separate spheres as "academic comfort food" (p. 214), he insists that the shift to the breadwinner-homemaker household was wholly voluntary, "entered into by the joint decisions of couples . . . for the general benefit of the family" (p. 210). Patriarchal values neither structured the division of labor nor stripped women of their power. In fact, wives wielded significant authority in the home as husbands

handed over their pay packets and allowed them to manage household finances. "The 'patriarchy' of these male breadwinners was akin to the 'monarchy' of the crowned heads of twenty-first-century European states—more show than substance" (p. 236).

To be sure, rigid formulations of "separate spheres" must be nuanced—in fact they are presently undergoing a healthy revision—but to deny the influence of patriarchal values in the construction of the breadwinner-homemaker household seems counterproductive. What is missing from the fifth chapter is any discussion of how patriarchal values, so much in evidence in the period's prescriptive literature, may have informed consumer aspirations (and therefore the labor strategies) of the household. Even if many wives freely chose to avoid paid labor, their decisions were undoubtedly influenced by the prevailing values of the day. Far from being neutral objects of utility, socially constructed concepts of cleanliness, comfort, and respectability were embedded with asymmetrical gender imperatives that reinforced the civil and political inequality of women.

In the final chapter, de Vries suggests that a second industrious revolution took place after 1950, as wives and school-going children in Western Europe and North America entered the paid labor force in droves. The multiple-earner household reappeared, although this time with less pooling of income and more individuated consumption: family dinners gave way to take-out; gatherings around the television yielded to isolated viewing. Yet de Vries does not subscribe to the jeremiads of contemporary critics who see in such trends only social decay, family disintegration, and rampant consumerism. Although troubled by the current intensification of social sorting—the process by which men and women choose partners with matching levels of education, thereby exacerbating socio-economic inequality—he ultimately puts his trust in the abiding energy, inventiveness, and adaptability of the family.

In the end, de Vries replaces the autonomous individual so beloved of neo-classical economics with an equally autonomous household. This shift in focus allows him to chart a path-breaking history of consumer desire, labor, and economic development in the modern age—a towering achievement. But his championing of the autonomy of the family ultimately undermines his ability to explain how new consumer aspirations took hold. Why did the industrious household develop new consumer tastes in the first place? Why did the breadwinner-homemaker household modify those tastes and so change its labor practices? And why did the post-1950 family shift its consumer goals yet again? True, the household was not a passive sponge that simply absorbed all that modern marketing threw at it, but neither was it an impregnable fortress, insulated from changing representations of marriage, childhood, work, and the world of goods. Historians will want to dig even deeper into the family to examine how shifting ideas and tastes—in conjunction with a rapidly developing retail culture—influenced the decision-making process of the household.

One need not agree with every point in this book to admire the powerful intelligence behind its design. The broad sweep of its thesis, the logical force of its argument, and its fearless engagement with multiple branches of scholarship make this an extremely important work. It is a must-read for all historians of capitalism, labor, consumption, the family, and gender—optimists and pessimists alike, regardless of field of

specialization. I would also urge those who instinctively shy from books that trade in such terms as “backward-bending supply curves” to pick up this volume. If you read only one work of economic history this year, let this be it. But be prepared for provocation as well as illumination.

MICHAEL KWASS
University of Georgia

YUVAL NOAH HARARI. *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xv, 386. \$85.00.

Under the banner of war and culture, military history has gained new ground in academe. *International History Review* devoted its September 2005 issue to a debate on the culture of combat; the *Journal of American History* published a lengthy forum on the cultural analysis of American military history in March 2007; and *French Historical Studies* dedicated the spring 2008 issue to “War, Society, and Culture.” Most significantly, after paying scant attention to military history for decades, the *American Historical Review* published Robert M. Citino’s article “Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction” in October 2007. Citino’s treatment is broad, but war and culture figure large.

This stimulating new book by Yuval Noah Harari on the revelatory nature of military experience exemplifies this cultural turn. The author identifies himself specifically as a military historian who is “quite jealous of the rights of the sub-discipline” (p. 23), yet his discussion diverges from the repertoire of most historians of warfare. Although the title of his book implies that he addresses war culture as a whole, he deals extensively with only one aspect of it: the way in which soldiers characterized military experience, particularly combat. Harari references the realities of war and discusses military theory, but above all he stresses perception and description as valuable in themselves. As a result, his work will engage historians concerned with the self, the body, memory, philosophy, psychology, literature, visual arts, and even film. Harari dealt with some of the same evidence and argument in his first book, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History and Identity, 1450–1600* (2004), but his new volume is far more impressive, although still vulnerable to some criticism.

Harari announces, “This book has one overarching argument: War became a revelatory experience in the period 1740–1865. Before the eighteenth century, combatants almost never interpreted war as a revelatory experience” (p. 22). He first establishes that during the early modern period (1450–1740), aristocratic military memoirs, his main sources, said next to nothing about combat as revealing great truths. Memoirists rarely commented upon their emotional involvement with combat or suffering, according to Harari. Nor did phys-

ical participation in war change the individual, although it may have tested that person’s mettle. He points out that memoirists concerned themselves only with demonstrating their adherence to honorable standards through their actions. And while some wrote of life-changing religious revelations, these did not derive immediately from their participation in war-making. Ignatius of Loyola fought and suffered grave wounds, Harari reminds his readers, yet his conversion came not as a consequence of fighting but of reading religious works during his convalescence.

Harari then contrasts the early modern period with the later years, 1740–1865, which he portrays as a time when soldiers came to describe combat as an epiphany that intensely revealed previously hidden understanding. As John Malcolm proclaimed in 1813 before his first battle, “in less than twenty-four hours hence, I might be wiser than all the sages and philosophers that ever wrote” (p. 1). Harari claims that revelation could be exhilarating or disillusioning, spiritual or materialistic, but it changed the individual, altering and defining the self, as opposed to simply validating the preexisting self. Moreover, Harari notes, the intense experience was regarded as so unique to military circumstances that the soldier could not really explain it to anyone who had not been through the same thing. One memoirist testified: “I need not labour to make you enter into my feelings, for that would be impossible, unless you had experienced what I have done” (p. 232). During the mid-nineteenth century, the portrayal of experience in war also took on a sacred dimension, bringing religious conversion, according to the author.

Harari effectively demonstrates these contrasts, yet when he ascribes them to a cultural shift in the importance given the body, he is more open to controversy. During the early modern period, the European opposition of soul and body evolved into a mind/body dichotomy in which the mind dominated. This appeared most clearly in the philosophical works of René Descartes, and Harari reads this element of Cartesian thought into war culture. He describes the reforms of Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), which were essential to the Military Revolution, as a “Cartesian fantasy” in

which the mind of the commander controlled the bodies of his troops (p. 120). "War in the early modern period was the supreme model for the victory of mind over body" (p. 124). For Harari, the contemporary memoir literature reflected this victory by recording admirable deeds dictated by the mind rather than emotional reactions felt by the body. Harari asserts that contemporary condemnations of common soldiers as unimportant and repugnant arose from the opinion that they had bodies but untrained minds.

Harari then traces a chain of thought from the Enlightenment through the Romantic era that altered these beliefs and, instead, privileged experience, the body, and revelation. Enlightenment sensationism stressed physical perception as a basis of knowledge, while sensibility featured being open to feelings. Experience when accompanied by sensibility led to knowledge; thus, he explains, the body became the route to the mind. For Harari, it was this "revolt of the body" that "made it necessary—and interesting—to start describing the experience of war" (p. 125). The most fundamental testimony on war came not from eye-witnessing but "flesh-witnessing," as Harari terms it. Romantics were hungry for accounts of the sublime, those experiences that overwhelmed the individual, and personal accounts of combat fulfilled this need. "The rise of the Romantic sublime had a revolutionary impact on the image and culture of war" (p. 155).

Also, for Harari the common soldier gained a new elevated status because he had as much "experiential authority" concerning the body in combat as did his commanders (p. 125). Accounts by lower-ranking officers and enlisted men, not great captains, "were amongst the chief vehicles that transformed Western war culture. They reinterpreted war as a sublime revelation and created archetypal war stories that have dominated Western war culture ever since" (p. 193).

While Harari pays homage to Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (1985), his argument fundamentally differs from hers. Harari may seem to be tracing the supremacy of the body over the mind, but he is actually charting the supremacy of the body in the mind: that is, describing the rise of cultural beliefs that the body is central to the formation of identity. Were he arguing simply that physiological reactions to the strain of combat transformed the self, he would have to concede that this was as true before 1740 as after. However, his whole argument rests on the assertion that memoirists do not register this at all before the mid-eighteenth century. He is centered on culture, not biology.

Harari is far from being the first historian to see general cultural trends from the late eighteenth through the early nineteenth century as pivotal to the evolution of military culture and thought. In *The Origins of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (1989), Azar Gat deals superbly with the character of Enlightenment military thought and its evolution into Romantic themes that lead to Carl von Clausewitz's classic *On War*. This reviewer's *Battle: A History of Com-*

bat and Culture (2003 and 2004) devotes two chapters to the differences between Enlightenment and Romantic battle cultures, and Harari claims to have been influenced by this work. In *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (2007), David A. Bell argues that the revolutionary and Napoleonic era brought a critical change in the culture of war, which then ushered in total war. In contrast to Harari's world of perception, Bell's culture of war has teeth.

Harari's cultural take is provocative and exciting, but he can be challenged on elements of evidence, assertions of military fact, and conclusions of cultural influence. His use of examples that are inconsistent with the periodization he himself establishes will disturb many readers. Thus, to say that a certain attitude toward military service evolved between 1740 and 1865, and then to exemplify this attitude by quoting a journal written in 1708, is jarring. Equally so, is the fact that the journal is immediately validated by an appeal to Guy Sajer's account of life on the Eastern Front in World War II (p. 233). Harari also is guilty of anachronisms. For example, one of his key categories of military experience is "basic training," but before the mid-nineteenth century, basic training in the modern sense hardly existed. New men were usually integrated into established units at the start, not segregated in camps populated exclusively by green recruits who were broken and rebuilt.

When Harari stays within the cultural realm of conception his argument is stronger than when he argues that this affected actual military practice, such as training, army growth, and tactics. At one point, he argues that radically revised concepts of education, based on a new recognition of sensation and the body, allowed states to train far larger numbers of troops, and as a result, armies expanded dramatically (pp. 180–181). Yes, the French armies of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras were larger than forces mustered before 1789, but the proportion of growth, less than two fold under Napoleon, was much less impressive than the multiplication of forces under Louis XIV, about six fold, so obviously other factors than the revolt of the body must be taken into consideration. In addition, to the extent that French recruits learned their new trade faster after 1789, contemporaries ascribed it to greater devotion to cause, rather than to new concepts of sensibility and education. For the same reason, battlefield tactics placed more confidence in the initiative of the private soldier; it was about spirit not body.

Harari simply loads his mind/body thesis with more weight than it can bear, and in doing so he underestimates social and political factors. For example, his explanation for the improved status of the common soldier at the end of the eighteenth century overplays the valorizing of bodily experience. Harari quotes the Comte de Saint-Germain, French minister of war, who in 1779 condemned the rank and file as, "the filth of the nation, and everything which is useless and harmful to society" (p. 161). However, only ten years later Camille Desmoulins and others praised the common soldier:

"You are no longer satellites of the despot, the jailers of your brothers. You are our friends, our fellows, citizens, and soldiers of the Patrie." The critical difference between the two statements resulted not from the *ascendancy* of the body but from the *fall* of the Bastille. As a product of revolution, common soldiers became champions of the people-in-arms, voluntary enlistment gave way to universal conscription, and domination of the army by once-privileged aristocrats collapsed to the point that nobles composed only four percent of the officer corps in 1794. Certainly culture—political culture—as well as social revolution and military necessity, affected these changes, but they were not the product of a reversal of the mind/body dichotomy. It is also worth noting that part of the change in the tone and content of memoirs after 1740 derives from the greatly increased proportion of non-noble memoirists writing from the late eighteenth century on, and the consequent decline in aristocratic conceptions of honor.

These are serious critiques, but they do not undermine the book's considerable value. Harari's observation about the differences between the perceived re-

velatory nature of military experience before and after the mid-eighteenth century holds firm. Even when he overworks the revolt of the body, his thesis sparks a rewarding debate that compels his reader to think seriously about previously neglected ways in which military culture was tied to more general cultural development.

Harari demonstrates that key elements in a discourse on war and military experience, often believed to be specific to the twentieth century, were in place generations before World War I. Yet, although he only discusses the twentieth century at length in his introduction and conclusion, modern war culture is never much below the surface. In a sense, just as Chris in Oliver Stone's film *Platoon* (1986) left Vietnam born of two spiritual fathers, Staff Sergeant Barnes and Sergeant Elias, this book also follows two paternal lineages leading back to Ernst Jünger and Erich Maria Remarque, specters of revelatory elation and disillusionment who haunt each chapter.

JOHN A. LYNN II
Northwestern University

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

DANIEL BREWER. *The Enlightenment Past: Reconstructing Eighteenth-Century French Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 260. \$95.00.

In 1849, the French literary critic Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve advised caution in reading the works of eighteenth-century writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau. And he was not alone. As Daniel Brewer's suggestive new book argues, it took more than a century before the literature of the Enlightenment was absorbed into the mainstream intellectual culture of France, before it lost the edge of controversy that troubled Sainte-Beuve, before something that we moderns would recognize as "the Enlightenment" was defined and identified with the ideals of the modern French state. According to Brewer, our Enlightenment, the one taught in secondary schools and universities today, is as much a product of the literary historians of the Third Republic—who officially admitted the *philosophes* to the canon of "classics" only in 1896—as it is a product of the writers of the eighteenth century themselves.

But, for Brewer, a literary critic well read in the historiography of eighteenth-century France, this is just the beginning of the story. It is possible to treat the nineteenth-century discovery of the Enlightenment as a reflection of the rise of "progress, liberalism, and republicanism"—and to some extent, Brewer says, this is the right story to tell. But "we must be cautious not to rely unquestioningly upon the narrative that won out" (p. 158). In a palimpsest of ten short chapters on major Enlightenment figures including Montesquieu, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Voltaire, Rousseau, Denis Diderot, and the literary historians who defined their legacy, Brewer analyzes episodes and key concepts in the history of the "Enlightenment" that complicate a linear account. He also argues that—contrary to common presuppositions about the historicism of the eighteenth century—the philosophy of the Enlightenment itself demands such a complication.

Brewer's book is a reflection on both the history of the Enlightenment as concept and on the Enlightenment concept of history. Following François Hartog, Brewer argues that the Enlightenment created a new *régime d'historicité*. For the writers of the Enlightenment, Brewer writes, "No longer is the present to be

understood and lived in terms of the past, whose repetition the present makes manifest. Instead, the present is to be grasped as becoming what it will no longer be" (p. 2). Brewer elaborates this through close readings of d'Alembert, Montesquieu, and the Comte de Volney, as well as the visionary paintings of Hubert Robert, which Brewer analyzes as a reflection of the Enlightenment fascination with the perspective of the "future anterior."

For historians, the middle part of this book, on the repeated invention of the "Enlightenment" and on the changing practice of literary history in the nineteenth century, will be especially valuable, including the sections on the works of Jean-François La Harpe in the 1790s, Abel-François Villemain in the 1820s, and Sainte-Beuve in the 1840s. Here, Brewer illustrates the foreignness of mid-nineteenth-century conceptions of the Enlightenment. This was an Enlightenment in which one could read Rousseau without his political works, view Voltaire as a soldier of Christ, and ignore Diderot almost entirely. Scholars will be familiar with some of the literary historians central to Brewer's account—La Harpe, for example, figures in Lynn Hunt's account of the French Revolution—and with the notion that the Enlightenment concept was in important ways constructed *post facto* from Roger Chartier and others. Brewer deepens our understanding of this dynamic, pursues its history through the twentieth century, and contextualizes it in terms of a changing practice of literary history that is not identical to historiography in the conventional sense. In these excellent sections, the historian reader is likely only to want more. Some of the literary-historical issues raised by Brewer have been more extensively discussed in France than in the United States. In addition to its own virtues, Brewer's work offers a guide to this literature, including important works by Antoine Compagnon, Georges Benrekassa, Marcel Detienne, and Jean Marie Goulemot.

Brewer argues that, for the Enlightenment, the realm of history was also a realm of theory, and he reminds us that the modern historiography of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution has produced still vibrant theoretical debates. Brewer claims that the philosophy of the Enlightenment demands a repeated reinvention: in his words, it is never *hors crise*. And this contention, girded by wide reading in both the litera-

ture of the period and modern critical theory extending from Louis Althusser to Jean-François Lyotard, is strong. Whether or not historians accept the premise, they will be well rewarded by the analysis of how these reinventions have in fact taken place.

DANIEL ROSENBERG
University of Oregon

GUNNEL CEDERLÖF. *Landscapes and the Law: Environmental Politics, Regional Histories, and Contests over Nature*. Delhi: Permanent Black. 2008. Pp. xvi, 300. Rs695.00.

In this ambitious book, Gunnel Cederlöf seeks to move both environmental and social historians toward an "environmental history of law," by which she means a close examination of the negotiations among a variety of parties to produce legal understandings of nature, and specifically land, within a relatively precise historical context. In the preface, Cederlöf claims to strive for an environmental history of law that "simultaneously encompasses the social, economic, political, and ideological aspects of legal conflicts over nature" (p. xiii). In fact, she leaves few historiographical stones unturned in pursuit of this inclusive intellectual agenda. For example, her work provides an important corrective to the tendency among Subaltern Studies authors to dichotomize colonial power dynamics. It also corrects the tendency of some theorists, such as Edward Said, to attribute complete power to the state. Cederlöf instead suggests understanding resistance in terms of negotiation: "acknowledging, influencing, and making use of the other part's domain of authority—a strategy of keeping confrontation to a minimum and making gains without open conflict" (p. 41). Although this formulation is meant to be a critique also of James C. Scott, it maintains his ideas about avoidance. Cederlöf's more important revision to Scott's notion of "weapons of the weak" is to think of resistance as "articulated in the discourse of the dominant and, in spite of the uneven power relations, the outcome was by no means a foregone conclusion" (p. 195). In addition to all these advances, this book effectively writes a new history of the colonial construction of rights in property, and specifically rights in land. A study of land rights may appear to be well-worn historiographical territory for those who are familiar with the social history of South Asia, but it is a point of emphasis too often absent from South Asian environmental history, and even more often absent from environmental histories of other parts of the world. The author's emphasis on colonial property rights alone merits the book's consideration by scholars in those fields.

In addition to this central purpose, Cederlöf makes an important contribution to current thinking on the idea of regions in history, and particularly in South Asian history. Although much of her data comes from the Nilgiri Hills in southern India, Cederlöf argues carefully that social linkages between higher and lower altitudes yield over time a much more blurry set of

boundaries within the spatial imagination of people on the ground, if not yielding a sense of multiple, overlapping regions. States, of course, require more crisply drawn spatial boundaries, and Cederlöf's work shows how ethnographies and more official documents fixed the idea of the Nilgiris (and their foremost ethnic group, the Toda) to a gradually more distinct spatial map in the minds of modern thinkers. In fact, the simple idea that the portrayal of topographical or ethnographic regions reflects an ascriptive rather than descriptive reality should form a more prominent component of historical studies in the future.

Cederlöf takes some risks in the organization and style of the book. Social histories of regions tend to spend time in their early chapters establishing the spatial parameters of the area under study, as well as reviewing the historiography of that region; Cederlöf places these arguments in the final chapter. The central narrative emerges only after a necessary but lengthy disquisition on the representations of the Toda inhabitants of the Nilgiri region in colonial ethnographies. Each chapter begins with an incident from Cederlöf's interactions with Toda people during her fieldwork. This stylistic device is meant to establish the central problematic of the chapter and constitutes some of the most engaging narrative in the book. The author, however, does not return to these incidents at the end of the chapters, which could have helped to emphasize the central point of each. Doing so would also have reinforced the idea, presented in the first chapter, that documentary histories affect the production and reproduction of oral histories, an important point that counters some of the current thinking in the field of South Asian environmental history.

In short, this book makes a deceptively simple central point: that local resistance to the multilateral process of documenting the present and past of a region, in order to apply colonial rules of governance and property, used the conceptual languages of the colonizers in what became the legal documentation undergirding the modern and ultimately postcolonial state. It repays patient reading with fresh insights on a wide range of theoretical matters having some bearing on this central issue. It does not so much break new ground as use new tools to break ground long left fallow, bearing fruit that should grace the tables of all environmental historians.

BRIAN P. CATON
Luther College

BRUCE MAZLISH. *The New Global History*. New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. vii, 131. \$30.95.

Despite its very recent origin, the literature on "globalization" has grown exponentially at an incredibly rapid rate and has already reached vast proportions. One therefore tends not to expect anything particularly fresh or original in a new book on the subject. The present work, however, is a notable exception. In his long and distinguished career, Bruce Mazlish has enlightened readers all over the world with studies of the

Western intellectual tradition and the history of science. In recent years, he has turned his attention to what he calls "global," as distinct from "world," history, and the present slim volume can be seen as distilling the essence of his research and reflections in this area.

If globalization is seen as "a process of increased density and frequency of international and global interactions relative to local or national ones" when can it be said to have begun? One view, to which I incline myself, is that globalization has been a continuous process over all of human history, with the density and frequency of interaction increasing over time, but not in a linear or uninterrupted fashion. Mazlish, however, makes a strong case that the quantitative increase since World War II has been sufficiently great to constitute a qualitative transformation in the nature of historical reality and consciousness itself and in how we ought to approach and study it. Technological change is a major driving force, with nuclear energy, information technology, and satellite communications dramatically compressing space and time. Also important are institutional changes, such as the vast increase in the extent and role of multinational corporations and nongovernmental organizations, to each of which Mazlish devotes an informative chapter. Not only trade and finance but also politics and culture are all now becoming inseparably linked across the globe. All of this has happened as the unintended consequences of anonymous historical processes beyond the control or reach of any single actor, even that of the sole global superpower, the United States. This has not prevented the United States from attempting to "hijack," as Mazlish provocatively puts it, the new emerging global society and make it over in the American image of democracy and the market, a plan pursued most egregiously, but not solely, by George W. Bush and his neoconservative advisers. Mazlish thinks that this attempt by the U.S. will fail, as will the rival effort of what he calls Global Islam. What he envisages is the emergence of a global civil society, which will work out common planetary problems such as environmental deterioration and climate change and the regulation of world markets, migrants, and refugees in a cooperative manner through existing and reformed, or entirely new, international institutions. What the "geopolitical architecture" underpinning this global civil society will be is a subject on which he does not elaborate.

Mazlish uses the ugly but useful term "glocalization" to refer to the dialectical interaction of the global and the local at all levels of the historical process and expresses a general preference for the global over the local in each instance. He is by no means indifferent to particular local concerns and interests when they collide with more powerful global trends, but he argues that these should be subsumed into the "higher" and more inclusive and universal values of the global forces. Harking back to Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and the Scottish Enlightenment, he sees the bonds of "sociability" being extended outward from clan, tribe, and village to nation, continent, and ultimately to the globe

itself in the concept of what he calls global humanity, the collective inhabitant of the emerging global civil society. He traces the evolution of the concept from the French Revolution and the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (1789), to the abolitionist movement against slavery and particularly to the Nuremberg Trials and the notion of "crimes against humanity" as distinct from the more conventional "war crimes." Just as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel saw history as culminating in the "universal state" and Karl Marx in the rule of the proletariat as the "universal class," Mazlish sees the process unfolding toward his conceptions of global humanity and global civil society.

Confronted by the world economic crisis, the Israel-Palestine problem, Darfur, Zimbabwe, and Myanmar, and dozens of other apparently intractable issues, it is easy to be cynical about the noble idealism of Mazlish's vision. But the argument he presents in defense of it is historically grounded and solidly empirical, and one that can inspire us all.

RONALD FINDLAY
Columbia University

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MUZAFFAR ALAM and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 399. \$99.00.

At first glance, the book under review may seem focused exclusively on the particular genre of travel literature known in Farsi or New Persian as *Safar nāme*. Yet, this erudite and engaging collaboration between Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam provides not just translations from Persian of accounts on travels with accompanying commentaries but also a series of chapters in which the proverbial wonders and sporadic vexations that awaited pre-modern travelers are made accessible within the context of a world then changing under the expansion of empires. In many ways, the book under review is a masterful travelogue of travelogues, becoming part of the literary tradition it examines while linking not just Iranians and Indians but also Europeans who were venturing along the well-worn pathways and wind-swept waterways of West and South Asia.

The book comprises eight chapters, a handful of maps, scattered illustrations, a bibliography of sources and scholarly studies, and an index. The maps and illustrations give glimpses into the occasionally surreal but often mundane facets of long-distance travel. The maps illuminate the details of this book through their specificity but would have benefited from one that presented the major overland and maritime routes connecting Iran and the Indian subcontinent. Occasionally the travel narratives of Westerners, especially those by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, are used as foils (pp. 82–91, 342–351, 352–357). A few observations can be made on some of the more interesting details raised in the book.

Chapter one, an introduction, lays out the parame-

ters of this book. With carefully crafted prose, the authors begin to argue against notions of an Oriental lack of curiosity (pp. 2, 4, 21), to suggest that travelogues were not largely limited to Western products of inquiry (pp. 3, 5–6, 15), and to probe the different sociohistorical settings in which their case studies, written by literate, well-traveled members of Indo-Iranian societies, arose between the waning of the Middle Ages to the rise of modernity (pp. 3, 6, 19–20). They survey, as well, the scope of pre-modern Asian travelogues (pp. 9–19) to situate the Indo-Persian ones in comparative context. More than even the accounts themselves and the analyses that accompany them in the subsequent chapters, this introduction is the book's *pièce de résistance* for its contribution to reclaiming the undervalued roles of a fascinating corpus of literature.

The second chapter covers travelogues from the fifteenth century, from which time forward Persian-speaking elites could use that language widely in the many urban centers of Indo-Iranian lands. An ex post facto account of a northeastern Iranian envoy's voyage to Calicut (now Kozhikode) from Herat and the port of Hormuz on behalf of the Timurid dynasty captures poignant introspective descriptions of seasickness and homesickness (p. 60) that complement extrospective details on the multicultural mercantile entrepôts of Hormuz and Calicut (pp. 59, 64). For this traveler, like so many of his compatriots, that which is foreign, like that which is in the past, is amazing and strange for "they do things differently there" (to draw upon the famous words of L. P. Hartley). Polytheistic festivals, betel leaf chewing, elephant riding, and bejeweled prostitutes are sources of constant fascination (pp. 72–76), demonstrating that the Orient could capture the imagination even of other Asians. Seventeenth-century writings by Indo-Iranian travelers within the Orient are presented by Alam and Subrahmanyam in chapter four via an account by the east Iranian literatus Mahmud b. Amir Wali Balkhi. Readers follow Balkhi's adventures as he treks from the then Iranian province of Khorasan through the Punjab, Bengal, and Serendib (now Sri Lanka), and even enters the Mughal civil service "to see strange creations and curious objects" (pp. 132–159) as *l'homme engagé* questing for both the profane and the sacred.

All was not complementary, however. Very much in the vein of ethnocentric travelers who made the European Grand Tour, not everyone who traveled between West Asia and South Asia was of generous mind or spirit. "As if a copy could ever equal the original" (pp. 219–220) wrote the seventeenth-century poet Muhammad Sa'id Mazandarani (also known as Ashraf Mazandarani), whose life spanned both Iranian and Indian societies. The accounts in chapter five of Iranian expatriates who regarded themselves as culturally superior to the people they visited even as they marveled at the accomplishments of the societies they encountered, are noteworthy in revealing how biases stubbornly resist change (pp. 195, 199, 207, 239–240).

The study of travelogues has long been gendered by

the very nature of its authorship—that is, the *Safar nāme* genre is colored by the focuses of male travelers. So the inclusion at the book's inception of a detailed narrative (pp. 24–42, 43) by a widow from the Safavid capital of Esfahan in Iran on her *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is most welcome even though it takes readers off the West Asia-South Asia trajectory of the book. The female traveler's attention to details of people, places, hues, and feelings facilitates interesting contrasts with the more standard renditions found in male-authored travel books.

This study intended to focus "on the world of the Indo-Persian travel text" (p. xii). Through the case studies selected by Alam and Subrahmanyam that goal is achieved admirably. Some readers may wish there had been additional discussions on a broader range of Indo-Iranian travels, travelers, and travelogues. Wanderings of Armenian and Isma'ili merchants were important to interconnecting diverse societies and to generating travel literature. Likewise, the sectarian and touristic travels of Zoroastrians, Parsis from India, and Iranis from Iran produced not only the *Persian Revayats* or treatises but a flourish of narrative descriptions of local lives, sights, and perspectives. Diplomats who moved between those regions recorded their activities in both books and inscriptions, the interrelated examination of which yields even more detail. There are fleeting mentions only, alas, of places like Serendib or Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and of the diseases that journeymen and women suffered. Yet, the book takes readers deep into the multifaceted roles played by travelogues in the Age of Discoveries—encompassing the marvels and the miseries of new tastes, smells, sounds, customs, lifestyles, dangers, and rewards. For evoking that "ocean of wonders," the authors deserve much praise.

JAMSHEED K. CHOKSY
Indiana University,
Bloomington

GÉRARD BOUCHARD. *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History*. Translated by MICHELLE WEINROTH and PAUL LEDUC BROWNE. (Carleton Library Series, number 211.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 429. \$85.00.

The questions how and why particular New World societies developed as they did have long occupied the minds of scholars. Frederick Jackson Turner's influential thesis on the importance of the frontier in American history, advanced more than a century ago, prompted historians in other New World settings, perhaps most notably Russel Ward in Australia, to attempt to explain their nation's ethos and character as a product of the frontier experience. In the 1960s, Louis Hartz postulated a very different interpretation of New World development. According to his fragment thesis, the moment settler societies were cast off from the European core constitutes the principal determinant of their national ethoi and ideological trajectories. Yet while the

works of Turner and Hartz and derivations of their interpretations have been subject to sustained criticism, historians continue rightly to be captivated by the nature of the New World societies and concerned to explore the similarities and differences between them.

G  rard Bouchard's book, originally published in 2000 and now translated for the first time into English, is situated within this tradition of scholarship. Bouchard disagrees with the approaches of Turner and Hartz and offers instead a sustained work of comparative history to explore similarities and differences in the historical experiences of a range of New World locations. He identifies a series of common experiences that position these settler societies apart from the Old World: collective vulnerability brought about by separation from the old society; wide-ranging dependence on the metropolis; wholly new conceptions of space; the need to address the presence of indigenous populations; and, among elites in particular, a sense of cultural impoverishment at the novelty of the world they now endured (pp. 11–12). Yet despite these similarities, Bouchard maintains there are significant differences across the range of New World locations, especially in a society's relationship to its European parent. An important factor in determining patterns of experience in each New World society, he contends, is the interaction of customary forms ("non-written language") born in the new land and the discursive practices of the elite culture. Bouchard is intrigued by this process and the extent to which particular societies experienced *rupture* or *continuity*, severance or the attempt to preserve ties, with the European metropolis. These processes of disconnection and association, he contends, are not mutually exclusive, nor do they unfold in a straightforward, linear fashion. Instead, they are "likely to mix and to accommodate a large range of intermediary positions and configurations" (pp. 13–14).

Unsurprisingly, Quebec, where Bouchard is based, is dealt with in greatest detail in this book, and the author makes a strong case for the importance of the comparative method to challenge what he considers to be the insularity and exceptionalist tendencies in that province's historiography. In a long, ninety-page chapter, he traces Quebec's history through four chronological periods, identifying pendulum swings back and forth between rupture and continuity and demonstrating antinomy between its elite and popular cultures. Australia is dealt with nearly as extensively as Quebec. In a long and at times repetitive chapter, Bouchard emphasizes the importance of geography in the island continent's historical path, arguing persuasively that its position as a European offshoot on the fringe of Asia profoundly affected its trajectory toward independence. Its break with Great Britain, he asserts, occurred only gradually and after periods of stasis, driven principally by working-class pressure on Australian elites. Latin America, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada are also examined, although in a much more cursory fashion. However, the logic with which these societies are ordered and the space afforded them in the text is some-

what puzzling. The United States, the example of most abrupt New World separation from the European inheritance, and New Zealand, the most recently occupied New World society and the one seen here as possessing the most intense and durable connections to Great Britain and its empire, are situated side by side with Canada in a short chapter of only forty-five pages.

As is common in comparative histories, readers of this book who are well versed in the historiographies of any of the New World societies under study will likely take umbrage at factual inaccuracies, particularly where they seem significantly to influence Bouchard's analysis. For example, in the case of Australia, voters in referenda in 1916 and 1917 rejected conscription, but they did not vote against the country's involvement in World War I (p. 41). Likewise, the proposition that Australia's emancipist class consisted of "several repentant convicts" very seriously misrepresents the size and importance of that group in colonial life (p. 183). Nonetheless, this book should be acknowledged as one of tremendous ambition and breadth that compels us to reflect in new ways on the complex historical processes that ruptured the New World from the Old and which continue to shape the distinctive cultures of those lands.

MALCOLM CAMPBELL

University of Auckland

MARCY NORTON. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 334. \$35.00.

Three days after setting foot on the island of Guanahani, Christopher Columbus noticed that the natives seemed to hold certain dried leaves in high esteem. A few days later his shipmates reported that men and women walked about with a "smoking tube" to take in a fragrant aroma they were apparently fond of. Another exotic New World commodity was rather more dramatically introduced by the conqueror Bernal D  az del Castillo, who was present at the famous dinner in the still intact Aztec capital Tenochtitl  n in 1519, where "beautiful and clean" women served Moctezuma and his entourage "fifty large jars of foaming cacao."

The rest, as Marcy Norton shows in her superior and fascinating book, is history. Today the world's smokers annually puff some 600 billion cigarettes (from the *Mayasikar*), or four packs a year for every man, woman, and child on the planet. At the same time annual cacao production is around three million tons, a pound for every earthling, of which two-thirds is grown in West Africa, far from its botanical hearth in the American tropical littoral.

Global consumption, however, was slow to take off. For the first hundred years after their "discovery" these two future global commodities found few customers beyond their American homeland. Not until the early seventeenth century, as Norton is able to show through examination of shipping manifests and tax records and by combing through accidental mentions in colonial

documents, did tobacco—snuffed, chewed and smoked—gain a foothold in Spain. The enjoyment of tobacco then “cropped up many places around the globe” (p. 257), pushed aggressively by Portuguese, Dutch, and Arab traders into the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Africa, India, Japan, China and Java, and the Mediterranean Levant. By the second half of the seventeenth century the Spanish crown, like many governments to follow, established a royal monopoly on tobacco that eventually produced more tax revenue than American gold and silver imports.

Chocolate consumption, in the form of frothy drink, increased more rapidly, in part because cacao had long been an organized tropical trade commodity in pre-Hispanic America and consequently fit easily into European commercial circuits. Seville was the natural entry port for Europe: by the second half of the seventeenth century, some 800 tons of cacao were registered in that city, while uncounted additional tons found their way as contraband to other Western European ports. During the subsequent centuries chocolate was found everywhere, while tobacco has become an even more vital—and unhealthy—item of global consumption.

Norton’s inquiry forms part of the larger panorama of explanations for the acceptance or rejection of native American plants diffused across the planet following the Columbus landfall. One thinks of maize, sweet potatoes, and peanuts, eagerly accepted by late sixteenth-century Chinese; the rejection by Europeans until the late eighteenth century of the common potato as food fit only for pigs; tomatoes, their absence unthinkable today in the ubiquitous pizza; or the near universal use of *chiles* (misnamed “peppers” by Columbus), rapidly spread by the Portuguese down the West African coast and into Goa, Southeast Asia, and China and eagerly accepted in Hungary but shunned by other European populations. It is hard today to think that Indian curries or Szechwan dishes owe their heat to American *capsicum*.

Although framed within a clear understanding of political economy, Norton’s study is fundamentally concerned with the cultural dimensions of her commodities. The book seeks to explain why tobacco and chocolate, shunned by Europeans for most of the first century following Columbus’s landfall, subsequently became so enthusiastically accepted. Although valued for their mood-altering and presumed medicinal effects, the consumption of both tobacco and chocolate in pre-Hispanic America was anchored in rituals of religious and social meaning. In the minds of the first Europeans, they were associated with “diabolically inspired paganism” and “easily became symbols of Indian otherness” (p. 10). In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the decline of native populations combined with the steady flow of Spanish migrants to the Indies, interethnic marriage, the penetration of the mendicant clergy into the most remote villages, and the enlistment of native workers in the colonial enterprise all led to an intertwining of cultural traditions: creoles “learned to hold a pipe, dip snuff, and scoop the foam

off chocolate” (p. 11) and, returning to Spain, helped naturalize these tastes and create new rituals of tobacco and chocolate consumption. Perhaps the seventeenth-century papal opinion that chocolate did not violate the ecclesiastical fast helped to encourage greater consumption in Catholic than Protestant Europe.

These scant examples will not convey the rich complexity of the book. Few other writers, with the exception perhaps of Sidney Mintz in *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (1985), have probed so deeply and gracefully into the cultural explanations for consumption in Latin America and the world; and no one, I believe, has employed such a range of archival evidence, a most impressive bibliography in several languages, and adroitly chosen ancient images and illustrations. Finally, Norton presents her exhaustive argument (without exhausting the reader) in lucid and polished prose.

ARNOLD BAUER
University of California,
Davis

STUART B. SCHWARTZ. *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 336. \$50.00.

Cada uno se puede salvar en su ley: each person can be saved in his or her own religion, claims a traditional Spanish saying. This saying has its own appeal: it recognizes the validity of other religions and it assumes a certain level of relativism, and perhaps indifference, in religious matters. Thus, one day in 1480, Stuart B. Schwartz tells us, an Old Christian peasant woman was at her Jewish neighbor’s home, where someone had died, praying. Someone reprimanded her for praying at a Jewish home, and she answered “May God forgive you. You are wrong. The good Jew will be saved and the good Moor in his law. Why else did God make them?” (p. 53). This is the subject of Schwartz’s book: the history of tolerance in terms of attitudes and sentiments, and in this sense, this is a book about cultural attitudes. More precisely, the book is about the history of attitudes of common people, people like the Old Christian peasant woman praying at her Jewish neighbor’s home. Schwartz argues that in early modern Spain and Portugal, as in the rest of Europe, a popular attitude of tolerance in religious matters existed. He uses mainly Inquisition sources to cover the Iberian Atlantic world—that is, Spain, Portugal, Spanish America, and Brazil (as well as Goa)—from the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century.

The book is divided in three parts. “Iberian Doubts” (four chapters) focuses on traditions of religious tolerance in Spain and Portugal. “American Liberties” (three chapters) discusses the development of religious ideas concerning salvation and sexuality in the American context. Schwartz argues that the integration of Indian practices into local Spanish American communi-

ties was facilitated by the culture of tolerance he analyzes in this book. In the last chapter of this section, as in the previous section, he deals specifically with Portuguese Brazil. "Toward Toleration," with its two chapters, serves as a conclusion. The first of these two chapters links the traditional culture of tolerance of the early modern period with the ideas of the Enlightenment; the last chapter argues that the culture of tolerance in Spain and Portugal belonged to a wider European culture of tolerance. From beginning to end, Schwartz discusses the role of institutions, especially the Roman Catholic Church and the Inquisition, and state policies in shaping this popular culture of tolerance.

Schwartz brings back the voices of common people as they explained their lives and actions to each other and church authorities. Thus, as the military campaigns against the Muslim kingdom of Granada were underway, a farmer and a local miller in the region of Soria discussed those actions. The miller was in favor of the campaigns but the peasants, at some point, asked him, "How does anyone know which of the three laws God loves best?" (p. 53). A peasant converted from Islam commented that "God has sinned and has not done his craft well, making some Christians and others Moors and others Jews since all should be as one" (p. 65). Someone in Panama, when told that he had to pray for the pope, answered: "Here we don't know the pope, who is a foreigner and who is always at odds with us and wished us ill" (p. 143). Schwartz opens a window into the humor, consistencies and inconsistencies, suffering, and joys of the people who lived in that foreign territory of the past. He shows that a common culture of tolerance, which was forged out of practical concerns, bound together artisans, peasants, priests, *conversos*, Muslims, Jews, and Old Christians in early modern Spain and Portugal.

Yet I wonder if the people who were brought before the Inquisition represented a common popular culture of tolerance or if they represented the margins of a culture that was not, then, characterized by tolerance. In other words, I wonder if the people who were brought before the Inquisition, people on the margins, represented a culture of tolerance on the margins. To this Schwartz responds "I believe it is fair to assume that there were many persons in these societies who held similar ideas but had the good sense or the discretion not to voice them" (p. 6). Why? This is a methodological problem, of course, and this is an excellent book to raise the question.

Religion was central to the lives of people in the early modern period, and this book shows us how some early modern people understood their own religiosity in ways that allowed them to accept difference. In this sense, this book shows that, although religion was a source of violence and tensions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religion was also a source of popular alternative ideas to the central issues of salvation, sexuality,

and coexistence with other religions: *cada uno se puede salvar en su ley*.

ANTONIO BARRERA-OSORIO
Colgate University

MAURICE J. BRIC. *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America, 1760–1800*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 363. \$65.00.

When, in 1797, Irish republicans in Philadelphia published the constitution of the American Society of United Irishmen, they were keen to enlist not only their fellow countrymen but all supporters of the "rights of mankind," irrespective of nationality. The cause of liberty, they believed, was indivisible. As citizens of the world, they viewed themselves as part of a struggle that transcended but included the United States—a struggle that pitted them against entrenched elites on both sides of the Atlantic, in counterrevolutionary Britain, Ascendancy Ireland, and Federalist America. Joining Democratic Clubs, establishing their own ethnic organizations, and editing radical newspapers, they became an integral part of the Republican Party, and contributed to Thomas Jefferson's Revolution of 1800.

This confluence of the "new immigrants" and "new politics," argues Maurice J. Bric, broke the American ideal of an "organic and undifferentiated polity," shattered earlier patterns of deference, and helped to create a new public space characterized by ethnic involvement and popular participation in politics. The change was prefigured in the 1760s with the activities of the Paxton Boys and the Irish challenge to the Quaker leadership in Pennsylvania. But it really got going during the 1790s, during the debates over Genet's mission, Jay's Treaty, the Quasi-War, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the Naturalization Acts. By 1799, the new politics were exemplified by Thomas McKean's election as governor of Pennsylvania, with the Philadelphia Irish in the vanguard.

Although this book is based on his doctoral dissertation of 1991, Bric has kept pace with subsequent scholarship in Ireland and America and makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Ulster Scots migration to colonial America, the emergence of the party system in the United States, and the controversies generated by the United Irishmen in late eighteenth-century Philadelphia. The fact that the original contours and conclusions of his dissertation have stood the test of time is both a strength and a weakness of the book. On the one hand, it testifies to the solidity of Bric's research; on the other, it means that he is traveling over familiar ground rather than exploring new terrain.

Consider, for example, Bric's association of Ulster American Presbyterians with political radicalism—something so deeply engrained within the historiography that it seems beyond dispute. Yet there were also loyalist Presbyterians, and there is good evidence from western Pennsylvania that people of Ulster Scots ethnicity supported the Federalists during the 1790s. One

would like to know more about the extent, character, and persistence of such loyalist and Federalist traditions, just as one would like to know more about the tensions between Bric's "new immigrants" and those who came before them. Similarly, the reaction of established Irish American Catholics in Philadelphia to radical Irish Protestant newcomers needs to be investigated. And any attempt to apply notions of an "emerging nativism" (p. 199) to Philadelphia's politics during the 1790s must take into consideration the fact that the most vociferous enemy of the United Irishmen in the United States was the English-born William Cobbett.

Not only are there missed opportunities here; the interpretative thread frequently gets lost in a thicket of information, particularly in the earlier chapters, where the material on migration and trade patterns threatens to overwhelm the analysis. At times, Bric himself seems to become overwhelmed by the information, repeating the same quotations in different places and lapsing into factual errors. On one page, William Duane is born in Clonmel, while on another he is born in New York (pp. 275, 314). (In fact, he was born in Newfoundland.) Elsewhere, Bric has 45,000 people dying in Philadelphia during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, which would have wiped out the entire city (p. 182). And Thomas Paine would have been relieved to have visited America in 1794, where Bric places him, rather than to have been in the Luxembourg jail in Paris, where he actually was (p. 224). All in all, this book would have benefited immensely from a thorough editing, identifying the inaccuracies, cutting out the repetition, and substituting synthetic analysis for the detailed recounting of myriad newspaper controversies.

Although Bric makes a strong case that Irish immigrants in Philadelphia broadened the city's polity, his view that the reinvention of Philadelphia became part of the reinvention of America is assumed rather than demonstrated. Although similar patterns can be found in cities such as New York and Baltimore, they do not necessarily apply throughout the country. Unless and until more research is conducted on the "new immigrants" in rural America—where most of them lived in the late eighteenth century—Bric's larger claim must remain open for debate.

DAVID A. WILSON
University of Toronto

RONALD L. LEWIS. *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. x, 395. \$49.95.

Some old paradigms slowly fade away. Others, such as the invisibility of British immigrants in American society, are rarely questioned. In much American ethnic and immigration history, including this work, immigrants from Britain became "invisible"—so easy was their transfer into American culture and society. Their presence in American society caused no comment; they thought of themselves as "valuable reinforcements" (p. 5) to the British stock. The title of Ronald L. Lewis's

book suggests a foregone conclusion. The people studied are Welsh Americans, not immigrants from Wales; assimilation triumphs unquestionably, even in the notoriously strike-torn coal fields.

Labor historians are not so sure, emphasizing the contested establishment of trade unions and documenting the strife and reform politics that characterized many industries with immigrant workers from Lancashire, Macclesfield, Staffordshire, and Yorkshire, England, Scotland, and Wales, precisely because of their labor culture and regional identities.

Lewis, uninterested in diasporas such as the Welsh in Argentina, traces a one-dimensional transnational connection between homeland and hostland. Although he argues that the Welsh transplanted a distinct work culture, resisted out-marrying, cherished Welsh nationalism, spoke a different language, and possessed their own religious traditions and culture, this somehow did not differentiate them from Americans of British stock. Settled in the heavy industrial areas of Pennsylvania and Ohio, they played a formative role in shaping the coal industry, its practices, safety laws, and trade associations. Lewis asks why a culture so "foreign" encountered so little "discrimination" (p. 8). Apparently this culture bowed before the forces of assimilation. Wales was forgotten, and Americanization prevailed. Surely, the inevitability that all this suggests should raise questions.

Lewis, who is personally related to Welsh immigrants, uses his linguistic abilities to understand the richness of Welsh culture and history as well as the transnational nature of migration. He delivers a soundly researched if predictable argument. Unquestionably a soft pluralist, he values culture over class, but his evidence will not support this separation. Welsh experience both in Britain and in the United States makes culture and class inextricable.

Lewis presents Welsh history as deeply anti-English: corn famines, the enclosure movement, antipathy toward the established Anglican Church, English rejection of Welsh culture as inferior, and the severe repression and deportation of dissenters. Popular movements that reflected the same goals as those of the Chartists underscore Welsh hatred of the English political system. Nineteenth-century emigration included Welsh colonies to create a new "Beulah" land in Pennsylvania or Patagonia, the ultimate transplantation. If transnational experience from Wales shaped this transplantation of Welsh culture, its history was grounded in a deep antipathy to England and presumably its admirers in the United States.

American capitalists and investors certainly admired and borrowed from English policies. Indeed the very idea of importing the Welsh to mine coal followed English practice with the development of the fabulously abundant Welsh coal mines. Furthermore, U.S. coal mining and Welsh emigration coincided with the expansion of British capital invested in American mines. Ineffective state regulation of miserable conditions, lost wages, and exploitation prepared the miners of Wales

for similar experiences in the United States. Welsh miners also transplanted a tradition of resistance and support for trade unions and a hatred for the Catholic Irish.

The conflict between Welsh and Irish immigrants in the American coal fields provides a most interesting transnational clash of culture and class. The skills of coal miners from Wales were unique; neither native nor immigrant workers offered an alternative. Lewis argues that the rise of English industrial capitalism intertwined ethnic relations with class warfare. For example, in Wales such conflict spilled over from the workplace into the community. Hatred of Irish immigrants to Wales and their Catholicism became yet another transplanted cultural heritage, making class unity difficult but assimilation more probable.

In America, religious and racial bigotry united Yankees with Protestants from Scotland and Wales who spoke English, even if culturally as a second language. Although British immigrants might not admire Yankee ways, the immigrant Irish became a convenient, traditional scapegoat at the mines and in the villages for cultural tensions over labor competition. Mine owners were quick to exploit these conflicts, especially as Welshmen became supervisors and "bosses" in the American mines. But as the labor force shifted to Slavic immigrants, the heritage of class disunity between Welsh and Irish served to weaken further labor resistance.

The Welsh brought their conflictual cultural/class heritage to coal mining in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania and Ohio. If these views coincided with native and capitalist views, this was, interestingly enough, assimilation of a different order: with Yankee bigotry and labor exploitation, not with the dream of a Protestant republic. Furthermore, in their frantic pursuit of moral respectability and success in capitalist America, most Welsh immigrants and later generations absorbed the new society with its suffocating middle-class conformism and abandoned the old.

MARY H. BLEWETT
University of Massachusetts,
Lowell

ANDREW SMITH. *British Businessmen and Canadian Confederation: Constitution-Making in an Era of Anglo-Globalization*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 229. \$80.00.

Most historians who have written on Canada's Confederation in 1867 emphasize political and constitutional processes. Economic contexts are sketched as a backdrop to political and constitutional developments. Recently several scholars have pointed to the tangled business involvements of Canada's most famous fathers: John A. Macdonald and Georges-Etienne Cartier. The financial context of Confederation and collaborative engagements between Canada's political and economic elite and similar groups in England have been highlighted. Such perspectives, however, have never been center stage in any sustained consideration of the move-

ment to Confederation. This lacuna is especially marked with regard to the activities of those British businessmen who had considerable fortunes tied up in railways and other infrastructural development in British North America. For that reason alone Andrew Smith's book should be welcomed, but it accomplishes far more than that. Smith consistently refuses to depict British businessmen as the master manipulators of Canada's political destiny, yet he gives them their just due: while never worthy of the title "Fathers of Confederation," their collective activity and influence, Smith argues, helped Confederation to occur in 1867. Arguments for such a union existed well before that time but, Smith asserts, British financiers could have cared less. Their interest was tweaked in the early 1860s, with the fate of their large investments in British North American railways in severe jeopardy. My reading of Smith's tightly written and well-researched monograph suggests that the role played by British businessmen was a necessary but not sufficient cause of Confederation, and I suspect Smith would agree.

Smith draws on and refines the gentlemanly capitalist thesis of imperial development advanced by Peter J. Cain and Anthony G. Hopkins. For Cain and Hopkins a closely overlapping group of private bankers, Treasury officials, Colonial Office appointees, and Bank of England personnel shaped policy. Smith agrees that London financiers rather than industrialists outside the city wielded the most influence in political circles. Smith, however, refines this argument in two ways. First, manufacturers also had sway and a surprising number did support Canadian Confederation. Men like Edward Watkin, from a manufacturing family, as well as many Chambers of Commerce in manufacturing towns in the North aided London financiers in their pursuit of Confederation. Secondly, Smith demonstrates that this close knit group did not always get its way, most notably in the negotiations leading to the sale of the Hudson's Bay Company lands to Canada in 1869.

Nevertheless London financiers were the prime movers within business circles if only because they and their clients had the most to lose. They fervently believed that the best, if not only, way to save their investments was the creation of a larger union—ideally a unitary state but, if federal, than one with strong central powers. These financiers desired that Canada remain within the British constitutional orbit, less from some idealistic desire for an expansive British Empire and more from an acute realization that colonial bonds sold better than bonds of independent nation states in Britain's financial heartland. They also were quite wary of any movement to a more democratic polity. Political and financial attitudes such as these sat well with leading politicians in Canada who were themselves banking on the continued flow of British capital to underwrite their various infrastructural initiatives.

Smith's book demonstrates the influence exercised by interest groups, not through simple assertion but via close research that uncovers relationships, strategies, plots, and failures. Most noteworthy in this regard is his

discussion of the British North American Association (BNAA). Composed of London's major financiers and important politicians, the BNAA was formed in January 1862. Smith shows how this group mounted a sustained campaign for Confederation, one that led them to lobby northern cities as well as London politicians and bureaucrats. The BNAA was instrumental in changing Colonial Office attitudes to confederation from opposition to support.

Smith might have spent a little more space on contextualizing the activities of these pro-Confederation London financiers. In many ways they were at the cusp of dramatic and significant change in international financial circles. States, colonial and independent, had increasingly to demonstrate to international financiers that their polity was well run, centrally controlled, and firmly disciplined. As bankers formed international syndicates to underwrite major infrastructural development throughout the world, they privileged states willing to exercise central power and ensure stable political and social as well as economic affairs. For that as well as other reasons the crushing of Louis Riel by Macdonald's central state in 1885 ensured the continued flow of capital from international banking syndicates. From this perspective, Confederation was simply act one in an unfolding international drama. I hope, too, this book is act one in Smith's emerging academic career.

PETER BASKERVILLE
University of Alberta

VANESSA D. DICKERSON. *Dark Victorians*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. 163. \$35.00.

Vanessa D. Dickerson sets out to document and analyze the two-way traffic in people and ideas between white British and African American Victorians. She divides this slim volume into four chapters, the first two discussing travels and encounters and the second two an implicit conversation between Thomas Carlyle and W. E. B. Du Bois. In doing so, she intentionally pits eyewitnesses of both nations against those who attempted to theorize those encounters. The book is a snapshot in time and offers materials that in some cases have been gathered elsewhere under an intriguing new rubric.

They were not, of course, all "Dark Victorians," a nomenclature that she stretches to include those who observed, for better or worse, actual "dark Victorians." Some, like Anthony Trollope's mother Frances Trollope, subsumed the African Americans she saw, in visits she made between 1858 and 1876, into her more general comments on boorish Americans. Her novelist son had a more confused response to American blacks, many of whom he could not easily fit into the slippery categories of race because of their ambiguous coloring. Other British visitors persisted in believing that the glimpses of laughing Negroes on street corners or as quiet servants in plantation dining rooms vindicated the Amer-

ican system of slavery and proved it to be benign. Dickerson shows that the most sympathetic, and in some ways most honest, discussion of race came not from writers who visited America but from one who did not: Elizabeth Barrett Browning, in her poem "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point" (1848).

African Americans who made their way to Britain—to most, an almost unimaginable accomplishment—were intoxicated by the freedom and the lack of systemic racism. Often, like Frederick Douglass, Ida B. Wells, and William Wells Brown, they arrived with the mission of gathering support for antislavery or antilynching reform, nearly exhausting themselves in relentless speaking engagements in which they showed audiences a side of America that writers like Frances Trollope missed. Others, like Harriet Jacobs, accompanied employers and were famously astonished by the way that, at least for a time, the constant cloud of race lifted and allowed them to breathe more freely. Some returned to Britain and became citizens.

Even so, the book calls out for more historical context (and a good copyeditor for the frustrating word and spelling errors). How many black people were already living in Britain as British citizens when the free black Americans began traveling there? What were their experiences as actual "Dark Victorians"? Although she briefly discusses the large black population there in the eighteenth century, Dickerson's early statement that "Demographically, there were so few blacks in England, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that the British felt neither particularly served nor particularly threatened by the black presence in their homeland" (p. 20) ignores the many scholarly works (including my own) on the visible and expanding black presence in eighteenth-century Britain.

Dickerson is at her best when she moves into the analytical. At times the first chapters read like a recitation of what every critic has written on the subject, the quotations piling up as she moves along. The juxtaposition of Carlyle and Du Bois, however, sets up an implicit debate between two hugely important writers of their times. Carlyle's essay, and later pamphlet, "An Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" (1853), while often discussed, comes here into admirable and full-blown consideration. We still cringe over his stubborn and uninformed denunciation of blacks (likening them to animals) and abolitionists, and his support for Governor Edward John Eyre's brutal retaliation after a slave revolt, but Dickerson puts this into the context of Carlyle's two visits to Ireland and his reductive belief that it "was not black slaves abroad but white laborers at home, especially the Irish, who deserved attention and sympathy" (p. 81). As Dickerson rightly concludes, Carlyle's enormous influence meant that his vitriol against blacks received wider attention than it would had it come from a lesser-known figure. "Without ever sailing to the Americas," she writes, "Carlyle still managed to reach American shores where he inflicted what wounds he could upon black humanity and through up what barriers he could to black freedom" (p. 81).

In some ways, pitting Carlyle against Du Bois is an unfair, although satisfying, battle. While he began life as a "dark" Victorian, Du Bois was educated at Harvard and in Germany, adopting many of their habits, but lived out his final days in Ghana in the 1960s. His words therefore carry the weight of a broader history, lasting from the Victorians into our own time. Recognizing the deficiencies and harm of empire, Du Bois also was able to draw upon the best that Britain could offer—in Dickerson's words, "the benefits of the Victorian soul" (p. 125). Her book illustrates the links forged between two unlikely groups of Victorians "who continue to speak to each other" (p. 135) today.

GRETCHEN HOLBROOK GERZINA
Dartmouth College

MATTHEW PRATT GUTERL. *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. 237. \$39.95.

This rich meditation considers the hemispheric reach of white ideas about slavery and abolition in the nineteenth-century U.S. South. It concludes that masters articulated their fears of modernity in reference to the diverse plantation societies of the greater Caribbean. In reaction to grave threats to the worlds they ruled, whites did not retreat into the insular confines of provincial communities. Some ventured, in fact and imagination, to the tropical islands of a region that served as a prospective "south" to the American South. After reading a broad sampling of memoirs, pamphlets, travel narratives, and newspaper articles with this connection in mind, Matthew Pratt Guterl identifies a pan-American story in which places like New Orleans and Havana, Haiti and Mississippi, and Jamaica and South Carolina were connected to one another.

Understanding the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea as an "American Mediterranean" is to see it almost exclusively from the perspectives of white southerners who viewed it as a dependent space into which they projected their fantasies of ongoing dominion. From this point of view, the West Indies appear as a natural range for their ambitions and as a laboratory for understanding the perils of racial subjugation in an era of emancipation. From the antebellum *filibusteros* who sought to detach Cuba from Spain and annex it to the United States, to planters seeking to reestablish their lost mastery there after the war, this Spanish island was conceived of as a space into which American slavery might expand.

If Cuba's accelerating plantation economy represented the idea of slavery's continuation, then Jamaica and Haiti figured as contrasting omens for what awaited the South as its slave society came undone. The British island's post-emancipation apprenticeship system suggested a future marked by irreversible social confusion and economic decline. In the former French colony of St. Domingue, the specter of the Haitian Revolution made palpable long-held fears of slave rebellion. As southern whites moved to reestablish racial supremacy

after emancipation, their commitment to white purity was cast into sharper relief by the knowledge that darker mixtures prevailed to the south. Among the many barriers that stood in the way of implanting an imagined Caribbean plantation empire was that places like Cuba featured racial mixture to a degree that white planters found "uncomfortably alien" (p. 33).

By drawing attention to these and other ubiquitous Caribbean points of reference, Guterl illuminates a hidden dimension to the writings that contemplated the South's survival. By showing how these moments resonated powerfully with the core issue of how American slave society could be reproduced into an uncertain future, he demonstrates that the "very idea of 'the South' was, at mid-century, trussed in one fashion or another to the Caribbean" (p. 32). It seems beside the point, then, to suggest that the American South's romance with the West Indian tropics was as significant in material terms as it was figuratively. Vague references to "thousands" of planters migrating to Brazil, Cuba, Venezuela, or Mexico in the 1860s give scant support for seeing this as a momentous exodus. Guterl also gives the schemes for recreating American slavery abroad more credibility than they perhaps deserve. An annexationist like Ambrosio Gonzales seems less like a prophet articulating a road not taken and more like a nineteenth-century Ahmed Chalabi, eager to feed the expectations of his audiences but badly out of touch with reality.

Figures like Gonzales, however, make real the idea of the South's extensive geographic connections. Memoirist Octavia Walton Le Vert, who brought together refined American and French culture in the antebellum Gulf Coast, published her reflections of a trip to Havana. Confederate statesman Judah Benjamin was the son of a Sephardic Jewish British West Indian merchant and the son-in-law of a Haitian refugee. He not only invoked the history of slave societies throughout the Americas to claim that slavery was endemic rather than aberrant to the Americas but also made good on his ideas by settling in Cuba after the war. O'Tye Kim, a Singapore-born, London-educated missionary, evangelized in British Guiana before reinventing himself as a transporter of Chinese "coolie" labor from the Caribbean to the United States. These and many other figures serve as exemplars whose transnational lives show that these connections were more than merely semantic.

It is useful to think of masters in the era of the U.S. Civil War as "citizens in a complicated tropical topography, *criollos* in a composite imaginary," especially to recreate the elastic, composite character of American identities (p. 6). We should, at least some of the time, see the South as a "complicated borderland of sorts between North America and the Caribbean" in order to skew the conventional geography frame of the era of the Civil War that locked in North, South, and West as spatial categories sealed off from the rest of the world (p. 11). Guterl's engaging book serves the analytically

rewarding function of turning a map upside down to contemplate new orientations and connections.

S. MAX EDELSON

University of Illinois,

Urbana-Champaign [All reviewers of books by

Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors]

LAURA JARNAGIN. *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil.* (Atlantic Crossings.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 311. \$47.95.

In this thoroughly researched and erudite study, Laura Jarnagin suggests a new paradigm for understanding the oft-studied migration of thousands of former Confederates from the American South to Brazil in the years immediately following the end of the Civil War. Rather than focusing on the event of Confederate migration, Jarnagin instead traces the origins and evolution of the social, economic, and cultural networks that made such a migration possible. In doing so, the author posits that this particular migration can be rightly understood as "part of larger processes that characterized the broad historical trajectory of the Atlantic world" (p. 1). Laying the groundwork with concise (if sometimes jargon-filled) overviews on the theory of capitalist networks, nineteenth-century Brazilian history, and existing scholarship on Confederate migration, Jarnagin proceeds in earnest to outline (in exacting detail) the web of kinship, business, religious, and intellectual arrangements and trends that contributed to making Confederate migration a reality. And there are many. The reader is presented with in-depth examinations of the Dabneys, Cunninghams, Avelar Broteros, and other elite kinship networks of America and Brazil and follows the migration of the "Broad River Community" from Georgia and South Carolina across the South. Interwoven with these capsule genealogies are overviews of trade and commerce among the United States, Brazil, the Azores, Portugal, Western Europe, the West Indies, and myriad other countries and locales. The reader is introduced to innumerable business and familial offshoots that spread across the Atlantic world, from Boston to Rio de Janeiro and dozens of places in between, including rather incongruous scholarly stopovers at sites as varied as Oxford, Massachusetts, and China. Players traded in coffee, whale oil, wine, flour, and other commodities. They adjusted their commercial patterns across time and space to discard old and embrace new business opportunities. These social and economic networks were further enhanced by shared idealational values, and Jarnagin pays considerable attention to the spread of Protestantism, liberalism, and other intellectual trends and demonstrates a particular fascination with the Huguenot diaspora.

Despite her prodigious research, however, Jarnagin's overarching thesis never really makes a compelling case, and her genealogies and microhistories fail to coalesce into a convincing whole. Even the author has

trouble bringing coherence to her unwieldy collection of thematic threads, at one point clumsily condensing them as the "Huguenot-Broad River-Protestant-Freemason-liberal tradition of migrating southerners" (p. 227). Frequently, the evidence presented seems more coincidental than crucial to understanding Confederate migration, and more than one of Jarnagin's historical sidebars seem to have little or no direct connection to the subject at hand. Comparisons of Confederate migration with the Huguenot diaspora are particularly unconvincing. When the writings of actual Confederate migrants are examined in later chapters, there appears to be precious little motivating them other than a shared disdain toward the United States and the wretched economic prospects at home. Connections between these migrants and the economic, kinship, and cultural networks examined in earlier chapters are shaky at best, leaving the author far more convinced of their strength and relevance than this reviewer. Scholars of the Civil War will find less to inform and excite in this study than will economic and business historians, who may profitably mine Jarnagin's research for nuggets of source gold that are scattered throughout the book. On the whole, the book is an ambitious, yet ultimately unconvincing, attempt to establish a broader historical significance for the story of Confederate migration to Brazil.

TOM DOWNEY

Princeton University

JULIAN GO. *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during U.S. Colonialism.* (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 377. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Julian Go has developed an illuminating examination of elite male political cultures and strategies in Puerto Rico and the Philippines during the first two decades of U.S. colonial rule and military occupation. Trying to encourage a dialogue between more traditional rational-choice or state-centered theorists and scholars influenced by more postmodern approaches, Go insists on the importance of the creation of cultural meaning to power politics. Despite the quite different socio-economic and political contexts of Puerto Rico and the Philippines in 1898, Go argues that colonized elites in both places behaved similarly in their responses to colonial officials in the first few years of U.S. rule. After 1900, however, their strategies diverged. Go seeks to explain both the initial similarities and the later differences through a study of changing political cultures and the conditions that created them.

Go notes that U.S. officials' strategies for the political and social transformation (which he dubs "tutelage") of each of these new colonies were similar. They hoped to train local elites, whom they saw as inferior but capable of learning "proper" economic and political behavior. Go rejects the tendency among many scholars of colonialism to denounce the reformist impulse

among U.S. officials in Puerto Rico and the Philippines as a cynical mask for economic exploitation. Rather, he insists that these officials carried a complicated, rather messy worldview with them to the new colonies, which encompassed both racist convictions and genuine interest in local needs.

Elite men in both colonies enthusiastically accepted U.S. rule. However, they understood key terms, such as "democracy" or "liberty," in different ways than did U.S. officials. Consequently, Go argues, neither national elite initially actually behaved in the ways expected by the United States, despite their welcoming of the new "tutelage." Paternalist patron-client ties lay at the core of Puerto Rican and Philippine elite political cultures.

Puerto Rican elites presented themselves as the fathers of the "great Puerto Rican family." For them, "democracy" meant the right to represent the national family with a single political party, which would dispense benefits to its followers, unilaterally control political decisions in local communities, and quash minority parties. "Election was about 'representing' a collectivity, a moment for displaying the people's already assumed choice, for *re-presenting* it" (p. 72), not a formal procedure to ascertain the choices of individuals. Filipino elites, in turn, had developed a system of patron-client relations rooted in personal relationships, rather than expressed through a formal political party as in Puerto Rico. Under the U.S. regime, Filipino elites continued to collect taxes, tribute, and labor from commoners, and, while pocketing some of the resources, directed the rest into public works projects, thus complying with their mandate of local reciprocity. U.S. officials considered the practices of elites in both countries corrupt, either for monopolizing the sphere of political activity or for personalizing it; in both cases, elites were ignoring the new government regulations encouraging political competition based on individual electoral choice.

After this initial period of "domesticating U.S. tutelage"—accepting U.S. rule while imposing their own interpretations upon it—Go argues that Puerto Rican and Filipino elites' paths diverged. Slammed by a shattering economic crisis, autonomous political organizing by working-class Puerto Ricans, U.S. officials' refusal to let them exercise single-party rule, and their complete loss of power after a boycott of elections in 1900, Puerto Rican elites of the Federal Party began to play by the U.S.-imposed political rules, in an attempt to demonstrate their fitness for self-government. They "disavowed their models of patronage and favor" (p. 220), ended their violent intimidation of other parties, and created new municipal codes, civil service laws, and electoral regulations for regulating political conduct. The elites of the Federal (now Union) Party had been structurally transformed, answering the U.S. colonial call for "self-discipline." Filipino elites, on the other hand, who were still able to dispense benefits to their clients during and after the Philippine-American War, went on to establish multiple political parties which competed along pre-existing patron-client network

lines for seats in the new national legislature. Thus, gaining increased access to the new colonial state, unlike Federal Party elites in Puerto Rico who lost their claim to single-party rule, Filipino elites continued to practice politics largely as they had done before, reaffirming their pre-existing political culture.

I welcome Go's comparison of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. It pushes all of us to think much more along global historical connections, rather than limiting ourselves to fields such as "Latin America" and "Asia" imposed by Cold-War area studies rubrics. I also appreciate his careful attention to the historical specificity of some elites' political discourses and practices. I could not help wondering, however, whether his argument, however critical of U.S. liberals' blindness to other cultures, implicitly reifies the historical superiority of the United States. And what of the laboring classes, rank-and-file guerrilla fighters, and women of various social backgrounds, who by and large do not appear in this book? Can either elite political cultures or U.S. colonial strategies really be understood without taking into account these people as historical actors and objects of representation? Go also presents "elites" rather monolithically, despite their own internal differences. Ultimately, then, this book retains only limited explanatory power, for all its assertions otherwise.

EILEEN J. FINDLAY
American University

RAINER F. BUSCHMANN. *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870–1935*. (Perspectives on the Global Past.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2009. Pp. x, 234. \$55.00.

The concept of an "ethnographic frontier" has emerged as a useful tool for comprehending aspects of encounters that have in the past been difficult to fit into standard histories of intercultural confrontation. The geographical areas in which knowledge of the other is constructed on either side of an encounter seldom correspond precisely to the frontiers of conquest, settlement, colonial administration, or commerce. Because actions that define each of these frontiers affect the making of knowledge, it is easy to lose sight of processes in which knowledge is the primary object of action and tempting to explain them in terms of postulated "real" aims of the encounter: for example, the interpretation of classical cultural anthropology as essentially economic or political colonialism by other means.

Rainer Buschmann presents the history of an ethnographic frontier in and around northeastern New Guinea during the period before World War I in which the area was under German rule and for some years afterward. His account begins, however, far away: with the formation of the Berlin Ethnological Museum in 1886 to implement the "salvage" anthropological strategy of its first director, Adolf Bastian; with the attempts of Bastian's successor Felix von Luschan to advance that strategy and to maintain the state-mandated pri-

macy of the Berlin Museum against competing anthropological institutions; and with the maneuvering among Luschan, other museum directors, government officials, and commercial firms about arrangements for collecting and distributing the physical artifacts that were the central focus of the kind of museum-based research that dominated German ethnology in the late-nineteenth century. Some of this has already been examined in recent studies, but Buschmann adds new material and a useful perspective on the complex ways in which institutional politics and changes in anthropological theory affected each other. His analysis of the context of the diffusionist "revolt" against the dominant theoretical paradigm is particularly interesting. More important, however, from the "global" standpoint indicated in the book's title is the way in which these domestic factors contributed to, but by no means entirely determined, the formation of an ethnographic frontier in German New Guinea.

The German colony in New Guinea and adjacent Melanesian islands resulted from a political initiative in the 1880s in a region where minor German commercial interests were already present. Until the turn of the century, Germany's official presence was maintained by a chartered company. When that failed, a regular colonial government was established and run on a shoestring. The insignificance of New Guinea to Germany, whether politically or economically, appears from Buschmann's account to be crucial to the ethnographic frontier that formed there. The marginal businesses operating in the colony attempted to build a positive image in Germany and to eke out a profit by purchasing cultural artifacts to be sold to museums or displayed privately. Museums initially depended on commercial suppliers, but problems of ascertaining provenance and context, the inability of museums to specify collection priorities, and concern that commercial procurement would compromise the purity of "primitive" cultures led ethnologists to turn to the government. Colonial authorities in New Guinea were willing to support collection by local officials for a variety of reasons, one of which was to create some degree of public resonance at home. What followed was a complex dance involving the struggle among museum directors over the Berlin museum's privileges, an attempt both by ethnologists and the New Guinea government to align their activities with the "scientific colonialism" adopted by the Colonial Office in 1907, and the organizing of scientific expeditions to collect evidence directly through continuous, residential contact—what would later be called "field work." Buschmann is particularly concerned to show that, contrary to previous assessments, German anthropology eventually produced in New Guinea a version of functionalism, not as a direct consequence of the needs of colonial rulers but through the complicated interactions that created the German side of the ethnographic frontier.

Buschmann also attempts to describe the formation of the indigenous side of the ethnographic frontier: the ways in which groups and individuals attempted to con-

struct knowledge of the Germans and to adjust their own practices to the threats and opportunities highlighted by that knowledge. Among other things, the indigenous side of the frontier rendered an ideological element of the European side a practical impossibility. There could be no such thing as a pure primitive culture for ethnographers to study. This aspect of the book is necessarily limited by evidence, but what Buschmann has found is highly suggestive for comparison with other global regions. His book is an excellent addition to a growing literature that places anthropological knowledge in ever-richer historical contexts.

WOODRUFF D. SMITH
University of Massachusetts,
Boston

SARAH ABREVAYA STEIN. *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 244. \$30.00.

Do Jews have a place in the history of ostrich farming, or ostriches a place in modern Jewish history? Although such a question might at first seem rhetorical when posed in the preface of a book titled *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce*, the transhemispheric journey that leads to a resoundingly positive answer is anything but simple or obvious. In telling the story of the rise and fall of the ostrich plume market and its intersection with a particular Jewish cultural world, Sarah Abrevaya Stein aims to reframe Jewish social history as we know it. Stein is fully aware of the more nefarious motives that exist for linking Jews with capital in the global economy, especially in colonial contexts. Yet she argues that the systematic shying away from such topics for fear of reinforcing antisemitic tropes has deprived us of the full picture of Jewish economic and cultural activity in the modern period. While this may be more true in the case of European Jewish history than in the study of Jewish history elsewhere, particularly in the Islamic world, the call for a corrective is still quite compelling, and by focusing on a single luxury commodity, Stein has opted for an innovative approach that provides precisely the right tools for the job.

The book is structured according to a series of locations, reflecting a welcome emphasis on the significance of setting throughout. Chapter one focuses on the Western Cape area of southern Africa, where ostrich feathers were first raised commercially. In the early years of the twentieth century, ostrich feathers were ranked fourth in value among all commodities exported from the Union of South Africa, almost equal per pound to diamonds (which were ranked second). And as with diamonds, it was impossible to believe that things would not stay that way forever, although the economic bust of the 1910s would prove otherwise. In any event, during boom times, it was estimated that over ninety percent of the feather merchants involved in the state-sponsored South African feather trade were Yiddish-speaking immigrants from the shtetls of

Lithuania. Indeed, the feather trade in South Africa was dominated by Jews at nearly every level, from large-scale exporters to itinerant merchants. As the feathers made their way to market, similar patterns emerged elsewhere: In London (chapter two), where the South African plumes were shipped, a "Jewish monopol[y]" (p. 6) of feather dealers, wholesalers, manufacturers, and unskilled handlers took over. Meanwhile, in the competing Mediterranean trade (chapter three), Jewish family firms, many of Livornese Sephardic origin, oversaw a complex caravan trade that brought feathers from West Africa through the Sahara to North African ports like Tripoli, Benghazi, and Essaouira, where local Maghribi Jews took over the processing in preparation for export. Both raw and finished feathers were then sent to Paris and New York for resale, and in these locations as well, Jews were ubiquitous. In America especially (chapter four), "Jews occupied every tier and link of the ostrich feather commodity chain" (p. 7).

With these findings alone, Stein has identified an important and previously unknown trading diaspora. She goes a step further, however, by asking the delicate but crucial question of what factors made Jews particularly well suited to the feather trade, and what impact Jews in turn had on the market as a whole. Here Jewish identity is defined narrowly enough to be coherent, but also broadly enough to unsettle ethnocentric notions of Jewish agency. It extends equally to children as to adults, women as to men, and white collar as to blue, to say nothing of the myriad sub-ethnicities and legal statuses represented within each category. Indeed everything but religion as such is taken into account in defining Jewishness, frequently in relation to the other "others" with whom Jews interacted: Boers, black Africans, and the British in South Africa, Sufi brotherhoods and Tuareg nomads in North Africa, New York labor unions and California orange farmers in the United States, and so on. A fuller picture is simply not imaginable.

Such attention to detail extends to Stein's discussion of feather production itself, whereby one gains familiarity with technical terms like quill, flue, and pith, and moves to full "feather fluency" with the introduction of the "spadona" (immature wing feathers) and the much sought after "double fluff." This level of specificity is what makes the book extraordinary. But for the reader less disciplined of mind, it can also be distracting when the broader historical themes fade too far into the background. Acknowledging this very possibility, the author explains that "this is a study that thinks globally yet examines locally" (p. 27). Fortunately, a cogent conclusion pulls it all together, and a new vision of modern Jewish history integrated with international economic trends, and vice versa, emerges from the feathers.

EMILY BENICHOU GOTTFREICH
University of California,
Berkeley

RICHARD DENNIS. *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840–1930*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number

40.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 436. Cloth \$120.00, paper \$44.99.

This book offers a synthetic overview of key themes in the study of urban modernity from the perspective of a leading historical geographer. Drawing on a wide variety of materials, it explores the experience of modern urbanism in three cities: London, New York, and Toronto. While this selection reflects Richard Dennis's expertise, it also enables the drawing of parallels between urban development in very different kinds of places during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dennis sees his task as one of making connections—between class and culture, the economic and the aesthetic, the social and the spatial, the mundane and the symbolic. Indeed, he revels in juxtaposing very different sorts of material: "a modernist novel alongside an insurance atlas, a mortgage register next to a painting" (p. 112). It is thus fitting that the figure of the bridge—represented by Brooklyn Bridge in New York, Tower Bridge in London, and the Bloor Street Viaduct in Toronto—looms large through the book. Cities make bridges, and bridges make cities. In their iconography and their engineering, they crystallize some key themes in any history of urban modernity: the power of modern technology, the contradictions of circulation, and the dynamic geographies of urban social life.

Following a breathtaking tour of modern urbanism from the vantage point of these three bridges, Dennis plunges into three chapters concerned with the representation of urban space, considering in turn the theme of progress as imagined through the metaphors and imagery of urban narrative; social survey as approached through the history of information-gathering; and the literary and artistic rendering of the urban scene. The remaining nine chapters of the book consider particular urban sites and settings commonly associated with modernity. Under the spotlight here are streets and public spaces, subject to improvement of all sorts; the geographies of suburban living, enabled by and precipitating new patterns of economic life and identity formation; the class-defined histories of model dwellings and middle-class apartments; the cultural and economic geographies of downtown office spaces and department stores; and, finally, the technological systems that underpinned the networked city, from sewers to telephones. Throughout, Dennis marshals an impressive array of historical and literary evidence, drawing here on London, there on New York or Toronto, and often also on other cities, notably Chicago and Paris. It is not that the baton of urban modernity passed from one to the other as the decades went by; indeed, Dennis is keen to show that the histories of these modern cities were necessarily intertwined. It is the commonalities among their experiences of modernity that interest him most.

The book is, self-consciously, of its time. It pays its dues to the vast array of literature that has effectively created "urban modernity" and the "modern city" for contemporary academic readers. In this respect, a comparison with Dennis's earliest work on the social ge-

ography of the nineteenth-century English industrial city is telling. Thirty years ago, when the historical geography of modern urbanism was in its infancy, the census was the ultimate source of authority, its truths ready to be teased into existence through the use of sophisticated computer modeling. Today, the census return is more likely to be seen as another instrument of governmentality, implicated in the very fabric of the system we are trying to reconstruct. While the spatial patterns revealed by the census were once interpreted as a reflection of processes of segregation or class formation, now the classifications of space itself—the household, the street, the district, or the suburb—become the focus of analysis, construed as effective social instruments in their own right. Similarly, Dennis's interest in juxtaposing evidence from different social, economic, and literary domains—in creating what he calls “unlikely neighbours” (p. 112) of literary texts, works of art, urban narratives, and census data—reflects the conceptual journey which urban historical geography has traveled. The agenda here is much larger, and more interdisciplinary, than one could have imagined thirty years ago. In some respects, indeed, it goes against the grain of much contemporary urban history, which is happier with a single city or even a single decade than with such a broad prospectus. Occasionally, one wonders about this breadth—whether, for example, most literary and artistic visions of the city can safely be described as “panoptic” (p. 88), or whether the novels of George Gissing can really stand in for modernist structures of feeling in general. However, the range of this book creates the possibility for such debates over the fences which separate our proliferating disciplinary specialisms. Dennis's work will instruct and provoke in equal measure, and is set to become a key reference for students of modern urban history in Britain and North America.

FELIX DRIVER
Royal Holloway, University of London

GEORGINE CLARSEN. *Eat My Dust: Early Women Motorists*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 126th series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 196. \$50.00.

Georgine Clarsen explores the ways that women participated in the processes that made automobiles an integral part of modern life, focusing on the earliest generation of female motoring enthusiasts who were active during the first three decades of the twentieth century. From a variety of sources, including newspaper articles, travel journals, letters, advertising imagery, and oral histories, Clarsen pieces together the stories of women motorists in the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and British colonial Africa. In so doing, she not only recovers a hidden history of women's early fascination with automobiles and car culture but also presents an excellent case study of the ways in which new technol-

ogies take on gendered meanings in the process of their social integration.

From the outset, women automobilists struggled to be recognized as competent, knowledgeable motorists who were as capable as men of mastering the skills and mechanical expertise required to operate and to maintain an early car. Although women were courted as consumers, automobile manufacturers and male motorists, both professional and amateur, were dismissive of women's aspirations to be recognized as competent independent operators, even suggesting that women lacked the mental concentration and the physical stamina for anything but the shortest automobile excursions (pp. 1–2; 21–24). But Clarsen finds that the unwelcoming climate that early female motorists encountered provided them with the basis for a collective identity from which women contested their exclusion by producing their own “enabling stories and material sites” that confirmed women's automotive abilities (p. 3). Although historians know that women drove ambulances, transport vehicles, and delivery vans during both world wars, Clarsen situates this history in the wider context of women's engagement with automotive technology, adding to the historical record the forgotten stories of women mechanics, engineers, taxi drivers, chauffeurs, driving instructors, garage owners, and transcontinental travelers. As car operators and technical experts who challenged the gendered designation of mechanical competency as masculine, Clarsen sees these women as “active agents at the heart of twentieth century life” engaged in the progressive project of reinventing the meaning of modern femininity (p. 5).

As a personal and often private mode of conveyance, early women motorists equated cars with new levels of independence, mobility, and freedom that often challenged existing notions of what women should do, how they should act, and where they might go. With respect to car culture, the personal was political. For example, women suffrage advocates in Great Britain and the United States integrated the automobile into their campaigns for the vote, using cars as mobile speaking platforms and the means to undertake long-distance travel, even journeying across the United States from California to Washington, D.C. to deliver a petition. In Great Britain, the Women's Engineering Society anticipated that women's successful wartime engagement with machine technology and motor vehicle operation would create new career opportunities for women in industrial engineering. In Australia and Great Britain, the boyish appearance of female mechanics in coveralls and uniformed “lady chauffeurs,” like Alice Anderson and Barbara “Joe” Carstairs, pushed against accepted notions of female heterosexuality and social respectability. In the great rush to conquer Australia and Africa by car, women motorists undertook transcontinental journeys to demonstrate their national or colonial pride and their abilities to withstand hardship by traversing the foreign wilderness, be it the Australian desert or the African bush.

As Clarsen notes in each chapter, women's relation-

ship to the automobile was never one of straightforward progress, and she uses the themes of class, race, gender, sexuality, consumption, nation, and empire to analyze the meaning of women's early motoring experiences and the tensions therein. For example, at its "feminist factory" in Tongland, Scotland, between 1919 and 1922, Arrol-Johnston manufactured the Galloway, an automobile built by and for women. It was a short-lived experiment: demobilized local men objected that the Tongland girls—former munitions workers and some of them middle-class from southern England—were not entitled to the new manufacturing jobs. Labor relations underscored tensions over gender and class, but its high cost also killed the Galloway as British and American cars rolled off the Fordist assembly lines faster and cheaper. And as cars became more reliable and less expensive, women motorists, many of them from the privileged classes, lost their tenuous claim to automotive expertise. Female mechanics left the business as working-class men increasingly took over auto repair. Clarssen concludes that early women motorists' success in presenting themselves as "competent technical actors" did not continue into the 1930s and, for various reasons, that early fascination with automobiles and its feminist connotations has until recently been lost from view (pp. 160–163). This highly readable book with its stories of women automobilists who embraced the social and political potential of a new technology recovers some of that lost history.

ANNE CLENDINNING
Nipissing University

GEORGE W. LIEBMANN. *Diplomacy between the Wars: Five Diplomats and the Shaping of the Modern World*. New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008. Pp. xvi, 269. \$85.00.

This study of five diplomats whose careers spanned the interwar period and beyond considers the influence they had, or ought to have had, on their respective governments' foreign policies. The nationalities of these men provide an interesting cross-section of views and perspectives on diplomacy during this crucial period in European history. Their careers intertwined at various points, some forming friendships, others merely demonstrating a professional respect for one another. George W. Liebmann draws from memoirs, letters, diaries, and other primary sources the diplomats' thoughts and advice, sometimes taken and sometimes ignored, in relation to the complex and developing political situation in the 1920s and 1930s. In his words, there are "some obvious commonalities of place": for example, all five served in Turkey, and "all were concerned with the containment of German power" (p. xiii).

Quoting Peter Calvocoressi in the book's epigraph, Liebmann observes that "[t]he basic instinct of the United States in international affairs was to go it alone: European history was marked by the disasters of doing so." The career of Lewis Einstein of the United States to some extent supports this assertion, although many

of Einstein's views were prescient: his opinion that "[n]othing could help international Communism more than for the Anglo-Saxon countries to betray their fear of Bolshevism" caused Sumner Welles to comment, in 1947, that "[m]any of the gravest obstacles which the United States now confronts could have been avoided had those views prevailed" (p. 44). As early as 1945, Einstein advocated a policy of "American assistance for the economic restoration of Central Europe" foreshadowing the Marshall Plan of 1947. In the opinion of A. J. P. Taylor, Einstein was "one of the last survivors of a more leisurely diplomatic world" (p. 49).

Great Britain's Sir Horace Rumbold, whose mother was an American, received a "completely English education" before joining the Foreign Office (p. 31). Rumbold, as Liebmann comments, "is best remembered for his strikingly lucid reporting on Adolf Hitler's acquisition of power and his prophecy that Hitler would be ready for war in the East by 1939 or 1940" (p. 32). His view of Russia was that it "would be difficult to find a more utterly rotten country" (p. 32). His decidedly independent approach was demonstrated by his refusal to allow "three British parliamentarians passports to Switzerland to explore a German peace feeler" (p. 36) and by his declaration to his daughter on July 11, 1920, that he had been "in a way—running this country [Poland]" (p. 60).

Germany's Count Johann Bernstorff's "claim on history is that of a Cassandra," sharing with Rumbold the view that the "German naval programme [w]as the principal obstacle to peace" (p. 91). Bernstorff's influence in keeping the United States out of World War I was considerable: on hearing of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, "without waiting for instructions from Berlin, he went to see the President" and during the interview "begged him as man to man to pause and weigh everything before he gave up his high position as arbiter of the warring nations" (p. 99).

The chapter on the Italian diplomat, Count Carlo Sforza, highlights the significance of the overlapping tenure in foreign embassies of the five subjects of this study, although perhaps tells us less about Sforza's diplomacy than about his views on the influential political figures of his generation, as evidenced in his book *Makers of Modern Europe* (1930).

The Turkish diplomat, Ismet İnönü "made several great contributions to his country's history," including the negotiation of the Treaty of Lausanne, a reconciliation with Greece, and an alliance with France and Great Britain "on terms that would not embroil his country in a conflict with Soviet Russia" (p. 174). He was briefly premier under Kemal Atatürk, from 1923 to 1924 and again from 1925 to 1937, and was "credited with being the co-draftsman . . . of the act creating the republic" (p. 183). Without him, "Turkish democracy might well have been delayed in its development" (p. 188).

The strengths of this book are its research and emphasis on the influence of diplomacy between the wars. Its weaknesses lie in the fact that there seems to be little

structure to the argument or rationale for the study: in many cases, the diplomats' concerns are expressed in response to those who could not influence events; the chronology in places is confusing, and some of the connections between the subjects of the study are random and tenuous; there are unreferenced quotes, which means that the importance of some statements is unclear. Unfortunately, despite the quantity of research, the overall impression, hinted at by Liebmman in the conclusion, is that some may find this book to be "tedious detail" (p. 225), reflecting the author's opinion that Bernstorff's *Memoirs* suffer from the congenital dullness of all writers whose training is in diplomacy" (p. 127).

CAROLYN KITCHING
University of Teesside

ROYDEN LOEWEN. *Diaspora in the Countryside: Two Mennonite Communities and Mid-Twentieth-Century Rural Disjuncture*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 331. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.

Royden Loewen's book is a case study of three small Mennonite communities in Meade County, Kansas; the rural municipality of Hanover, Manitoba; and the developing Central American country of Belize. Loewen uses these three Mennonite communities as a framework for analyzing the breakdown of traditional farm life in the United States and Canada—and particularly in these countries' mid-sections—that began in the 1930s and was completed after World War II.

Loewen begins by focusing on the way that rural-to-urban economic and social change affected the two North American Mennonite communities, both of which were settled by Dutch/Low Country German immigrants from Russia in the late 1800s. Later in the book he compares the Meade and Hanover situations to that of their religious compatriots who immigrated to Belize in the 1940s.

Because Loewen has chosen to study an ethno-religious group in which he was born and raised and of which he continues to be a part, the book has unmistakable personal dimensions. More specifically Loewen has chosen Mennonite communities that were settled by large numbers of "Kleine Gemeinde," a very small sect within the larger Mennonite community. Since this is Loewen's own background he is able to draw on much inside information. Loewen provides a very lengthy and helpful notes section to illuminate obscure references.

In both Meade and Hanover Loewen finds the same kind of cultural transformation and reconstructing of identities that scholars have discovered in other ethnic and religious groups with farming backgrounds whose members have had to change their way of making a living. Loewen refers often to the scholarly work of others, as he spins his tale of rural inhabitants who leave traditional farming operations and are brought together

"in new settings, in church congregations, clan gatherings, ballparks, and literary clubs" (p. 4).

Loewen augments a detailed knowledge of secondary sources on rural-to-urban issues with diary and newspaper accounts, individual wills, and local government and church records that are specifically relevant to Meade and Hanover. Loewen also conducted many interviews and did much on-site field research. His knowledge of agricultural methods is obvious and invaluable (Loewen continues to farm on the side), as is his personal understanding of Mennonite history, theology, and ecclesiology.

As a result of the cultural transformation that accompanied the movement away from farming, Loewen notes that Mennonites in Meade and Hanover redefined their identities. Instead of viewing themselves as humble martyrs living in semi-isolation from mainstream American and Canadian society they increasingly adopted more individualistic, middle-class values and entered into closer relationships with non-Mennonites.

Loewen also deals with gender issues. Following some of the same points made by Carl N. Degler and others with regard to the larger North American context, Loewen notes that Mennonite women who no longer had farm-related responsibilities initially took on the mantle of the "cheerful" homemaker responsible for "nurturing" the sons and daughters of the next generation. He notes criticism of this model by the 1970s as Mennonite women attended school longer and started taking jobs outside of the home. Loewen suggests that Mennonite male roles changed just as radically. In order to be successful in competitive business markets they revised definitions of maleness that were more appropriate in an isolated rural environment. To get ahead economically they substituted the value of being "restrained, sober, quiet" (Mennonite ideological virtues) for the value of being "forceful, expressive and openly competitive" (in opposition to Mennonite quiet-in-the-land propensities) (p. 148). Loewen notes the even more transformative experiences of those Meade and Hanover Mennonites who moved to the cities of Winnipeg and Denver.

Midway through the book Loewen changes direction and tells the story of the 1,200 North American Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites who decided to resist change by establishing new communities in what is now the country of Belize. The analysis (which at first seems more like a diversion) provides important comparative possibilities. This international (as compared to internal) diaspora allowed the Belize group to more effectively retain a "dualistic" world view (p. 188) and to resist modernizing forces.

Loewen's work is extremely important. Making comparative sociological generalizations based on such a small ethno-religious group's experience is indeed fraught with danger, but it also makes it possible for the researcher to pinpoint in very clear and direct ways many of the same all-encompassing changes that affect the society at large. Loewen's work represents an im-

portant contribution to our understanding of the radical changes that occur when a people moves from the countryside to the city. This is especially relevant in a global environment that is witnessing the breakdown of traditional farming communities.

ROD JANZEN
Fresno Pacific University

ANDREW J. ROTTER. *Hiroshima: The World's Bomb*. (The Making of the Modern World.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 371. \$29.95.

Instructors of courses on the atomic age, nuclear history, or more specialized classes on Hiroshima and Nagasaki know the frustration of selecting texts to assign. Many of the books on these topics are too long, too broad, too narrow, or too polemical, and in other ways too problematic for use in most undergraduate courses. Andrew J. Rotter's new book, written for Oxford University Press's "Making of the Modern World" series, is thus a refreshing and most welcome alternative. Rotter has produced an accessible and concise account of one of the most important and controversial events in modern history. The reader should not approach the book expecting groundbreaking original research. Instead, what Rotter has achieved is nothing less than a superb synthesis of the most important literature on the development and use of the world's first nuclear weapons. Comprised of eight chapters with an introduction and epilogue, the book proposes to tell "the story of the Hiroshima bomb" covering a diverse range of topics, including the physics of the bomb, the discovery of fission, the nuclear research projects undertaken by Allied and Axis powers, a two-chapter overview of the Manhattan Project, the use of the bombs against Japan, the Soviet Union's development of the bomb and the birth of the Cold War, and the beginning of nuclear proliferation worldwide.

Throughout the narrative Rotter argues that the Hiroshima bomb ("Thin Man" or "Little Boy") was "the world's bomb" and substantiates this claim by illustrating how the discovery of fission was a collective, transnational achievement, how each of the principal belligerents in the war engaged in nuclear research for military purposes, and how the Manhattan Project itself succeeded largely because of the international ensemble of émigré scientists involved. It was also the world's bomb, Rotter contends, not only because it was a product of the transnational "republic of science" that created it but because its victims included more than Japanese people: they were also Koreans, Chinese, and, ironically, a handful of American prisoners-of-war.

One can not avoid the temptation to compare Rotter's book to Richard Rhodes's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (1986). Impressive as it is, Rhodes's masterpiece remains unwieldy for most classes. Yet Rotter matches the elegance and accessibility of Rhodes's narrative style, and what he sacrifices in depth he gains in precision. Like Rhodes, Rotter breathes life into the historical actors central to this

story, from physicists such as J. Robert Oppenheimer, who were drawn to the technologically "sweet" problem of developing the bomb, to the few who attempted to prevent its use, such as Hungarian émigré physicist Leo Szilard, to those who advocated its use, such as the military personnel epitomized by General Leslie Groves. Rotter also does not spare us the horror suffered by the denizens of Hiroshima and taps some of the better-known literature on the *hibakusha*, the atomic bomb victims who survived, to tell this side of the story.

Rotter introduces the many historiographical debates that the bomb has elicited over the last fifty years. For example, he skillfully articulates the debate between the "traditionalists," who argue the bombs were used to save American lives, and the "revisionists," who counter that the bombs were used to intimidate the Soviet Union and gave President Harry Truman greater leverage in redrawing the postwar maps of Europe and Asia. In discussing these disputes, Rotter takes care to present both views; he introduces the main advocates of each position and their work and most often leaves it to readers to reach their own conclusion. A bibliographical essay following the epilogue provides a clear guide to the most influential works and authors on this subject and the many others that it subsumes. Instructors should find this book useful for introducing students to the works of such prominent scholars as Gar Alperovitz, Martin J. Sherwin, Barton J. Bernstein, and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, as well as the intense debates they engendered.

The epilogue, quite aptly titled "Nightmares and Hopes," briefly discusses present and potential future nuclear challengers, such as North Korea and Iran, as well the frightening possibilities of terrorists obtaining nuclear weapons. But Rotter also ends on a positive note, providing the reader with a contemplative tour of the city of Hiroshima as it is today, complete with a description of the city's major landmarks, such as the Peace Memorial Park and Museum. He concludes, "The first atomic weapon was the world's bomb. Modern Hiroshima, in the aspirations of its leading citizens, is the world's city" (p. 309). It is Rotter's hope that the world learns from the legacy of Hiroshima. This book is a wonderful place for anyone to start.

WALTER E. GRUNDEN
Bowling Green State University

NICOLE RAFTER. *The Criminal Brain: Understanding Biological Theories of Crime*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 317. Cloth \$72.00, paper \$24.00.

When a certain U.S. presidential candidate suspended his campaign days before the first national debate and rushed back to Washington to try to resolve a thorny issue about which he had previously displayed neither expertise nor curiosity, the word used most often to describe his conduct was impulsive. In this book, Nicole Rafter examines biological explanations of criminality that reveal a similar pattern of rash behavior: "Impul-

sive people have been shown to lack capacity for long-term planning, weighing consequences, and thinking of trade-offs between immediate gratification and later rewards" (p. 231). To account for the impaired "executive function of their prefrontal cortex," the author enlists current research findings in neuroscience. The resulting connection between crime and impulsivity may seem persuasive . . . until one considers the candidate's antics in September. Why were depressed serotonin levels never mentioned to explain his abrupt decision to head for the senate conference room?

Readers of this remarkably comprehensive and well-researched volume are likely to pose similar questions when confronted with the expansive array of cognitive defects, low levels of serotonin, dopamine, and norepinephrine, and irregular development of the prefrontal cortex reported to be "implicated" in crime. The author deftly embeds current brain research in a detailed history of biological theories of criminal offending—from phrenology to evolutionary theory, from constitutional theories to behavioral genetics. Rafter is to be commended for this study's scope of inquiry, both in its geographic reach and the rich cross-fertilization offered by a comparison of national schools. A further strength of the book is the author's attention to the social setting that gave rise to various schools of criminal etiology, especially the penetrating antimodernism that drove hereditarian and evolutionary theory.

Whether she succeeds in establishing these biological explanations of criminal behavior as *criminology*—an academic enterprise with its own field of inquiry and research methodology—is another matter. "I use 'criminology' to refer to all efforts to study crime scientifically, irrespective of whether the authors thought of their work as 'criminology'" (p. 12). Still, Rafter's reconstruction of the historical effort to bring criminal behavior into the orbit of scientific theories of emotional and behavioral deviance suggests a continuous empirical tradition whose practitioners were at times complicit with, and sometimes culpable for, some of humanity's greatest horrors. In this vein, the chapter on "biocriminology" in Nazi Germany is entitled "Criminology's Darkest Hour." But were the practitioners of her proffered discipline studying crime at all, however *scientific* their efforts?

The most recent practitioners of biologically driven research provide some guidance into the cognitive aims of these early criminologists. "Neuroscientists are less interested in criminal acts or even in criminality as a condition underlying specifically criminal behaviors than in 'antisociality,' a condition said to underlie a broad range of personal and social pathologies, including depression and schizophrenia, as well as law breaking" (p. 217). One could well argue that such omnibus curiosity into psychological and social deviance characterized phrenologists, criminal anthropologists, and degeneracy theorists as well. They too were not studying the phenomenon of crime; they were looking for physical differences that could distinguish the deviant—in whatever guise—from the normal. The easy

conflation of criminal behavior with schizophrenia and depression—not to mention drug abuse and alcoholism—might make perfect sense to the hereditarian or the evolutionist concerned with explaining mental and social *degeneracy*. It apparently also makes sense to today's neuroscientist, whose inquiry into neurological deficit moves effortlessly from musings about criminality to the neural functioning of the drug addict, the schizophrenic, and the depressed. But to the student of criminal behavior, how "difference" in neurological processing is manifested makes *all* the difference. When the author writes that "neurophysiologists have built up a portrait of psychopaths and other antisocial people as thrill seekers, individuals who ride roller coasters, mug passersby, or carouse to compensate for their chronic stimulation" (pp. 221–222), it would seem to matter rather a lot why law violation and not some harmless form of tension reduction served as the outlet. The roller coaster devotee and the mugger may resemble one another in terms of the neurophysiological understimulation, but it is the remarkably different way they express that condition that interests today's criminologist, quite apart from the offender's similarity to other members of the neurologically aberrant population.

Grouping criminals with other socially marginal persons has not only been standard practice among biologically curious theorists; it has had its political uses as well. In reviewing the historical record, Rafter makes a standard but, one could argue, overly charitable assertion: "the danger for misuse lies not with the scientists who are investigating biological causes of crime but rather with simplistic or politically manipulative understandings of their work" (p. 240). In light of the author's richly documented history of the lamentable purposes to which quasi-scientific theories have been employed, one wonders if today's neuroscientists should be given a free pass regarding the conduct of their own research. It may well be that phrenologists and nineteenth-century criminal anthropologists were unmindful of the need to scrutinize how subjects entered the explanatory enterprise or how they themselves were glossing over differences in an undifferentiated population of social deviants, lumping together the mentally ill and the criminal offender. Contemporary neuroscientists, behavioral geneticists, and neurochemists, however, can claim no such myopia. Today's (actual) criminologists do not begin with "the criminal"; they first examine how crime is measured and defined, and the discretionary decision making that determines who is arrested, tried, convicted, and *then* sentenced. For the neuroscientists to enter the picture after conviction is to encounter a population of subjects so severely screened by economic and racial processes as to render the findings hopelessly circumscribed by all that came before. The "danger" is not in the misuse of the neuroscientist's work. The danger is in the willful ignorance of how the criminal justice system operates and the cavalier way in which criminal behavior is tossed about as if it were a

naturalistic phenomenon. It is the most socially defined of all forms of "antisociality."

None of this is meant to disparage the effort to probe chemical and biological mechanisms that may underlie some forms of criminal behavior. It is just as short-sighted for social scientists to reject biological explanation *tout court*—raising the hoary specter of social Darwinism—as it is for behavioral geneticists to put all their eggs in one basket. Still, the disquiet over biological determinism is not only philosophical; it is methodological and conceptual. The best research on life course and delinquency reveals the plasticity of juvenile offending: the "natural desistance" displayed when two thirds of boys with up to two police contacts before their eighteenth birthday simply stop criminal offending. There is much we can learn from the interaction of genes and the environment, as Rafter quite rightly affirms, but there is much the neuroscience community needs to keep in mind when it unquestioningly assumes that a prison population or persons acquitted on the grounds of insanity provide a basis for speculating about such mythical notions as the criminal brain.

JOEL PETER EIGEN

Franklin and Marshall College

JENNIFER KARNS ALEXANDER. *The Mantra of Efficiency: From Waterwheel to Social Control*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 233. \$49.95.

Concepts of efficiency have proved as expedient and as varied as the many, confusing, and barely grasped measures, like energy, power, momentum, work, and productivity, that have afflicted industrial society. Efficiency emerged as a mantra precisely because it was elusive, capable of translation and metamorphosis, adapted and adopted to fit any circumstance in our long industrial trajectory. As political commentator Janice Gross Stein once remarked, efficiency is now more like a cult. Its devotees thus claim objective worth of diverse measures, as in tracking patients discharged from hospitals, schools graduating students, banks providing mortgages, and brokerage houses producing high rates on investment.

Efficiency has proved seductive indeed. It has served to idealize notions that once arose from early industrial machines, to converge with the biological analogues of nineteenth-century competition and laissez-faire economics, to the justifications of poverty, slavery, and even, in the twentieth century, extermination. It is therefore a deeply problematic idea, but one that, in our age of measures, has been accepted virtually without question, emerging as it did from Enlightenment claims of experimental objectivity. Jennifer Karns Alexander reveals the trajectory of efficiency, touching on moments when its variations were starkly displayed, in the long arc from waterwheels and steam engines and the tangents of new mechanical skills, to the competitive glories of Charles Darwin's natural selection, to debates over slavery and the efficacy of workstations in

Weimar Germany, assembly lines at Ford Motor Company, and even rail timetables for trains to Auschwitz.

The rhetoric of power emerged from experimental explorations that had elevated mechanical measure as a means of precise understanding for the otherwise confused, and highly contested, problems of momentum, power, and work. Efficiency became a metaphor that crossed intellectual and social spaces, from factories where quantification might sound convincing to spaces where, in healthcare and in politics, the measures of success were much less clear. To understand efficiency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to speak both numerically and in metaphor. The engineer John Smeaton, in the last half of the eighteenth century, thus saw the need for a precise experimental, quantifiable measure for the limits of mechanical improvement, notably in waterwheels. To his fellow natural philosophers in the Royal Society, momentum, impact, power, and work were overlapping, ill-defined ideals. In the first industrial revolution, Smeaton's was one crucial step, leading effectively to the development of indicator diagrams that revealed the relative power of steam engine designs, in mines and manufactures, that James Watt and Matthew Boulton sought to sell. This required a kind of standardization of measures, a comparison of effectiveness, of economies of input and output, like horse power made mechanical, a metrology ultimately critical to the swathe of nineteenth-century campaigns of government and management. While Alexander does trace these roots, at least in part, to Smeaton and campaigns for the amelioration of labor in the late eighteenth century, it is Darwin, himself the heir of enlightened innovation, who spoke the language of agency and progress. Like Jean-Baptiste Lamarck before him, Darwin saw divergence as an efficient agent of natural advantage. But Darwin's "dynamic efficiency of natural selection" (p. 61) became not only a law; it also spoke the language of mechanical balance and benefits in the struggle for survival. This was a language that applied equally well to political economy and to the economy of biological selection. Social Darwinists soon promoted the process of "eliminating some species and advancing favored others" (p. 61) in industry and in markets. Likewise, Gerard-Joseph Christian's earlier effort, at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, to integrate technology and economy saw machines and repetitive function not as abstractions, but as creations of new species of work and new demands for labor. Tellingly, the measure of mechanical achievement that had made the British appear superior in the industrial world was a success driven not by innate, or inherited, advantage but, to read Alfred Marshall's *Principles of Economics* (1890), by innovative management that understood the promise of mechanism. Thus, efficiency provided a metrical description of the means to manage choice in industry.

This is a very provocative book, but one that remains strangely unsatisfying. Alexander's effort to relate these concepts to the historiography of slavery and the dispute that arose in 1974 over Robert William Fogel

and Stanley L. Engerman's *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* is jarring. This seems rather too much like an afterthought that provides an opportunity to explore the efficiency of enforced, gang labor. What Alexander does manage, however, is to reveal the many meanings of labor in industrial society, including Dell's organizational efficiencies and the enforced certainties of Toyotism. Yet, the narrative between these varied moments is incomplete particularly because, as Alexander reveals, efficiency has undeniably had many a profound cultural resonance.

LARRY STEWART

University of Saskatchewan

ASIA

MARC S. ABRAMSON. *Ethnic Identity in Tang China*. (Encounters with Asia.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xxv, 258. \$55.00.

Too often scholarship has accepted the premise that "China," itself a problematic term with many meanings, has been a homogeneous whole, a single culture embracing a single ethnicity spread across a vast geographic panorama. This perception has been changing: historians of modern China have always recognized that "minorities" abound in the peripheries, and recent examinations of ethnicity in the Qing have given credence, if not universal acceptance, to a model of multi-ethnicity in the late imperial era. Most recently, Naomi Standen turned the model of the teleological unitary empire upside down in her examination of north China during the tenth-century interregnum (*Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China* [2007]). In this very important book, Marc S. Abramson challenges us to consider a multiethnic model for the Tang dynasty. Although his focus on ethnicity contrasts with Standen's approach, which explicitly rejects ethnicity as a useful variable, together these authors are forcing a reconceptualization of the unitary model of China's middle period.

Ultimately Abramson's goal is to demonstrate that "[t]he Tang . . . was perhaps the crucial period in the formation of an ethnically Han (as opposed to culturally Chinese) identity" (p. xi). He seeks to place the emerging definition of ethnicity on par with the "economic, social, and cultural" transitions that have long been deemed to mark the Tang as the bridge "between China's medieval and early modern period" (p. 190). This is a tall order, one that seeks to introduce a new aspect to the definition of what made early modern China and particularly of what made it distinct from what came before.

There are several characteristics that make the Tang both viable and important for such an inquiry. Perhaps most important is a historiographical horizon: the source base on the Tang is incomparably greater than for earlier periods. But if this is true for the Tang, how much more is it true for even later eras? The Tang, however, was distinct; if all Chinese dynasties had some

level of engagement with the "barbarian" outside, the Tang experienced engagement to an unmatched degree. Not only had the previous centuries, when the empire's northern heartland had been overrun by successive waves of outsiders, led to an unprecedented commingling of ethnic groups, but "foreigners"—*waiguo ren* in the parlance of the time (pp. 131–134)—had an equally unprecedented role in the empire's daily life, as mercenaries, merchants, sojourners, and pilgrims. The Tang, more than any other period in Chinese history, was multiethnic, a profile that lies at the heart of Abramson's analysis. In fact, he repeatedly reminds his reader that multi-ethnicity was an overt goal of imperial policy (pp. 144–148).

Abramson asserts that ethnic consciousness was central to Tang identity. He singles out a range of stereotypes that were applied to those regarded as non-sinitic: they were incapable of proper loyalty (pp. 23–26); their nature was bestial (p. 27); they were savage (pp. 41–43) and greedy (pp. 43–45); and they valued *wu* (martial virtue) over *wen* (civil virtue). They were not simply culturally distinct; they had "deep eyes and high noses," physiognomic qualities that marked them as distinct, alien, and barbarian (pp. 83–107). Even when they were employed by the court—for example, as "barbarian generals" (*fanjiang*) such as An Lushan, the Sogdian commander on the northern *limes* whose infamous rebellion in the mid-eighth century shattered the empire—they were marked as "outer" (*wai*), never to be part of the culturally and ethnically orthodox "inner" (*nei*).

Abramson takes his reader through a broad discussion, arguing persuasively for the significance of ethnicity to Tang identity. Yet there are issues about which he has surprisingly little to say. For example, there is the question of the Turkic origins of the Tang royal family itself. One has to wonder if ethnic discourse, at least through the early decades of the dynasty when the family was establishing its bona fides in a sinic world, could not have been heavily influenced by a need to establish an ethnic model that gave cover. Although Abramson acknowledges the issue, it is only in passing and is never central. There is, in addition, surprisingly little about southern ethnicities; despite the growing importance of the deeper south in Tang culture and society, Abramson focuses overwhelmingly on characterizations of northern ethnicity.

Finally there are two related issues of production, which may have been beyond Abramson's control. It is striking that a text that relies so heavily on Chinese syntax has no glossary, a glaring omission. Nor are there characters in the bibliography, despite a plethora of Chinese and Japanese references. But these are small criticisms. This is an important book. As Standen has of the teleological unitary state, Abramson demands that scholars put aside the model of monolithic "China" and engage the possibility of a historical multi-ethnicity. It is a challenge that cannot be ignored.

HUGH R. CLARK
Ursinus College

DON J. WYATT, editor. *Battlefronts Real and Imagined: War, Border, and Identity in the Chinese Middle Period*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xiii, 307. \$84.95.

Traditional Chinese historians have perpetuated the truism that the decline and fall of the Song dynasty was the foreordained result of an excess of civilism (*wen*) and a dearth of militarism (*wu*). Or, in modern textbook terms, the dynastic founders centralized military authority and created a dependent scholar-official elite, thereby producing a resurgence of the humanistic arts and civil governance while undermining their empire's long-term survival and territorial integrity. According to the consensus view of the penultimate generation of historians, Song monarchs and ministers responded to border threats from conquest dynasties with diplomatic and defensive strategies rather than with interventionist military solutions, which generally ended in debacle. Moreover, this *wen/wu* dyad was mapped onto ethnocultural and political boundaries, so that traditional historians conflated Song "China" with civilism and civilization while equating rival "barbarian" polities with militarism. Surrounded, truncated, and ultimately occupied by conquest states of increasing threat-level—the Khitan Liao (907–1125), the Tangut Xi Xia (1038–1227), the Jurchen Jin (1115–1234), and the Mongol Yuan (1279–1368)—the Song Empire occupied a delicate geopolitical position from its inception to its collapse. To survive in a multi-polar world, the Song court was forced to acknowledge rival power centers as sovereign equals, blurring the sino-centric certainties of Tang diplomatic culture. Starting with the Treaty of Chanyuan of 1005, Song monarchs bought peace with indemnities and entered into fictive kinship arrangements with Tangut, Khitan, and Jurchen rulers, thereby undermining imperial claims to ideological legitimacy and universal sovereignty.

North American specialists have generally interpreted Song cultural and intellectual production from the perspective of the dynasty's civilian scholar-official elite, while military affairs and martial culture have received significantly less attention. After Morris Rossabi's edited collection, *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (1983) and Jing-shen Tao's *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (1988), questions of war and diplomacy languished on the back burner for more than a decade. With the publication of David Graff's *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900* (2001), Peter Lorge's *War, Politics, and Society in Early Modern China, 900–1795* (2005), and David Curtis Wright's *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh-Century China: Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao* (2005), historians are finally illuminating this collective blind spot in a more rigorous and empirical fashion. The long-awaited Volume 5, Part One of the *Cambridge History of China*, published this year, will certainly fill in the most gaping holes in our knowledge about Song military and diplomatic history.

In his introduction to this book, Don J. Wyatt underplays the impact of this "collection of highly illustrative case studies," whose contributors "endeavored to produce more of a 'micro- than a macrohistory'" (p. 8). Actually, he and his eight fellow contributors should be commended for rethinking of one of the oldest scholarly clichés about the Song dynasty and restoring warfare to its central place in Song history. Revising the civilist consensus and building upon recent scholarship, Wyatt asserts that "middle-period Chinese . . . had just as much recourse to the prosecution of war as they did to the pursuit of negotiation" (p. 1). Emphasizing the core themes of warfare, borders, and identity, these essays make this case quite convincingly. This volume is required reading for specialists, who will benefit from Lorge's study of Song border defenses against the Khitan Liao, Ruth Mostern's analysis of Song local government strategies within the internal frontier of Huainan, and Michael C. McGrath's and James A. Anderson's authoritative articles on the Song war with the Tangut Xi Xia and the Vietnamese Lý dynasty, respectively. Moreover, all of the contributors have drawn explicit connections between their own studies and the others, making this remarkably well-integrated for an edited volume.

But this book's greatest contribution is conceptual: it will influence future scholarship about Song martial and diplomatic culture by asking and answering new questions. Exploring "contested spaces" that were both literal and metaphorical, the collection is roughly divided between narratives about warfare and diplomacy along the empire's political borders and studies of military and diplomatic practices in disputed ethnocultural borderlands (p. 2). The more sophisticated of these studies establish that these issues of war, border, and identity were not just operative categories in the minds of historical actors but also interpretive categories in the premodern and modern historiography of the middle period. For instance, the Song Empire cannot be transparently represented as "China," since the cultural definitions of Chinese identity imperfectly overlapped with the political boundaries of "the central state" (*zhongguo*) and/or the ideological boundaries of imperial sovereignty. Several contributors to this volume have confirmed Naomi Standen's findings in *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China* (2007), which proved how multivalent and diffuse the ethnic, cultural, and political borders of tenth-century "China" actually were.

Space limitations prevent me from individually assessing every article, so I will highlight three that deftly explore the volume's main theme of contested spaces. Sherry J. Mou peels back multiple layers of historiographic representations of Consort Xian, an ethnic-minority female power broker in the sixth-century far south, to demonstrate how historians effaced her gender, ethnicity, and military prowess to accord with the dominant discourse of political loyalty. M. A. Butler's theoretically sophisticated ritual study explores a heretofore unknown and unseen dimension of Song military

culture: in prescriptive and performative texts, warriors were imagined to possess the ability to bend and transcend spatial and temporal boundaries. In his biographical study of Uyghurs as "people in the middle," Michael C. Brose lucidly explains how the dominant ethnicity of a Tarim Basin kingdom deftly negotiated cultural and political boundaries, even after they were subsumed into the Yuan Empire.

By making a composite case for the "uniqueness" of what Wyatt terms the "middle period" of Chinese history, this volume contributes to ongoing scholarly debates about periodization (p. 8). Six out of nine essays investigate various facets of Song-dynasty military and diplomatic history, and the inclusion of Mou's and Brose's essays extends the volume's scope far backward into the sixth century, and forward into the fourteenth. But the editor's introduction might have defined these temporal boundaries more precisely, by situating this volume within the larger historiographic framework of the Tang-Song transition and early modernity. In *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (2003), Paul Smith and Richard von Glahn and their contributors traced broad historical continuities between the middle and late imperial eras. In *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (2005), Peter C. Perdue explained how the Qing court expanded its sphere of domination into the northwestern borderlands and enmeshed them into a larger multiethnic empire. How did the contested meanings of war, border, and identity in the middle period compare to those that constituted the imagined communities of the Ming and Qing empires? More work on Song conceptions of ethno-cultural borders will allow historians to make broader diachronic comparisons about the premodern and modern boundaries of Chinese identity. Nevertheless, Wyatt and his contributors have expanded the boundaries of scholarly debate about warfare and diplomacy in Chinese history. Every middle-period specialist should read this book, which expands the scope of Song cultural history beyond the comfort zone of *wen* into the contested spaces of *wu*.

ARI DANIEL LEVINE
University of Georgia

MAX KO-WU HUANG. *The Meaning of Freedom: Yan Fu and the Origins of Chinese Liberalism*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press. 2008. Pp. xxviii, 408. \$55.00.

Yan Fu (1854–1921), through his interpretive translations of such influential Western works as Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (1893), Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), exerted a major influence on Chinese intellectual life beginning in the late nineteenth century. Until now, the discussion of Yan in the West has been dominated by the analysis of the late Benjamin I. Schwartz, as developed in his seminal study *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (1964). Max Ko-wu Huang's book presents an interpretation of Yan

Fu's thought that differs in fundamental respects from Schwartz's, most strikingly perhaps in his rejection of Schwartz's conviction that, for Yan, liberty was less important in its own right than as a means to the end of state power. Deeply influenced by the thinking of his mentor Thomas Metzger, to whom the book is dedicated and who graces it with a substantial foreword, Huang's argument is rigorous, coherent, and persuasive.

Although touching on the whole range of Yan Fu's thought, the main focus of Huang's book is on Yan's translation of *On Liberty* and more generally his conception of liberalism. He feels that Schwartz overstated the degree to which Yan understood Mill's famous work and underestimated the shaping influence of traditional Confucian and Daoist ideas on Yan's reading of it. In Huang's own words, "My study . . . corroborates the current but still controversial tendency to see modernizers like Yan not in Schwartz's way, as discarding a Confucian cultural core to adopt a 'Faustian' Western worldview as their prime set of values, but as forming a new worldview made up of key indigenous as well as Western values" (p. 108). The key phrase here is "as well as." Huang develops a nuanced and exceedingly complex portrait of the parts played by both traditional Chinese ideas/values and new Western ones in the formation of Yan Fu's thought.

It is impossible in a brief review to do full justice to the author's argument. Apart from his emphasis on the importance of certain long-established Chinese assumptions in Yan's understanding of liberalism, a point that is absolutely key for Huang is Mill's "epistemological pessimism" and Yan's inability or disinclination to accept it. This is brought out most forcefully in the third chapter of the book in which, by means of back-translation, Huang demonstrates significant discrepancies between key passages in Mill's text and Yan's translation of them. He shows that while Yan (*pace* Schwartz) accepted Mill's emphasis on the supreme value of individual dignity and freedom, he failed to appreciate the British philosopher's deep-seated distrust of the capacity of human beings to arrive at true opinions about things (his epistemological pessimism) and also failed to translate effectively a fair number of vernacular terms (such as "opinion," "judgment," and "fallibility") that Mill used to express pessimism about human nature and history and that were integral to his view of conflict as a primordial social reality. By being either unable or unwilling to translate such terms accurately, Yan also failed to convey the passion of Mill's argument about the need for freedom in a world almost overwhelmed by mistaken opinions.

A vital part of Yan Fu's liberalism was his vigorous opposition to radical, coercive change. He was no revolutionary, and as long as revolution was a dominant value in the twentieth-century Chinese world he tended to be negatively appraised by Chinese intellectuals. Today, however, in the very changed intellectual environment of post-Mao China, where revolution as an ideal has given way in many circles to the more gradualist,

accommodative, nonviolent forms of change identified with reform, the perception of Yan and his distinctively Chinese form of liberalism has become far more favorable. Indeed, the combination of "outer" institutions (largely Western) and "inner" values (largely Chinese) out of which his liberal political thought was formed presaged to a remarkable degree the consensus that has emerged among many Chinese intellectuals in recent decades concerning the path China should follow.

Yan Fu is important for his introduction to China of some of the most important works of modern Western thought. More broadly, as Huang demonstrates with great astuteness in this book, he is also important for what he reveals about the immense difficulties involved in translating ideas from one cultural world into another with very different foundational premises and habits of thinking. Huang's analysis, therefore, deserves a wide readership not only among students of modern Chinese intellectual history, which it will surely get, but also among those interested in larger questions of what happens to ideas as they migrate from one environment to another in our globalizing world.

PAUL A. COHEN
Harvard University

VERA SCHWARCZ. *Place and Memory in the Singing Crane Garden*. (Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 260. \$55.00.

The Manchu prince Mianyu built the Singing Crane Garden in the northwestern corner of Beijing in the 1830s as a sanctuary, but in 1860 the garden was destroyed by the allied force of Great Britain and France during the Second Opium War. During the Cultural Revolution a century later, the site of the garden was transformed into "ox pens," a labor camp for professors at Peking University. Post-Mao reforms, however, brought new changes to this place, where the Arthur Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology was constructed in the late 1980s. Vera Schwarcz's book argues that the garden "can speak to us today" because "voices from a distant past continue to speak about our predicament today" (p. 1). The garden silently communicates stories of political struggle and people's suffering, offering a window into the important events in modern China: the Qing Empire, wars, the Nationalist government, the Communist movement, and the Cultural Revolution. Readers will be amazed by Schwarcz's attempt "to take the idea of the garden out of the ground and into the realm of history and language" (p. 5), in which the author weaves landscape, culture, politics, social transportation, and China's century-long sorrow together nicely, bringing "the past forward in time" (p. 29).

Although there are many events discussed in this book, Schwarcz mainly concentrates on two periods: the 1860s, when the garden was destroyed, and the 1960s, when the Cultural Revolution took place. Schwarcz, however, states that traumatic stories were

not the driving force for this study; rather, it was the "possibility of cultural renewal in traumatized spaces" that most interested her (p. 5). Her book illustrates a space "where the flow of events was ordered anew," which continued "to frame historical occurrences in northwest Beijing, to give them deeper meaning" (p. 223).

Therefore, the book brings back memories that have been for the most part lost. For example, it describes how Yenching University, which was built on the ruins of the garden and whose campus is part of today's Peking University, was transferred to Communist control during 1948 and 1949. When John Leighton Stuart, the founder of Yenching University and later U.S. ambassador to China, left the country, Mao Zedong wrote his well-known essay, "Farewell, Leighton Stuart" (1949), in which Stuart, who devoted over forty years of his life to China's education, was treated as "a symbol of complete failure of American aggressive policy" (p. 143). Coincidentally, at almost the same time that Schwarcz's book was published, Stuart was finally buried—more than four decades after his death—in Hangzhou, where he was born, although Stuart's wish to be buried on the former campus of Yenching University was not granted, adding a new episode to this complex history. The return of Stuart's ashes to China evokes memories that have been dormant for over half a century. The Chinese Communist Party often argues that China should prevent tragic events such as the Cultural Revolution from happening ever again; yet, the party is very cautious of any in-depth analyses that ask what made the Cultural Revolution in China possible in the first place. The post-Mao generations have limited access to the relevant information. The writer Ba Jin "called for a museum" of the Cultural Revolution (p. 206), but three decades have passed since the turmoil of the 1960s and no such official facility yet exists in China.

When I read this study, two books came to mind: James Hevia's *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (2003), which discusses British and French looting in Beijing during the Second Opium War, and Tobie Meyer-Fong's *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (2003), which examines history and culture through gardens in Yangzhou. The inclusion of these two works would have resulted in a broader discussion of national tragedy and historical memory, but both are missing from the bibliography. Overall, this book is beautifully written, well structured, and presented in a way accessible to a large audience. Schwarcz used a wide variety of sources, including poems, paintings, photos, and especially interviews. The careful and detailed descriptions draw readers into the historical setting: they are transported back in time in order to think about the lessons we have learned from history and from the place and memory of the garden.

DI WANG
Texas A&M University

STEPHEN R. MACKINNON. *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal

Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 182. \$39.95.

Nationalist historians often consider war a unifying national experience. In reality, wars more often fragment nations, redistribute their populations, and are experienced differently in diverse places and among various social groups. An earlier work, *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–45* (2007), co-edited by Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel, shows that China was anything but unified during the war with Japan and that to understand the experience of that war scholars must disaggregate China and examine it piece by piece. The monograph under review does precisely that for the central Yangzi River conurbation of Wuhan in 1938, the second year of the eight-year struggle against Japanese aggression that Chinese call the War of Resistance.

After the fall of Nanjing in December 1937, Wuhan served temporarily as China's unofficial capital and the symbol of national hopes for a successful resistance to Japan via a strategy of protracted war. Although Wuhan itself fell in October 1938, its tenacious defense during the preceding months inspired in a wide spectrum of political and military leaders, businesspersons, writers and journalists, intellectuals and students, and ordinary Chinese workers the belief that China could ultimately triumph in the unequal military confrontation with Japan's mechanized forces. In seven compact chapters, MacKinnon first sketches the essential military context of the Wuhan story and then focuses on Wuhan's response to the enormous refugee crisis, cultural and journalistic innovations, the mobilization of youth, and the international dimensions of a city that, like Madrid during the Spanish Civil War, became a symbol of resistance to fascist aggression.

In MacKinnon's powerful telling, Wuhan in 1938 underwent a remarkable transformation into an island of liberalism, social solidarity, and purposefulness that was unlike anything that preceded it or followed it in the history of Republican China. A de facto political pluralism flourished under the benign oversight of a group of Baoding Military Academy graduates, including Generals Chen Cheng, Li Zongren, Bai Chongxi, and Xue Yue, who were responsible for Wuhan's defense. An influx of some 430,000 refugees into the beleaguered city, just a fraction of the roughly 100 million who fled Japanese-occupied coastal China for the interior, galvanized a major public health, social services, and mass culture response by locals as well as newcomers. For a short while at least, the fratricidal strife between Nationalists and Communists, as well as intra-party factional fighting, yielded to a sense of communal solidarity.

To the reader whose view of the War of Resistance is shaped by the grim reality of Chongqing, China's wartime capital from the end of 1938 to early 1946, a metropolis of cold, hunger, privation, inflation, disease, and death, the portrait MacKinnon paints of Wuhan in 1938 seems too good to be true, yet it is substantiated

by the numerous Chinese and Western-language sources on which his account is based. What is more open to question is the meaning he imputes to this shining moment of collective responsibility and cooperation. In military terms, his judgment is sound. The protracted defense of Wuhan slowed the Japanese blitzkrieg to a halt and boosted Chinese morale while turning international opinion against Japan. "[T]he outcome of the ten-month battle for Wuhan was paradoxical: by losing battles the Chinese gained political strength" (p. 110). But what MacKinnon celebrates as a heroic moment with positive consequences, a demonstration of the collective action the Chinese people were capable of when their backs were against the wall, was indeed just that—only a moment. What Wuhan achieved in 1938 was not the organizational solidarity of an enduring political or social movement, but something more akin to the evanescent feel-good atmosphere of a camp meeting or a rock concert, whose mood quickly dissipates when the lights go off. When the Japanese finally conquered Wuhan in 1938, and the displaced persons who had found temporary refuge in Wuhan took once more to the river and the roads leading west and south to Chongqing and Kunming, the spirit of Wuhan collapsed. Strife, violence, confrontation, corruption, alienation, and despair, the Six Horsemen of the Chinese Apocalypse, reclaimed their dominion. If Wuhan in 1938 showed what Chinese at their best were capable of achieving, the War of Resistance taken as a whole, like World War II of which it was a part, constituted an epic of tragedy, not of triumph. As MacKinnon accurately notes, it further injured Chinese to the violence of civil war and the oppression and privation of civil peace that was to be their fate in the several decades that followed.

STEVEN I. LEVINE
University of Montana

ANTONIA FINNANE. *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 359. \$35.00.

This book makes important contributions to scholarship in the areas of both history and fashion. It convincingly challenges the misplaced view that China "had no fashion" until it imported the phenomenon from Europe in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Through its generously and beautifully illustrated pages, the book traces the history of fashion in China from the late Ming through the twenty-first century. The story of China's transformation in fashion from *changpao* (long robes) and embroidered cloth shoes to jeans, t-shirts, and running shoes is more than a simple change in consumer taste; political, moral, and national ideals are reflected in each shift in clothing culture.

Antonia Finnane explores the core tenets perceived to underpin the emergence of "fashion" globally—urbanization, industrialization, and consumption—and shows the ways in which these phenomena also produced fashion in China. But she also demonstrates that

there were additional factors influencing the Chinese case, and in this respect she makes a valuable contribution to reshaping the core principles of fashion theory. For example, the importance of textile production in China's pre-industrial economy and the high cultural value placed on innovative textile design requires fashion theorists to consider the limits of industrialization and urbanization as useful markers of fashion. Finnane has shown us that political design plays an important part in clothing design and that ideological identities impact dramatically on clothing identities. This underscores her point that fashion is not merely a product of urbanization, industrialization, and consumer culture. Finnane also argues that the mobility of fashion is more than the transfer of styles from West to East; Chinese clothing has energized European styles for centuries and continues to do so today.

As a historical narrative, the book moves chronologically and leads the reader through the key political and cultural shifts in Chinese history. It assumes no knowledge of China's history on the part of the reader, so scholars of fashion and material culture will find this work an engaging and accessible introduction. But the specialist China historian will also find that this book presents a fresh vision of modern China's history. As the first comprehensive English-language study of Chinese clothing culture in China, its exploration of material culture enables historians of China to see this familiar history with new eyes. For example, the transformation of the Chinese economy in the 1920s and 1930s comes alive in Finnane's discussion of the emergence of department stores and the growth in the number of textile factories in Shanghai. The chaos of the Cultural Revolution assumes a new level of intimacy with the author's discussion of youth's desire to wear "real" army uniforms: teenagers nagged for this latest fashion item at a time when beautification was condemned as bourgeois and military clothing was "in." Finnane also tracks a fascinating debate in the 1950s about the importance of "beautifying the population" as part of an effort to show that socialism had improved people's lives—a vain attempt to counteract the almost universal adoption of the "cadre" clothing in mass imitation of the Communist Party leadership. This story of a failed attempt to diversify people's clothing choice provides keen insights into the pressures ordinary people faced after the party assumed power in 1949. People quickly realized that clothing choice was the key external marker of their loyalty to socialism, and uniformity in attire became a protective shield against the increasingly frequent witch hunts for rightists, bourgeois deviationists, capitalist roaders, and "bad elements" generally. Like the best histories of material culture, this study establishes the link between ordinary people's everyday decisions and the larger forces (be they political, military, or economic) informing those decisions.

The book explores all aspects of clothing, from underwear to military wear, shoes to hairstyles, hats and neckwear, cosmetics and stockings. It examines workers' clothes, peasants' clothes, and the "frivolous"

clothes of modern women and foppish men. It examines the materiality of the Chinese fashion industry, such as changing patterns of factory ownership, cotton and silk production systems, and the impact of cloth rationing after 1949. It shows the interactions of designs from outside China and with new "authentic" Chinese styles in the twenty-first century. With this comprehensive approach to fashion history, the book will be of immense value to students and scholars of material culture, fashion, and dress, as well as those working in modern Chinese history. It is a thoroughly engaging read and sets the benchmark for all future research on the history of fashion in China. We owe the author a great debt for her pioneering work.

LOUISE EDWARDS
University of Technology,
Sydney

MIKAEL S. ADOLPHSON. *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 212. \$36.00.

When it comes to *sōhei*, the warrior monks of Japan, most Western scholars have learned to take for granted that the word comes from the Tokugawa period, that temples were involved in some nasty fights involving ownership of property, and that their interests were defended by monastic forces that were at least partially recruited from tenants and managers of their property. Nevertheless, as Mikael S. Adolphson points out, Western scholarship has all but ignored an important medieval institution, and Japanese scholarship has been constrained by, among other things, a later representation of the *sōhei*, coded by their garb of hood, robe, *naginata* (often called a halberd, but actually a gleeve), and wooden clogs as seen in films and on television. Certainly Saitō Musashibō Benkei, the twelfth-century hero and follower of Yoritomo Yoshitsune, has been consistently kitted out in the same equipment. However, as Adolphson emphasizes, no contemporary source can be found to confirm the accepted image of armies of monks or of distinctive equipage before the late sixteenth century.

Adolphson approaches the problem in three steps. First, he reviews the scholarship on *sōhei* to analyze the different approaches and theories underpinning the various definitions and dating of *sōhei*. Unfortunately, Japanese specialists who have researched and written on the topic have even broken the most rudimentary rules of historiography in order to maintain an image of *sōhei* that is so clearly anachronistic.

Next, Adolphson takes the opportunity to examine the history of violence within and among Japanese temples. Violence within temples took place as early as the ninth century as demonstrations of protest against unpopular appointments by the emperor to temple administrative positions: as the nobility inserted their sons into the temples, temples were co-opted into court factions and, as factionalism increased, the rate and degree

of violence increased. Violence between temples, whether within the same or separate lineages, occurred in response to disputes over property. Property that had been appropriated was defended by its armed tenants or managers, who routinely resided in temples to perform guard duty. There, they associated freely with the lesser monks, who learned to use their weapons and competed openly with temple managers in swordsmanship and archery contests. Monastics, then, did not use weapons distinctively different from those of armed temple guards, nor did they dress differently: lower-grade monks usually wore hoods as a disguise when attempting to observe or participate in rituals from which they were normally excluded.

Often, the aggressor attempting to expand his holdings at a temple's expense was the vassal of a powerful official at court. As the military became more powerful, members could protect their illegal moves by violence, and temples were forced to resort to their own monk commanders.

Trapped in the currents of larger social movements, Buddhist temples adapted to survive. As the central government broke down and military houses, ruled by violence, took over and created different social networks, the temples followed suit and became just another of the many social groups that took up the sword to protect themselves. As such, they became rivals and allies of regional (or transregional) networks of military houses, eventually to be subordinated to the military hegemony of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. At the same time, the military class began to denigrate Buddhist institutions and to draw a clear line between itself and the violent, degenerate Buddhist clerics who were coded by their distinctive equipment.

Once Adolphson has set the historical record straight, he again addresses that very uncomfortable question of why a clearly anachronistic interpretation of clerical violence has persisted. Yes, in the modern period the contempt of the *bushi* (samurai) for the Buddhist monk continued and became conflated with the theme of "the decline of Buddhism" in the modern history of religions. But that does not explain why scholars found it so hard to escape historical retrojection. Similar problems can be seen in the work of folklorists like Yanagita Kunio and Orikuichi Shinobu, who could not conceive of the past as capable of change, creativity, or of any purpose other than to imitate the dead hand of tradition. No wonder, then, that contemporary (and later) historians could not conceive of qualitative differences, even deliberate changes, in sources describing or illustrating events anterior to their production.

In sum, we should all be grateful to the shortcomings of previous scholarship for the opportunity given Adolphson to write a book that should be required of all students of Japanese history, especially as a text on historical methodology. It is probably the most useful introduction to the problems of writing history since Josephine Tey's *A Daughter of Time* (1951).

SYBIL ANNE THORNTON
Arizona State University

CAROL RICHMOND TSANG. *War and Faith: Ikkō Ikki in Late Muromachi Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 288.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 315. \$39.95.

Students of Japanese history always encounter the *ikkō-ikki*, a collective term for a diverse, True Pure Land Buddhist-connected set of autonomy-seeking local political/military movements that sprang up, took over authority in a number of regions, and flourished (albeit temporarily) for about a hundred years during Japan's Sengoku (Warring States) period (1480s to 1590). Their record has been extensively researched by Japanese scholars during the twentieth century, but only a few foreign scholars have specialized in them. Carol Richmond Tsang's detailed book, by employing close readings of many difficult original texts, drawing from the latest Japanese research, and displaying considerable detective power, achieves a coherent, independently thought-out view of a part of Japanese history that contains a challenging jumble of both evidence and historians' agendas.

After an introductory chapter on Honganji (the main line of True Pure Land Buddhism, which has a central place in this book) and its world, the book is laid out basically in a chronological fashion, with five chapters covering the five phases into which the *ikkō-ikki* between 1457 and 1580 can be divided. Tsang indicates that the *ikkō-ikki* were actually composed of local elites (merchants, artisans, and village leaders but not peasants) who were intrinsic to the economic development of the period. As various regional *ikkō-ikki* developed over the course of more than a century, despite the fact that the participants were preponderantly Honganji followers, their local manifestations and episodes became too diverse to allow generalization about their motivations, although it was most often related to local socio-political independence.

The first phase of the *ikki* (1457–1475) occurred during the time of the hereditary head (patriarch) Rennyo (1415–1499), who was associated with a major increase in the popularity and membership of the Honganji. The second phase, 1475–1489, saw more regional rebellions by *ikki*, the growth of the Honganji organization, and the continuation of evasive patterns of give-and-take between Rennyo and the *ikki*. In the third phase, 1489–1525, the Honganji and various regional *ikki* became stronger and better organized, and their interests became more entangled, and under the patriarch Jitsunyo (1458–1525) they became more directly implicated in civil disorders. In the fourth phase, 1525–1554, Honganji's secular power and active role in the legal-political system of the time further increased, which led it into moments of greater entanglement in violence and self-defense as well as years of relative quiet. However, finally, in the fifth phase, 1554–1580, regional *ikki* memberships, and ultimately Honganji itself, ran afoul of the national unification projects of the *daimyo* (territorial lords) Tokugawa Ieyasu and especially Oda Nobunaga.

The latter fought a ten-year conflict focused on the Osaka temple headquarters of Honganji and its supporters, culminating in the capitulation of the Buddhists as political resistance.

Together with the complicated narrative of the various *ikki*, Tsang's analysis focuses on evolution of the Honganji as an institutional and social phenomenon. A principal topic to which the author returns repeatedly is the question of the Honganji institution's actual adherence to the stated religious principles of the founder Shinran. Shin Buddhism has been widely represented in Japan by a modernist apologetic that wants to insist on the tradition's alleged egalitarianism and individualism, extending back in time to the medieval period. The author collects considerable evidence against this oversimplified image. Actual Buddhist practices at this time accepted the status (*mibun*) structure of the society. The Honganji leadership rooted its authority in claims about blood lineage from Shinran, perhaps sometimes allowed the membership to think that the hereditary head actually controlled the entry of individual members into the Pure Land (which was the goal of their faith), and sometimes, during this era of its history, coerced the membership by use of formal expulsion from the community.

On the one hand, Tsang's cool-eyed secular historian's interrogation of contradictions is effective in debunking certain kinds of twentieth-century depictions. On the other hand, it is old news that large religious traditions are full of contradictions. Since in the religious dimension Tsang's text does not really reflect the depth and polysemy of the religious thought involved, the book will not necessarily clarify to those readers who are unfamiliar with medieval Japanese Buddhism why the progressive merchants, artisans, and village leaders of sixteenth-century Japan often appear to have been so positively committed to the religion in a passionate way.

Despite that caveat, the book offers an excellent new description for English readers and will be an essential reference work for anyone concerned with premodern Japanese history. The volume is equipped with useful maps, a Japanese character list, and bibliography. Tsang's intriguing final suggestion is that it was the instability produced by the *ikkō-ikki*, as well as that produced by the Christians, that was a major stimulus for the authoritarian, exclusionary control policies pursued by the Tokugawa regime in the early modern period that followed.

GALEN AMSTUTZ,
Independent scholar

KYU HYUN KIM. *The Age of Visions and Arguments: Parliamentarianism and the National Public Sphere in Early Meiji Japan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 247.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2007. Pp. xviii, 520. \$49.50.

Kyu Hyun Kim's study of the more pluralistic political system that emerged in Japan after 1868 might well be

called "Two Cheers for Parliamentarianism!" Like E. M. Forster in his similarly named essay, "Two Cheers for Democracy" (1951), Kim gives qualified praise for a new order that, although imperfect, was a widely welcome replacement for what existed previously. He does not contend that Meiji parliamentarianism was an ideal solution to the samurai-dominated despotism of the old Tokugawa order or that it went unchallenged by competing schemes advocating wider power sharing. Kim is careful never to confuse the new government's emperor-centered parliamentarianism with out-and-out democracy. But he earnestly appreciates the system for broadening political participation in response to pressure from a newly created "public sphere."

Kim takes a very long look at two short decades during which political practice was largely recreated in Japan. He showers attention on these years because he sees them as crucially important to Japanese history thereafter. According to Kim, the 1870s and 1880s were not only pivotal in creating Japan's 1889 constitutional foundation but also formed the basis of national political life during the entire prewar period. The public's new engagement in politics, whether as participants in rowdy speech rallies or as serious-minded writers of draft constitutions, also created popular conceptions of the citizen's role that helped shape Japan's post-1945 liberal constitutional order.

For Kim, 1881 is particularly important. During this year, the ruling oligarchy publicly promised that a constitution would be granted within a decade. Once promulgated, it in large part created the borders of acceptable political practice. Perhaps equally significant to the ruling oligarchy, the constitution's pre-emptive announcement also deflated the sails of critics who had advocated more liberal constitutional models. In Kim's words, "The ramifications of the 1881 crisis on the future course of the political history of Japan cannot be underestimated" (p. 257). It was at this time that Japanese leaders orchestrated the constitutional order as a "Prussian military march," much to the consternation of critics such as Ueki Emori and like-minded metropolitan intellectuals and politically engaged rural notables. Kim is nevertheless careful to note that, "This book does not maintain that, after 1881, the state 'won' over civil society and was able to dictate public opinion as it pleased . . . The central point . . . is rather that the Meiji constitutional government was very much a product of contestation and collaboration between the state and civil society, mediated through the public sphere" (p. 258).

Kim traces the dialectic that created Japan's modern political system through a detailed consideration of the "theories, arguments, and polemics" developed by public-sphere advocates for the creation of a national assembly. His thoroughly detailed description of give-and-take exchanges in the constitutional debate distinguishes this work from many other English-language studies on the subject. This is not, however, entirely new territory. Although Kim often refers to Jürgen Habermas's "public sphere" and occasionally

to Antonio Gramsci's "organic intellectual" to lend theoretical heft to his argument, his work is at heart a solid intellectual and institutional history of a familiar sort.

The book's undeniably valuable contribution to understanding the force of ideas and institutional interactions is somewhat diminished by straw man arguments to make it appear more original and revisionist than it actually is. An egregious example is Kim's kicking the stuffing out of Robert Scalapino's early 1950s text on the "failure" of Japanese democracy. Although Scalapino's work was required seminar reading into the 1970s, and critiqued in those seminars in much the same way that Kim does in this book, to suggest that it is still a standard interpretation is a stretch. The author similarly harks back to "Marxist studies written during the prewar and immediate postwar periods" as significantly influencing the "mainstream" English-language scholarship of the Popular Rights Movement. Newer interpretations based on a consideration of interests and ideologies at both the political center and in the peripheries have refined and surpassed these earlier explanations. Kim's handling of the Popular Rights Movement also suffers from his decision not to consider "violent incidents" (*gekka jiken*) because of their diverse causes and groups involved. The problem in ignoring direct action politics is that many of Kim's public sphere *thinkers* (for example, Ōi Kentarō and Kōno Hironaka) were also leading *actors* in the violent incidents that Kim foregoes considering.

Leaving out the violent side of the story left me wondering about the arbitrary way in which the state, civil society, and the public sphere are discussed. Kim observes that "The state and civil society in early Meiji Japan were indeed engaged in monumental struggles to possess the soul of the Japanese nation" (p. 7). This is a neat, even Manichean, division. But who exactly is the state, and who inhabits civil society? Kim does not always clearly answer these questions. He instead presents people who changed roles, in some instances shifting from anti-government activists critical of the current regime to statist insiders willingly accepting leading positions in established parties and the central government. Although civil society critics at times harshly condemned the policies of the oligarchic cliques in charge—in other words, took anti-government stands—seldom were their positions ideologically anti-state or anti-emperor. This criticism is not a demand for consistency. The complicated messiness of early Meiji political reality *does* come through in this study despite sweeping reification that in places too tidily pits the state against civil society. But the complexity is apprehended more from Kim's detailed analysis of early Meiji political discourse than from theoretical nets cast to impose order on a disorderly time.

MICHAEL LEWIS
Michigan State University

THOMAS W. BURKMAN. *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914–1938*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 289. \$58.00.

Thomas W. Burkman's book is a thoughtful and richly documented study of competing concerns in Japan during the era of that nation's engagement with the League of Nations. Burkman details the thinking and actions among Japanese politicians and opinion makers regarding this international body from its creation at the end of World War I through the interwar years and, ultimately, to Japan's move to withdraw from the League in 1933.

The book is a compelling blend of intellectual biography and diplomatic history. Throughout, Burkman chronicles a wide range of debates and positions concerning Japan's relationship with the League. From the first whisper of a plan for this globally governing body, it was clear to most Japanese opinion makers that the League would fundamentally serve the interests of the established European powers regardless of its rhetoric and promises. To this end, Burkman goes to great lengths to describe the various nuances of individual Japanese opinion about the League, and how Japanese leaders were ever far from a single mind about its existence, let alone Japan's membership.

As a consequence, perhaps, the whole idea of the League in a positive sense never really found a place for itself as a central or defining policy for 1920s Japan, compared to, say, the way that participation in the United Nations has for much of the past several decades in Japan. Ironically, however, some of the more obvious negative aspects of the League—most specifically, its continued privileging of the established white powers—could and did touch off political firestorms in Tokyo that decried the standard world order and often cost politicians, who were even only mildly in favor of the League, their careers, if not their reputations. As Burkman well demonstrates, even Japan's leaders who were fully cognizant of the League's pitfalls—yet believed that Japan's taking part in this international body was preferable to shunning it—found themselves cornered by a broader Japanese outlook that was not interested, for the most part, in seeing beyond the concerns of the Asian horizon.

All interested in Japan's international world of the twentieth century will find much to contemplate from the author's considerate elaborations of various politicians, diplomats, and theorists, including Makino Nobuaki, Ito Myoji, Uchida Yasuo, and Yoshino Sakuzo. Moreover, and in fascinating new ways, the author builds on his own prior studies of Japan's most famous member of the League, Nitobe Inazo. Rather than simply reworking his earlier analyses, however, here Burkman creatively reads Nitobe's actions and writings against those of Ishii Kikujirō, who, although less known outside Japan, becomes newly significant to the modern history of Japan's international relations as a result of this juxtaposition.

Through such careful detail, Burkman brings into relief important and often overlooked histories, such as how groups of politicians in disagreement with central policy—in this case, the foreign ministry's—began to form their own study groups to challenge and affect new

directions for the nation. Although this phenomenon is prevalent in Tokyo today, Burkman has opened up a new avenue of research, subtly adding depth to the discussion of Japan's pre-1945 democratic impulses.

For this, as well as for plentiful and useful pedagogical insights, teachers of modern Japanese political theory and history might find that Burkman's account makes for excellent pairing with political scientist Richard J. Samuels's *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (2007). Like Samuels, Burkman repeatedly stresses the rational and pragmatic ways that Japanese thinkers approached the whole question and existence of the League. For those outside the field of Japanese studies, the need to prove the sheer activity involved in political decision making may seem surprising, yet it remains a frustrating reality for those in the field. Taken together, therefore, Burkman's excellent historical account and Samuels's study of more contemporary dynamics make clear this enduring and fundamental flaw of modern international history and political theory: the failure to incorporate Japan, the Japanese empire, and the Japanese post-empire in their respective calculations.

Burkman's study will continue to gain appreciation within the field of Japanese studies and especially so when read alongside other recent texts of racial and empire theory. Burkman's specificity and care in bringing to light the nuances of a wide range of Japanese opinion makers related to Japan's involvement with the League of Nations substantiates Tokyo's first serious attempt at being an international player. Given Japan's aspirations in the world today, Burkman's study deserves broad reaching and serious consideration.

ALEXIS DUDDEN
University of Connecticut

ERI HOTTA. *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War, 1931–1945*. (The Palgrave Macmillan Series in Transnational History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xiv, 290. \$79.95.

The earlier post-World War II judgment about Pan-Asianism, which was inspired by the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal's view of history, argued for its role as an insincere cover for imperial expansion. However, since the 1960s, many scholars in and outside Japan have suggested a somewhat constructivist interpretation of the role of Pan-Asianism in international history: ideas, identity, feelings, historical memory, beliefs, perceptions, and insecurities matter in foreign policy and international relations, and in that spirit Japan's Asian identity, the historical memory of Western colonialism, or an Asianist perception of world affairs somehow shaped the decision making leading to the Pacific War. Eri Hotta's book is a good example of this growing body of literature, which suggests that Pan-Asianism was much more than an after-the-fact explanation for Japan's imperial designs and argues instead that it was a vision of world order or even an internationalist ideology with significant political results. More impor-

tantly, Hotta offers the best and most comprehensive discussion of this constructivist argument, as she shows how Pan-Asianism as an ideology, and sometimes as an identity, played a crucial role in Japan's international relations, becoming integral in making and prolonging the Fifteen Years' War from 1931 to 1945. For Hotta, the role of Pan-Asianism in developments from the Manchurian Incident to Pearl Harbor and full mobilization during World War II goes beyond the rhetorical legitimization of imperial expansion with its discourse of liberation; thus, Pan-Asian ideology has to be taken seriously in order to grasp Japan's foreign policy.

Hotta describes different varieties of Pan-Asianism in twentieth-century Japan, which she suitably divides into three categories. First is the more egalitarian, anticolonial, and idealist school of Okakura Tenshin, which she calls the Teaist school of Asianism. Second is the Sinic idea of solidarity with China, based on the idea of common cultural heritage of East Asia and represented by Konoe Atsumaro. Third is the more expansionist and geopolitics-based Meishuron (Japanese leadership in Asia) thesis of Ishiwara Kanji. Hotta shows very well how these disparate themes appeared, sometimes in contradictory fashion, in the works of most Japanese intellectuals of the 1930s. Despite their differences in emphasis and ideology, "Pan-Asianists of different shades and colors were of one mind on the question of why they were Pan-Asianists, which was that 'Asia is one' and 'Asia was weak' . . . As a result, they concurred that something had to be done about it and that it ultimately had to be done by Japan, who was in a relatively better-off position than the rest" (p. 49). After presenting this useful categorization, Hotta takes the story of Pan-Asianism from the late-nineteenth century to the end of World War II in seven beautifully written chapters.

Hotta's strong insistence on defining Pan-Asianism as an ideology, however, raises one important caveat: almost every educated person in the world, including in Japan, in the first half of the twentieth century believed that a weak Asia existed in relation to an imperialist West. If we define Asian identity as an ideology as broadly as Hotta does, it would be hard to find any Japanese intellectual who was not a Pan-Asianist at this time. Yet, many of those who believed in their Asian identity were also strong advocates of cooperation with Western empires and could be vehemently opposed to Pan-Asianism as an ideology during the 1910s and 1920s. Take Uchida Yasuya, for example, a diplomat who headed the Japanese foreign ministry during parts of the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s and shaped Japan's intransigent policies during the Manchurian Incident. As we know from a recent study by Rustin Gates ("Defending the Empire: Uchida Yasuya and Japanese Foreign Policy, 1865–1936," Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), Uchida's writings during the 1890s were clearly Pan-Asianist. Yet Uchida came to be a staunch defender of the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, of which mainstream Pan-Asianists were extremely critical. After years of pragmatic, pro-Western

diplomatic service, as foreign minister of Japan Uchida led his country out of the League of Nations in 1933, due to Japan's creation of Manchukuo. There is continuity between Uchida's view in the 1890s of a weak Asia unfairly colonized by the West and his actions in the early 1930s. But how could Asianism explain Uchida's pro-Western policy of imperial cooperation during the 1910s and the 1920s? It would have been useful if Hotta had made a distinction between Pan-Asian ideology and Pan-Asian discourses of identity and perceptions of world politics.

Hotta's argument for a broader definition of Asianism could explain the change in direction of Japan's international policies after the 1930s: all the major intellectuals and political leaders in Japan, from Nitobe Inazo to Royama Masamichi, must have had something Pan-Asianist below the surface of their liberalism, pragmatism, or pro-Western diplomacy, because after the Manchurian Incident they were the ones who reformulated and repackaged Pan-Asianism as the guiding vision for Japanese foreign policy. This is one of several original contributions of Hotta's book. Hotta's arguments teach us that it was not only those who advocated the clash of civilizations, but actually those liberals who believed in the synthesis, dialogue, or harmony of civilizations that ended up taking Japan into the Pacific War. Hotta's story of Pan-Asianism contains a lesson for more recent attempts to create a dialogue of civilization against the ideologies advocating clash of civilizations, implying that both of these seemingly opposing views share the same epistemological foundations.

Hotta compares Pan-Asianism to Pan-Arab thought, and she offers interesting insights based on this comparison. But comparisons with Pan-Islamism and Pan-Africanism might be more intriguing, as these ideologies emerged around the same time as Pan-Asianism, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the context of global debates on the legitimacy and future of the imperial world order. Moreover, given Japan's status as a well-established empire, portions of Pan-Asian internationalist thought can also be compared to that of British imperial internationalists such as Alfred Zimmern and Jan Smuts, who both believed in peaceful, prosperous international solidarity under the benevolent rule of a third British Empire, while supporting institutions such as the League of Nations partly as efforts to save Western civilization and the white race from a perceived decline in their world power. Pan-Asianist ideas in Japan were also developed by well-educated imperial theorists and internationalists with similar concerns; in fact, some of the Japanese internationalists who formulated Asianist ideas were well aware of the trends among British imperial internationalists.

Hotta's book on Japanese Pan-Asianism offers the most comprehensive treatment of this topic in English. It provides an original interpretation in response to existing historiographical debates and is mindful of all the available sources on this topic. It is written with amazing clarity and persuasiveness. This book should be es-

sential reading for both undergraduate and graduate-level courses on international affairs and Asian politics, as well as histories of imperialism and decolonization.

CEMIL AYDIN

University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

KIRK W. LARSEN. *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850–1910*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 295.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2008. Pp. xi, 328. \$39.95.

A common impulse among historians has been to view China's relations with its neighboring states through the framework of a highly institutionalized tributary system predicated on fealty and Confucian ritual. Kirk W. Larsen's book represents a fundamental reassessment of Sino-Korean relations during the late nineteenth century. Challenging the longstanding image of the late Qing Empire (1850–1910) as the passive victim of foreign imperialism, he argues that its expansionist activities mirrored those of other imperialist powers. The Qing were "modern imperialists" who sought to defend their informal empire and commercial interests abroad by aggressively utilizing treaties, international law, gunboats, and other mechanisms of modern imperialism. The book investigates the extent to which the Qing transformed their relations with Korea through a hybrid system of "multilateral imperialism" and a traditional suzerain-vassal relationship.

The book consists of nine chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter, "Pre-Nineteenth-Century Sino-Korean Relations," provides the background to Sino-Korean relations—the specific features and tangible benefits of the tributary system. This meant the "willingness of the Qing to grant Korea dependent-yet-autonomous status," while securing their geopolitical and commercial interests with minimal commitment and costs (p. 40). Chapter two, "Nineteenth-Century Challenges and Changes," examines both internal and external events which transformed how the Qing interacted with Korea. Larsen contrasts the competing agendas of the Purist Party (*qingliudang*) and a new generation of intellectuals like Li Hongzhang who sought to strengthen the Qing Empire through Western technology as a means to counter Japan's "monopolistic imperialism" (p. 63). Chapter three, "Treaties and Troops: Bringing Multilateral Imperialism to Korea," addresses the direct intervention by the Qing in Korean affairs through the mediation of treaties with Western powers. Especially enlightening is a discussion about the mutiny of Korean soldiers in the summer of 1882 and the involvement of Qing troops, which Larsen identifies as a "irrevocable break with past practices" (p. 85). In chapter four, "Soldiers, Diplomats, and Merchants: Establishing a Qing Presence in Korea," Larsen examines Qing efforts to assist Korea's "self-strengthening" movement while actively encouraging Chinese merchants to migrate to Korea. Here too, the author shows how Li Hongzhang

among others utilized international law and military intervention as a means to challenge "Japan's claims to monopolistic privileges" in Korea. The next three chapters, "The Residency of Yuan Shikai," "Suzerainty, Sovereignty, and Ritual," and "Yuan Shikai and 'Commercial Warfare' in Korea," primarily deal with Yuan Shikai's interventionist policies as well as his failed intrigues. Larsen also explores how the Qing utilized "modern tools and techniques of imperialism" to establish a customs service, communication infrastructure, and the monitoring of Korea's financial transactions (e.g., foreign loans). In short, Larsen persuasively shows that the relationship between the Qing Empire and Korean reform efforts was "much more ambiguous and complex than the simple assertion that China, apparently by virtue of its inherent pre- or antimodernity, dragged Korea down" (p. 161). In chapters eight and nine, "Defending Multilateral Privilege at Suzerainty's End: The Sino-Japanese War and Its Aftermath," and "Ending, Echoes, and Legacies," the author looks at the end of Qing ritual suzerainty over Korea and the emergence of a unilateral, monopolistic imperialism imposed by Meiji Japan. In his conclusion, the author points out that "the vagaries of imperialism in Korea owed little to the relative degree of modernity of the contestants" but rather a "constellation of geopolitical, military, economic, and other factors influenced each actor in different ways" (p. 281).

If the book has any shortcomings, the first is the absence of Koreans in his narrative. While Larsen's argument rests on careful analysis of primary and secondary texts in Chinese (e.g., the perspective of the Chinese), he avoids any discussion about the role of Koreans. The author notes in his introduction that Korea's relations "with its neighbors owe much to Korean agency and to Korean domestic political decisions and configurations" (p. 19). Little is known about how Koreans viewed this "multilateral imperialism" in the late nineteenth century or what efforts they expended to support or resist such endeavors. This could also be said about the old tributary system and the different ways Koreans contested or collaborated with the Chinese. Larsen also does not engage recent scholarship by Japan historians, which also shows that the process leading to the annexation of Korea in 1910 was neither easy nor inevitable. The author identifies Japan as an imperialist power that always pursued "unilateral and exclusive" privileges in Korea instead of providing a more nuanced analysis of the escalating rivalry between China and Japan. For instance, he may have considered how "free trade imperialism" described by Peter Duus differs from multilateral imperialism.

None of this should detract, however, from the important contribution made by the book. Larsen's work elucidates the dynamics of Qing imperialism vis-à-vis Korea. By moving away from the "impact-response paradigm" articulated by John K. Fairbank, Larsen's analysis of the Qing's interventionist policies brings a valuable, fresh perspective on Qing efforts to maintain its informal empire through multilateral imperialism dur-

ing the latter half of the nineteenth century. The book also expands our knowledge about the Qing Empire's commercial activities in Korea. Larsen is at his best when he demonstrates how figures like Li Hongzhang and Yuan Shikai utilized both new and old ideas (e.g., ritual suzerainty) to maximize Qing interests in Korea. In short, this important study should appeal to general readers and students alike.

THEODORE JUN YOO
University of Hawai'i,
Manoa

THEODORE JUN YOO. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*. (Asia Pacific Modern, number 3.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 316. \$49.95.

This book examines how the "Korean woman" underwent a radical transformation during the Japanese colonial period. Theodore Jun Yoo follows the "new terrain" women negotiated as they moved out of their traditional spheres to take jobs in schools, factories, hospitals, and elsewhere. His main argument is that in doing so Korean women faced competing visions of modernity—Western and Japanese—and competing ideas of what the purpose of the modernization of women was—those of Korean nationalists and those of Japanese imperial authorities. Some women conformed to Japanese conventions of dress and social behavior, and others identified with and sought to follow more radical Western models, while a debate over the role of women in society took place among the intellectual community in colonial Korea. The author's intention is to "integrate Korean women's experiences during the colonial period into the mainstream of history" (p. 14). To a large extent, he succeeds in this purpose, writing in clear prose that makes this book a pleasure to read and accessible to the non-specialist.

Yoo begins his study by reviewing how family was defined and how cultural institutions such as marriage, funerals, and ancestor veneration shaped gender roles during the Chosŏn period. In about thirty pages, he provides one of the most succinct summaries available of family and gender in premodern Korea. He then discusses how the introduction of Western-style schools by foreign missionaries and Koreans during 1890–1910 opened the first small crack in the traditional social structure by providing limited educational opportunities for a few women. The author next jumps to the 1920s, a period of intellectual ferment in colonial Korea, made possible by the assimilation of new ideas, the emergence of a modern, urban middle class, and the relatively liberal Japanese colonial policies during that decade. He focuses on a small coterie of women who took advantage of educational opportunities, mostly in Japan or in the West, to "seize the initiative" (p. 59) to determine their own dress, public appearance, and career paths, and to enter discussions on the place of women and gender relations in Korea. The book then shifts to women who went to work in the new industrial

enterprises. These were mostly young women supporting their families and earning enough to pay *honsu* (marriage expenses). Yoo provides some vivid accounts of the often appallingly difficult and dangerous working environments, wretched living conditions, and poor nutrition these women experienced. In the last chapter, the author examines the ways women's bodies and reproductive capacities were defined by Korean nationalists and Japanese officials.

The book is at its best when it captures the little-known story of women in colonial Korea. The new world that women entered, the many challenges they faced, and their sometimes courageous and daring responses are fascinating. Korean women displayed an enthusiasm for the opportunity to acquire an education, something that had previously been available to only an elite few. Those fortunate enough to gain access to higher education often defied conventions and explored new lifestyles. Women workers, despite close male supervision, engaged in strikes and protests. However, the author's argument that there was an important difference between the colonial authorities' vision of the modern woman, which conceived of her as part of a healthy empire, and the Korean nationalists' vision, which saw her as part of a healthy independent nation, is not wholly convincing. Instead, it is striking how similar the basic attitudes of both Koreans and Japanese were. For Korean male nationalists such as the leading writer and intellectual Yi Kwang-su, the purpose of educating women was to prepare them for their rightful place in the home as wives and mothers. This largely echoed the "good wife and wise mother" ideal of a modern woman promoted by Japan. Korean men expressed concerns over a Western curriculum that produced a type of woman who was too independent and assertive, calling instead for a "Korean new woman" who would not imitate Western ways too blindly (p. 73). There was a much sharper contrast between the prevailing male view of womanhood and the views of a small number of Korean women who rejected traditional domesticity and explored new concepts such as free love and the right to divorce. Also important were the differences between Korean socialists, who argued that issues of gender should be subordinated to class, and feminist socialists, who maintained that both were to be taken together.

As the author points out, most Korean women in colonial times were neither factory workers nor members of the new middle class, but rural folk for whom the modes of life and the patriarchal Confucian value system underwent only the most modest changes before 1945. It would have been useful, therefore, to show just how the lives of these rural women might have been affected by changes in Korean society. The author could also have provided more clarification on the ideological divisions among the nationalists. Yet, overall Yoo has provided an often engaging account of Korean women during the period from 1890 to 1945. While not all of this is new, there is no single book that presents

so much information on this aspect of Korean history and does it so well.

MICHAEL J. SETH
James Madison University

ROCHELLE PINTO. *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. (SOAS Studies on South Asia.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 299. \$52.95.

Rochelle Pinto's book follows a string of recently published works on print cultures in modern India and makes a compelling argument that the case of Goa—a small principality under Portuguese rule between 1510 and 1961—does not easily correspond to print production patterns, linguistic policies, or nationalist ideologies in British India. The study focuses more specifically on the nineteenth century in Goa and demonstrates how, in the tumultuous contemporary political climate, print afforded opportunities to different linguistic groups—Portuguese, Marathi, and Konkani—to forge very distinct identities for themselves. In terms of class, the book additionally examines, how both elite and non-elite Goans constructed identities and memory that fed into an expanding Goan print market.

Before plunging into a more critical analytical study of the book's principal arguments, it would be useful to chart the varying fortunes of the above-mentioned three languages and their attendant political, social, and cultural histories, as outlined by Pinto. The printing press was first introduced in Goa in 1556, but its immediate use was restricted to the domain of the Roman Catholic Church. Following a nearly seventy-year (1754–1821) ban on printing until censorship was lifted in 1821 with the entry of constitutionalism into Goan politics, the task of print was to recast the experience of colonialism in the specific context of contemporary times. Goa's Catholic elite were among the earliest groups to mobilize this resurgent printing. But the elite's claim to speak for all of Goa was vigorously contested. When it eventually became accessible to the Hindu elite and to non-elite Catholic groups, print allowed the articulation of very different concerns in very different languages. Even though Konkani—the regional language—had been patronized by the church from the very beginning, it was not favored by the Hindu elite in the nineteenth century, a period which saw the rapid rise of Marathi and English. While the Catholic elite did grudgingly start promoting Konkani to widen its support base, the language's most vigorous use was made by non-elite, low-caste groups (by Sudras, following the rebellion in 1895, discussed in chapter five, and non-elite migrants in Bombay, discussed in chapter eight) in both rural and urban locations to intervene in and change their social and political situations.

The book's initial chapters show how the Goan elite saw itself repositioned in the nineteenth century. Chapters three and four highlight the role of the elite in shaping linguistic and educational policies in Goa, in what was eventually hailed as a Goan renaissance, following

the British Indian model. Subsequent chapters concern themselves with the emergence of newsprint, pamphlets, novels, and literary histories and uncover divergent histories among elite and non-elite writers that echo linguistic and print politics.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this work to existing historiography on print in colonial India is that it breaks up the "Indian" narrative of nationalism, print politics, and cultural identity for Goa. First, there is the problem of periodization: "The significant markers associated with nationalism as a period and a process in British India, such as the production of a colonial elite . . . and the use of print for political representation are traceable in the case of Goa, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries" (p. 8). Second, the Goan elite were split down the middle in terms of allegiance, with the Portuguese-born, Catholic, or mixed-race *descendentes* turning toward the mother country for inspiration and guidance, while the Hindu elite's position remained more ambivalent. Cultural and political aspirations therefore were divided along racial and religious lines, unlike the seemingly ubiquitous ideas about "tradition" in Hindu British India. Third, with the state's singular agenda for the promotion of Portuguese, a bilingual print sphere and its simple bifurcated politics could not emerge in nineteenth-century Goa.

Pinto questions dominant understandings of print drawn from European historiography and is keen to show how print divides rather than forges solidarities only. In showcasing this, however, she is not new. Scholars such as Paul J. Brass, Christopher R. King, and David Lelyveld have demonstrated print's divisive role most spectacularly for India with regard to the Hindi/Urdu controversy, while Eugene F. Irschick has examined the same for Tamil. David Washbrook too has studied the rifts between elite, standardized, and more plebeian print media.

The book is also perhaps a little insular in its outlook. In drawing the reader deep into the print cultures relevant to Goa, it misses drawing parallels or contrasts with British India. In suggesting, for instance, that "this period [nineteenth and early twentieth centuries] . . . marked the mobility of sections of the non-elite, relatively freed, in part through print, from the immediate physical and symbolic hierarchies that until this moment, had defined their existence" (p. 265), the book echoes my recent work on colonial Bengal, which also argues for the remarkable democratization that print enables. A more detailed discussion of the rich secondary literature on print in modern India would have considerably enhanced the comparative scope of this study and sustained more fully its claim to offer a different perspective for Goa outside the dominant Indian model.

ANINDITA GHOSH
University of Manchester

SANJAM AHLUWALIA. *Reproductive Restraints: Birth Control in India, 1877–1947*. Urbana and Chicago: Univer-

sity of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 251. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

South Asia has long provided an object lesson for the notion that uncontrolled population growth causes poverty and perpetuates gender inequality. Sanjam Ahluwalia's valuable new book shows how, more than eighty years ago, Indian intellectuals began to participate in population debates, both drawing on and contributing to Malthusian and eugenic worries that the meek would inherit the earth. By the 1930s, they were forging alliances with British and American birth-control activists like Marie Stopes and Margaret Sanger that would help determine the future direction and scope of global campaigns to promote contraception. India and Pakistan subsequently became the first countries in the world to adopt official policies to reduce fertility rates. During the Emergency Period (1975–1977), international and non-governmental organizations would help Indira Gandhi's government sterilize some eight million people in a single year. Even after India had become a net food exporter with a sizable middle class—and even while child malnutrition and maternal mortality rates remained much higher than in countries with a lower per capita gross domestic product (GDP)—journalists and government officials continued to call for outlawing large families.

Surprisingly few historians have explored reproductive politics in South Asia. Sanjam Ahluwalia's research on birth control in the colonial period is therefore an essential source. While the book does not investigate actual contraceptive practices, it provides a probing analysis of the many different kinds of anxieties and policy prescriptions that population growth provoked. It begins with a fundamental question: "how is it that birth control, a subject so many feminists believe to be inherently empowering for women, became part of an elitist agenda that actually restrained women from exercising control over their own reproductive capacities" (p. 1). Ahluwalia finds the answers by following "discursive loops" (p. 10) through published and archival records of elite advocates in the United States, United Kingdom, and India.

The five chapters are divided between the different constituencies for birth control. The first Indian male advocates espoused "eugenic patriotism," worried about the long-term effects of higher fertility among lower castes. British and American feminists like Stopes and Sanger claimed to speak for universal sisterhood while endorsing untested contraceptives, ignoring the particular problems of impoverished women under colonial rule. Those Ahluwalia describes as middle-class Indian women—some of them members of very elite families—were more conflicted about whether population increase led to national decline. Some, such as Rameshwari Nehru, asserted their national importance as mothers, insisting that they could serve the cause of independence by dutifully serving their husbands. Others, including Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, echoed Sanger's argument that no woman

could be free without controlling her own fertility. Still others, such as Begum Hamid Ali, insisted on the need to sterilize the "unfit."

Two chapters on colonial authorities and the medical establishment reveal similar disarray, with debates over whether the problem was "overpopulation" or degeneration. Even those who agreed that Indians should be encouraged to practice contraception sharply differed on whether the colonial state could take the lead. This diffidence is a puzzle, as Ahluwalia notes, since authorities pushed other practices that risked provoking cultural and religious objections, such as requiring vaccinations and policing midwives. In this instance, Ahluwalia goes beyond discourse analysis to offer a multicausal explanation, noting the waning of colonial authority, the delegation of responsibility—both fiscal and political—for public health, and a particular concern about Mohandas K. Gandhi's personal opposition to contraception.

Even while acknowledging the "messiness" and "polyvocality" of different debates, Ahluwalia concludes that all five constituencies framed the question of birth control as one of surveillance and restraint, not in terms of how contraception could liberate and empower individuals. Critiquing subaltern fertility provided a means to assert upper-caste, upper-class, and colonial interests. Among the considerable strengths of this account is that it situates arguments for birth control within these broader concerns. We learn, for instance, that even before independence advocates had to contend with "an emerging antifeminist backlash" (p. 110). And even colonial authorities declined to take on Gandhi, who had his own ideas about disciplining reproduction in the service of a political agenda.

Nevertheless, the main findings of the book conform to the conventions of subaltern studies. Ahluwalia's challenge to "theories of totalizing British colonial power" (p. 116) and her analysis of how elites "discursively disenfranchised subaltern experiences" (p. 173) will already be familiar to most readers. Her insistence on the need to use colonial archives seems obvious rather than inspiring. When Ahluwalia ventures outside the archives by way of a conclusion, interviewing half a dozen midwives in four villages in the Himalayan foothills, she gives far more attention to her decision to do it than to reporting what she learned.

Focused on her own epistemological struggles, Ahluwalia never addresses the question that most directly concerns those who were the objects of these "fractured discourses": how did colonial-era debates actually contribute to the sometimes brutal population control policies of independent India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh? This book is a solid contribution to the field of discourse analysis, but one that demonstrates the need for studies that will more clearly illuminate the political and institutional origins of coercion and consent in the post-colonial era.

MATTHEW CONNELLY
Columbia University

VAZIRA FAZILA-YACOUBALI ZAMINDAR. *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories.* (Cultures of History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 288. \$50.00.

Over the last two decades, several commentators on independent Pakistan and India have paid systematic attention to the formative role played in the making of these nations by the violent displacement of populations that Partition precipitated. As we know, political demand conceived of Pakistan as the home of the subcontinent's Muslims, and its territories were derived from Muslim-majority provinces in the northwest and east of British India. The British administrator charged with the demarcation of these territories, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, worked in haste to dismember the provinces of Punjab and Bengal (his decisions were announced on August 17, 1947, days after both Pakistan and India became independent), but the movement of vulnerable populations had already begun. Muslims moved westward from all over north India, and especially east Punjab, and Hindus and Sikhs moved to India from west Punjab, Sind, and other northwestern provinces now in Pakistan. Similar population movements—at different paces and over many years after 1947—took place between East Pakistan and Indian Bengal and Assam. In 1947 and 1948, however, the deaths of almost one million people and the dislocation of perhaps ten million others had inescapable repercussions for state and community-formation.

Vazira Fazila-Yacoubali Zamindar's book is a fine investigation into the ways that the fledgling states of India and Pakistan understood, intervened into, and "shaped the colossal displacements of Partition" (p. 3). She has a subtle understanding of the way in which elements of the state were brought into being precisely to rehabilitate refugees, to take charge of and redistribute "evacuee" properties, or to police borders where none existed, and her analysis is thus sensitive to the ways in which these new agencies of the state not only managed but also generated population movements. Nowhere was such intervention more obvious than in the capitals of the new nations, Karachi and Delhi: almost half of Karachi's residents were Hindu, and a third of Delhi's were Muslim. The historic character of each of these cities changed rapidly, but not only because hundreds of thousands of people moved in and out. The cities changed in response to governmental action, and Zamindar tells fascinating stories of the ways in which politicians and bureaucrats re-imagined their constituencies and ideas of citizenship in response to the needs of displaced people. For Zamindar, the history of state formation in India and Pakistan, and indeed of citizenship and nationality, is inescapably a part of the longer history of Partition that she explores.

Of particular interest to Zamindar are the Muslims in north India—those who moved to Pakistan as well as those who chose to stay in India—and her book is at its most convincing when she examines the political paradoxes that governed their decisions. *Muhajirs*—Mus-

lims who moved to Karachi from India—felt let down by Pakistani government agencies that could not cope with their increasing numbers. They were also resented by Sindhi Muslims who saw *muhajirs* as challengers to their control of urban and provincial resources. Not surprisingly, *muhajirs* were quick to argue that their political drive and sacrifices had led to the creation of the Muslim homeland, Pakistan, and that they had every right to relocate themselves and to lay claim to the properties and businesses of Hindus who had left Karachi. Within a year after Partition, however, both government agencies and Sindhi politicians argued that Pakistan, and Sind in particular, would suffer economic collapse if a large portion of north India's Muslims migrated there. Further, they suggested that only if substantial numbers of minorities remained in each country could minorities be safe everywhere (although this "hostage theory" did not last long in the face of the near total movement of Hindus away from West Pakistan).

In India, and in Delhi in particular, Muslims faced a host of new challenges, which ranged from the antipathy of official agencies to the outright hostility of right-wing Hindu politicians, including those in the ruling Congress ministries. In one instance, Zamindar traces the power of the Custodians of Evacuee Property to designate as evacuee property (and thus to take over for eventual redistribution to qualified Hindus and Sikhs), the homes of Muslims whose family members were still living in them. Homeowners had to petition the custodian or the courts, and their cases were adjudicated based on the petitioners' ability to demonstrate that they had not planned in the past, nor were planning in the future, to move to Pakistan. This harassment of Indian Muslims, Zamindar concludes rightly, was "an internal border-making device, separating minority religious communities by asking them to prove their 'loyalty,' even if this meant internal dispossession" (p. 129).

Of the many institutional ironies Zamindar explores, the most pointed (in that it was initiated as much by Pakistan as by India) is the creation of a permit system, and then passport controls, to regulate the flow of Muslims to and from West Pakistan, and later, of Muslims and Hindus across the borders of East Pakistan. Passports began as travel documents but became de facto markers of nationality, and Zamindar details the bureaucratic, judicial, and legislative debates that birthed this most modern technology of surveillance and citizenship. Once again, particularly for Muslims in India, applications for passports became occasions on which applicants were required to prove their loyalty to the nation and its policies. Instances such as these allow Zamindar to demonstrate that "*Partition effects*" (p. 238) were responsible for the consolidation of key institutional structures and community formations in Pakistan and India. Both nations, and the distorted politics of the subcontinent, still remain hostage to these developments.

SUVIR KAUL
University of Pennsylvania

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

CHRISTINA TWOMEY. *Australia's Forgotten Prisoners: Civilians Interned by the Japanese in World War Two*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 262. \$31.99.

The relationship between war and national memory inevitably continues to engage historians; it is a topic that has both transnational significance and national particularities. In Australian history, debate continues around the battles of World War I (especially Gallipoli): their historical significance, their representation in national mythmaking, and recent developments in the pilgrimages that commemorate them now even more than at most periods in the past. Public debate surrounding Australia's experience of World War II is more muted, though the recently released film *Australia* by Baz Luhrmann (2008) dramatizes the 1942 bombing of Darwin by the Japanese in an unprecedented way. Australian national memory of the Pacific theater of war includes a few prominent features, such as the presence of American troops and, more searingly, the experiences of Australian nurses and troops who were captured or executed by the Japanese.

Christina Twomey's title *Forgotten Prisoners* establishes her central claim: that Australian civilians interned by the Japanese in World War II have been overlooked in national public memory. Around 1,500 Australian civilian men, women, and children were held captive in various prison camps. This figure stands in contrast with the 22,000 Australian POWs, whose story has been told by historians including Patsy Adam-Smith, Joan Beaumont, and Gavan Daws; Twomey herself has written about the Australian military nurses held captive. While constituting only about one percent of the total number of Allied civilians interned by the Japanese during the conflict, Twomey's concern is that civilian Australians' harrowing individual stories have been omitted from the national historical record and memory. The book's great strengths are her piecing together and evocative recounting of these rich stories, based on extensive research in the Australian War Memorial, the National Archives of Australia, other archives, and a variety of printed sources.

The Australians who were captured by the Japanese, and who spent up to three or four years each in internment camps scattered across East and Southeast Asia, had been in a variety of occupations before the war. Like other Westerners, they had been civil servants, businessmen, planters, missionaries, engineers, housewives, mothers, journalists, doctors, and nurses. Thus the Australians resident in Southeast Asia in 1941 represented a microcosm of the Westerners in the various economic, cultural, and administrative structures of late colonialism. Part of the appeal were the relatively privileged circumstances of colonial life, such as enjoying domestic servants they would not have been able to afford at home, and the privileges of being "white" in racially hierarchical societies. At the outbreak of war,

such people were scattered across New Guinea, Singapore, Malaya, China, Hong Kong, and other places.

The book is organized thematically, with chapters on topics such as race, community and conflict, sex and health, homecoming, and compensation. Within this clear structure, Twomey weaves the stories of individual internees, some of whose extensive records in the form of diaries, letters, and memoirs allow her to return to them repeatedly for telling anecdotes and pieces of testimony. Jack Percival was a journalist before the war, the Philippines correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. He was interned in Santo Tomas camp, a former university campus, in Manila, and kept a diary for much of his captivity written on the back of student papers he found lying around. Sheila Allen, who published her account after the war, was the teenage daughter of a Malayan mother and Australian father who opted for internment in Changi prison in Singapore in order to preserve her British-Australian identity rather than be considered Malayan. In Changi she was subjected to racist taunts by Anglo inmates who openly expressed hostility to Eurasians. Dorothy Jenner was a war correspondent from Sydney who was interned in the Stanley camp in Hong Kong. Jenner kept a diary replete with sharp observations on camp committees, sex, collaboration, fraternization, self-interestedness, and internees fighting among themselves. The cumulative picture that emerges is one of privation, hardship, physical suffering including starvation, mental and emotional duress, strained relationships, and moral issues of collaboration, sexual behavior, and the allocation of scarce resources.

Twomey concludes the book with a thoughtful discussion of civilian internees' anomalous status and their absence from national commemoration of the war. Unlike POWs, Australian civilians repatriated at war's end from the internment camps were expected by the government to reimburse it for its expense. Australian civilian internees' wartime suffering was not publically discussed after the war—although in 2001 the government finally awarded survivors AUD25,000 compensation each. A few were awarded medals for wartime service. As Twomey astutely speculates, one reason for national obliviousness to civilian internees' suffering and stories is that, especially in the postwar world, they represented awkward reminders of Australia's colonial relationships with its regional neighbors.

ANGELA WOOLLACOTT
Macquarie University

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JENNIFER REID. *Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada: Mythic Discourse and the Postcolonial State*. (Religions of the Americas.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 314. \$34.95.

Canada poses a challenge to political scientists, especially those who focus on the nation and nationalism. The country supposedly does not constitute a genuine

nation-state. Yet it has managed not only to survive for over 140 years but also to thrive, providing its citizens with one of the highest standards of living in the world. The reason Canada is deemed such a problematic nation-state is that it seems to lack an overriding master narrative and heroes who are embraced by the bulk of the populace. This absence of national heroes has led Canadians to make their central political and cultural icon Louis Riel (1844–1885), the Métis politician, poet, and mystic who is best known for clashing with Canada in two military conflicts in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the second of which culminated in his hanging for treason in 1885.

Riel's journey from traitor to hero is at the center of Jennifer Reid's study. In fact, her main thesis is that both the Métis leader and "the myths" about him "point to the profound inadequacy of the concepts of *nationalism* and the *nation* in the Canadian situation" (p. 5). Reid notes that there are few other countries in the Americas, if not the world, where "a dissenting voice from a marginalized and oppressed community [has] come to occupy a position of such cultural prominence" as Riel has in Canada (p. 8). Her explanation for this phenomenon is that Canada is not a nation-state but a hybrid or postcolonial confederation. As she persuasively argues, ever since its foundation in 1867, Canada has encompassed several different nations within its territory—notably the First Nations, francophone Canada, and anglophone Canada. In light of this polynational history, Canada cannot possibly have unitary national heroes. However, where Reid is less convincing is in her discussion of Riel's nationalism, or perhaps his nationalisms. She seems to make the assumption that, because most contemporary Métis have embraced their place in Canadian society, the same is true of Riel, despite the fact he became a U.S. citizen late in his life and advocated the annexation of the Canadian prairies by the United States. That is, even if one accepts her claim that Riel is "emblematic of the fundamental dichotomies that define the specificity of Canadian cultural and political life" (p. 70), Reid does not show whether Riel strove to be a symbol of Canadian identity or if it occurred accidentally, perhaps even in spite of his stated positions. Similarly, she fails to explore in any depth whether the political aims of the Métis people, the so-called New Nation, are coterminous with Canadian ones.

There are two other problems with Reid's book. The first is that Reid relies excessively on secondary literature. For example, in one chapter alone she refers to the same text over twenty times. Even more problematic, for someone who stresses the difference between the real and the mythic Riel, she pays surprisingly little attention to his writings. It is telling that when she cites his religious epiphany in Washington, D.C., in which Riel became convinced that God had anointed him the Prophet of the New World, she does not quote him directly but through a book on him (pp. 13, 194–195). Moreover, when Reid does refer to Riel's writings, it is generally to the ones he produced toward the end of his

life, particularly his religious diaries. She thus creates the impression that his political and cultural views are much more uniform than they really are. In short, while the thesis that Riel is the quintessential Canadian may be true, it remains to be proven.

Finally, Reid has the tendency to place a "sic" next to words like "fulfil" and "travelling." She seems unaware that these are not typographical errors but rather common Canadian (and international) spellings. Given her passionate advocacy of the need for cultural and political diversity in Canada, it is surprising that she does not embrace the same principle when it comes to orthography.

ALBERT BRAZ
University of Alberta

SARAH CARTER. *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*. (The West Unbound: Social and Cultural Studies.) Edmonton: University of Alberta Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 383. \$34.95.

The placement of questions of gender and sexuality at the center of colonial history has exposed the extent to which territorial expansion involved interventions into the most intimate spaces and relationships of subject populations. In Sarah Carter's book about the project to impose the model of monogamous, heterosexual, Christian marriage in a region that was dense with long-established alternative practices, one reads of late nineteenth-century missionaries and Indian agents undertaking matchmaking, forced separations and reconciliations, campaigns of gender retraining, and determinations of immoral character and illegitimacy. While the reach of colonial bureaucratic power extended far into family life, its hold on this terrain of domesticity was never total. Interference with the fundamental structures of social life produced new forms of dependency, isolation, and social precariousness—particularly for Aboriginal women and children—but it also brought administrators up against the limitations of state power.

Carter meticulously tracks the regulatory confusion and conundrums confronted by a colonial project to consolidate white masculine power in western Canada. Fearful of the spectacle of its own failure, this project tended to operate through informal recognition and cooptation of Aboriginal marriage customs rather than explicit, legislated prohibitions. The highly contentious strategy of the Department of Indian Affairs was to validate Aboriginal marriage when it appeared to conform to the Euro-Canadian, Christian ideal of lifelong monogamous union and to discourage alternatives through measures such as the withholding of rations or annuities. But because this strategic cooptation could not control its outcomes, a total refashioning of the flexible arrangements of Aboriginal conjugal life proved to be evasive. Practices that Euro-Canadians interpreted through a universalized and de-historicized moral framework—such as polygamy, illegitimate divorce and

adultery, wife-bartering, miscegenation, and child-marriage—persisted to some degree, although altered by the context of moral surveillance and regulation that increasingly framed them. "Child-marriage" or early betrothal, for instance, was often used as a means of protecting girls from being removed to residential and industrial schools. Although the ostensible reason for the state's interference with domestic arrangements was saving Indigenous women from subordination and exploitation, as Carter argues, customs such as plural marriage and informal divorce actually allowed women a mobility and sexual autonomy that threatened the plan for an order of racial segregation, private property, and husbandly power in western Canada.

This book adds to recent work by Bettina Bradbury, Catherine Cavanagh, Cynthia Comacchio, and Julia Emberley that brings to the study of colonialism and nation-building in Canada gender history's concerns with domesticity and the shaping of gender roles and sexual arrangements. Gender is resituated as a pivotal category in the making and unmaking of sociocultural formations. Like Emberley, Carter draws attention to the effects of a post-treaty strategy to construct and promote the authority of an Aboriginal male elite through informal cross-cultural masculine alliances with government and church officials. She traces the regulatory work on the ground that produced the conditions of illegitimacy, disentanglement, and marginalization for Aboriginal women, conditions that were then recast in moral panics among settlers about wandering Aboriginal prostitutes and their corrupting influence. As Carter observes, the glaring gap in the archive is the kind of record that could provide some indication of the thoughts and responses of Aboriginal women themselves.

The chapters not only situate the gendered politics of settlement and nation-building in western Canada in relation to similar struggles in the imperial world, they also explore the very particular consequences of the attempt to govern marriage on contiguous Aboriginal and dissenting European groups in late nineteenth-century western Canada. This innovative conjunction of Aboriginal and migrant history disrupts binary conceptions of colonial struggle. But perhaps the book's most significant contribution to colonial history is its description of a regime of power forced to be flexible and adaptable, to operate through heterogeneous, sometimes ad-hoc mechanisms, indeed repeatedly finding itself "casting about for new strategies" (p. 269) as it attempted to know and control the domesticity of "others." Carter assembles a vast archive of policy directives, correspondence, legal decisions, journalism, census data, exploration and travel literature, missionary and police reports, and early social science to provide this fascinating account of the tensions and uncertainties, the unpredictable contradictions and loopholes, created by the effort to unravel ancient systems of social organization through the imposition of a different moral code. The book does not set out to provide a narrative that will smooth over the inconsistency

of the record, and although one sometimes wishes for more elaboration of the conceptual implications of the account, Carter's methodological choices already speak to the dangers of such generalization.

JENNIFER HENDERSON
Carleton University

CECILIA MORGAN. *"A Happy Holiday": English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2008. Pp. xxiii, 461. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$37.95.

Over the past decade, a wide range of histories has been published that has moved the study of the British world in interesting new directions. A compelling theme in this recent literature relates to the formation and development of social identities. Through studies that reevaluate the meanings of imperialism in Britain, through studies that offer new ways of looking at the internal dynamics of "white settler societies," and through studies that contain revisionist assessments of the social/cultural outcomes of people's movements between colonies and metropole, the field is currently undergoing a process of revitalization and renewal.

Cecilia Morgan's book offers readers a thoughtful contribution to this field of study. As Morgan explains in her introduction, this work is concerned with tourists' "discourses and practices" rather than with the workings of the transatlantic tourist industry itself. At the heart of the book is an assessment of the place of transatlantic holidays in the development of middle-class English Canadians' senses of personal and national identity. Morgan argues that the experiences gained overseas in Britain and in Europe, together with the process of chronicling those experiences, played an important role in the development of Anglo-Canadians' understandings of their own place within an imperial, and global, context. However, as Morgan notes, her aim is to make meaning of the in-transit articulations of those holiday experiences rather than to assess in any sustained way how personal experiences and their dissemination through correspondence and publication actually affected Canadian culture and social relations.

The book is organized largely according to tourist destination. After chapter one, which provides an overview of Canadian tourists' understandings of their interactions with people who made their livings in the tourist industry, the book moves through a series of locations within the British Isles and then continental Europe before returning to Canada. In each chapter, Morgan carefully interrogates the written responses of her tourist subjects to a specific environment, or set of environments, and its inhabitants. Scotland, Ireland, England, and London receive a chapter each. The book also contains more thematic chapters on sightseeing in public/social spaces in Britain, on exploring the cultural hot spots and scenic wonders of Europe, and on tourism in the 1920s.

In its aims and in its methods, this book is reminiscent of Angela Woollacott's historiographically important

To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity (2001). Like Woollacott, Morgan is particularly interested in using texts produced by colonials who visited the metropole during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to get at issues of nationalism, imperialism, and identity formation. At the heart of this study, as in that of Woollacott, is a concern with the ways in which gender informed travellers' experiences and understandings.

In Canadian tourists' writing cultural and racial stereotypes abound, antimodernist nostalgia for an idyllic past is foregrounded, and British imperial superiority is widely celebrated. These transatlantic journeys were designed to provide Anglo-Canadians with opportunities to reflect upon their own family histories and origins and to experience the awe associated with sites heavily invested with British imperial meaning. Romantic imaginings of long-past historical events in Britain are the focus of extensive comment in the tourists' diaries, letters, and articles. And, while Europe was enthusiastically embraced by Canadian tourists who appreciated its cultural heritage as well as its physical beauty, it also regularly served as a foil for what they saw as the superior, more progressive sociopolitical context of the British Empire. According to Morgan, "Othering" is central to the Canadians' understandings of self. Residents of England, Scotland, Ireland, and continental Europe, other tourists, and immigrants travelling to Canada on the tourists' return voyages feature prominently in the writings of Canadian holiday makers.

As Morgan clearly illustrates, there is no unanimity to be found in these writings concerning either the choices made by various Canadian tourists or how they chose to interpret their experiences. What we see in Morgan's exploration of these writings is a complex, multilayered, troubled process of identity making, confirming, and affirming. Gender and class, together with personal political inclinations, informed how individual tourists processed and then communicated notable elements of their transatlantic journeys.

LISA CHILTON
University of Prince Edward Island

ANDREW R. GRAYBILL. *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875-1910*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 277. \$24.95.

Comparative transnational history is really hard to do well, which undoubtedly accounts for the fact that it is so rarely attempted. This book by Andrew R. Graybill is an extended essay in historical interpretation; with just over 200 pages of text, the book has no pretensions to being a history of either the North West Mounted Police (Mounties) or the Texas Rangers, much less of both. There are numerous pitfalls awaiting the historian brave enough to undertake the task, but the most obvious one is also the most difficult to avoid. Almost inevitably, the author will be more grounded in one na-

tional experience than the other, a fact which creates a tendency to miss some subtleties of the less familiar history and minimize differences. Graybill does quite a good job of coming to terms with this and other problems in this small volume. In fairness it must be admitted that the reviewer faces the same central problem, and I start by admitting that my knowledge of the Canadian side of the story is much deeper than of the Texas Rangers.

The easy way out for this reviewer would be to compile a list of minor errors of fact and omission concerning the Mounties, as, I suspect, a historian of Texas would be able to do with the Ranger half of Graybill's study. Unless the mistakes are egregious and systemic, this would miss the point. The interest of the book for all historians of the North American West will center on the extent to which the parallel histories are truly comparable. As the author recognizes, this is an issue that goes far beyond the organization, training, and operational policies of the two police forces. Police everywhere operate within a complex network of political, legal, economic, and social restraints that not only shape but also give meaning to their actions. Graybill's work draws on the "world-systems" theory of Immanuel Wallerstein, necessarily modified, as he points out, by a focus on the actors on the periphery of the incorporation process. The strength of the book lies in the fact that this approach allows the reader to see how the two police forces, using very different methods, were working toward the same ends and produced by the early twentieth century, broadly similar economic and social results.

The first half of the book does a fine job of comparing the way the two organizations dealt with the indigenous peoples of the region and with the increasingly marginalized populations of mixed ancestry. That the process was much less violent north of the 49th parallel had a great deal to do with the fact that Ottawa retained political and administrative control of the North West Territories until the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, and hung on to public lands until 1929. In this sense the situation in Texas was much closer to that in the province of British Columbia, which retained control of public lands after becoming part of Canada in 1871 and steadfastly refused to give up any territory for Indian reserves. Relations between the First Nations and the government were notably more turbulent west of the Rockies.

The last two chapters examine the role of the two police forces in supporting the expansion of large-scale cattle ranching and of coal mining, the principal industrial activity in both areas in the late nineteenth century. Interestingly the Rangers became less anti-labor by the early twentieth century, while the Mounties were increasingly pro-management in their handling of strikes. The book's comparisons of ranching seem more forced. Most law enforcement problems in both countries grew out of conflicts between large ranchers and small operators. The "fence cutters" who tried vainly to challenge the enclosure of immense tracts of Texas range,

however, were in a fundamentally different position from the squatters in southern Alberta evicted from the big ranch leases. Graybill does acknowledge that the ranchers lost control of land policy after the Liberals came to power in Ottawa in 1896, but one could easily come away from a reading of the book without knowing that two-thirds of the potential agricultural lands in the North West Territory had always been set aside for homesteads.

The weakness of the Wallerstein approach as a framework for the comparison of these two police forces is that it leads the author to ignore almost entirely the judicial systems and criminal codes within which they operated. These are determinants of police behavior at least as important as economic circumstances or social class. Graybill's work is nevertheless a sophisticated and interesting exercise in comparative history.

ROD MACLEOD
University of Alberta

REGINALD C. STUART. *Dispersed Relations: Americans and Canadians in Upper North America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, with the Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 404. \$60.00.

This ambitious book uses current ideas concerning transnationalism, the arbitrariness of national frontiers, and the interlayering of cultures, economies, and societies to redefine the parameters within which relations between Canada and the United States should be studied and understood. Moving sharply away from conceptions of the subject as a matter concerning complexly interdependent relations between two radically asymmetrical national states, it defines that subject as a field that needs fuller orientation toward intricate transactions among units—provinces, states of the union, regions—functioning in a broadly continuous economic, social, and cultural space the fundamentally homogenous character of which can best be captured through designation of it as "Upper North America." Breaks and discontinuity exist, but mostly as matters of difference among and between subnational jurisdictions: "patterns [of dissimilarity] make up a North American patchwork quilt, rather than a cross-border divergence" (p. 115). National division is not entirely discounted—"the border divided constitutional and legal regimes" (p. 118)—but the central point, insisted upon time and time again, is that "Canadians and Americans intermingled in cultural, social and economic terms in myriad ways every day" (p. 114).

Information from an extensive range of journalistic, government, and scholarly sources buttresses the argument. Readers are reminded that Canada's involvement in United States' cultural life has roots in the nineteenth-century popular press, New York's emergence as a publishing center, and Hollywood's early attraction for Canadians such as Mack Sennett and Mary Pickford. A "transnational print culture" (p. 34) that prepared the way for the media interaction of the radio,

television, and internet age is identified. There is much emphasis on value similarity, congruence in social behavior, and like attitudes toward government and the state: "Canadians and Americans in Upper North America share transnational social issues" (p. 71). Examination of business, trade, and financial links "reveals a case study in integrated interdependence" (p. 143). The place of transnational "management regimes" (p. 185) is stressed. Infrastructure integration—in terms of pipelines and power grids especially—receives emphasis (pp. 180–181). Geography is seen to deny border and affirm regional, cross-border interconnections: "east-to-west distances and geographic patterns meant that Canadians and Americans in borderland regions became more familiar with their immediate northern or southern neighbours than with fellow citizens in the regions to either side" (p. 4).

Informative in its provision of data and challenging in the perspectives it develops, this book's corrective to familiar emphases on nation, federal state, relations between capitals, and developments at the macro-level generally is welcome. Some readers will, nonetheless, find that the corrective creates its own imbalances. Turning away from matters of framework and generality as relentlessly as is done here makes it more, rather than less, difficult to get the measure of the integrative processes that are the book's main focus—a problem that attention to such matters as Ontario's emergence as a North American region state, or Canada's frequent requests for exemption from United States' law and policy, or Canadian lobbying of Congress might have alleviated.

On the other side of the ledger, playing down the national state and the citizen orientations and frames of reference it fosters allows a too uncomplicated picture of the Upper North American phenomenon to emerge. Readers get little sense of the strongly United States perspectives and identifications that keep United States nationals away from any very noticeable identification with—much less awareness of—their involvement in something that can be characterized in terms of that phenomenon; those readers' understanding of the intricate ways Canadians combine transborder and national outlooks is also imperfectly advanced. And though users of this book are told crisply and clearly that "Canadians seem secure in their cultural identity within Upper North America and see themselves as producers, consumers and stakeholders in an Upper North American mass entertainment system" (p. 67), the absence of attention to the very large body of material dealing with the dynamic by which actors in small societies use their own community-generated reckonings and world views to reprocess, reconstitute, inflect, and recontextualize the materials with which large cultural providers supply them leaves the observation seriously underdetermined. A sense of paradox, simultaneity, and tense concurrence is, indeed, not conspicuous in these pages. Discussion of Canadian policy choices—especially those that appear to favor close cooperation with the United States—exemplifies

this difficulty. Carried forward in essentially descriptive terms, that discussion misses the way these choices, and the intimate involvements that accompany them, are meant to establish procedures and protocols that place the exercise of U.S. power under some minimal bilateral constraint.

Leaving aside the measure in which the dispersed, local, quotidian, pervasive relations of the book's title intersect not only with each other but with complicating general frameworks means some substantial abridgement of the book's efforts to develop a fuller picture of its subject. That said, the subject gets much good detailing; attention is focused on critical matters of texture and depth; thematization is strong. Readers will have questions to ask when they finish the book; they will also have learned a good deal from the time they have spent in its presence.

ALLAN SMITH

University of British Columbia

SHANNON LEE DAWDY: *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xxi, 320. \$35.00.

In this remarkable book, Shannon Lee Dawdy constructs an evocative portrait of French colonial New Orleans (1718–1768). She excavates the city's reputation as a colonial failure and an exceptionally disorderly place and offers an on-the-ground view of the city's everyday reality as well as its evolution over five decades. In delightfully diverse ways she explores the themes of imperial design, creole improvisation, and rogue colonialism.

Displaying dazzling erudition and astonishing range, Dawdy persistently drives home the central tenets of her tightly constructed argument. In this book she is ambitious to a degree that invites skepticism, but she pulls it off admirably. Like a great jazz artist (and unlike French colonial planners), she brilliantly manages the tensions of design and improvisation.

Dawdy's book furnishes a model of interdisciplinary research, bringing to the task the tools of archeology, ethnography, literary analysis, and archival research, all the while vigorously engaging with the secondary and theoretical literature. The author conceives the book as a "picaresque history" and historical ethnography. She eschews a linear, narrative approach, which she finds too prone to teleology. Instead the presentation is episodic. Each chapter is self-contained but builds on previous chapters, reinforcing and presenting in new contexts the central arguments.

Dawdy pursues the themes of engineering, creolization, and rogue colonialism in chapters on French New Orleans' literary output, urban planning, trade, social organization, crime, political and social tensions, and in a conclusion that interprets the 1768 revolt and places New Orleans in a broader discussion of colonialism. Each chapter is introduced by a fascinating character whose life history is the launch point for subsequent discussion: Marie Hachard, an Ursuline nun whose cor-

respondence furnishes the book's title; Father Le-Maire, a scientist and satirist; Adrien de Pauger, an early engineer; Elizabeth Real, an innkeeper and smuggler's wife; "St. Antoine," an anonymous converted African slave; Louis Congo, a freed black slave who was royal executioner in the 1720s and 1730s; and Nicolas Lafrèniér, a creole leader of the 1768 revolt.

A reluctant French crown was persuaded by ambitious and self-interested (that is to say roguish) Canadians to invest in Louisiana because there was little to lose. The colony's very beginnings were tarnished by the disgrace of John Law's Mississippi Bubble and by the disreputable character of its early denizens: Canadian adventurers and derelicts of French society who were expected to reform themselves in a new environment. Louisiana struggled to find profitable agro-exports, the Natchez Revolt of 1729 crippled French colonial plans, and writings such as the novel *Manon Lescaut* (1731) cemented New Orleans's rowdy reputation abroad.

Virtually abandoned by the French after 1731, the people of New Orleans and Louisiana were left (or freed) to follow their own path. Almost from the beginning, New Orleans diverged from metropolitan plans and aspirations. Settlers refused to abide by the neat plans of early engineers, and nature itself forced adjustments. Africans and Indians (not to mention mixed-raced *métis*) were unplanned presences. New Orleans defied Atlantic-based mercantilism and became a smuggling entrepôt of the Mississippi-Caribbean economy. Although it may have been a colonial backwater, its inhabitants were neither illiterate nor impoverished.

The transition from charter generation to creole generations represented a transition from enterprising rogues like Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville to a creole syndicate of intermarried planters and merchants. Social climbing and self-fashioning challenged *ancien régime* notions of status and the tensions inherent in an emerging slave society made for a violent place. Verbal violence concerned with honor and status in the first generation gave way to physical violence in the creole generations. Crime and punishment were increasingly racialized as slaveholders took power and protected their interests. They gained control of the Superior Council and expanded its reach, disciplining and punishing slaves and runaways. The emergent elite also began to separate themselves, practicing an endogamy that contrasted with the exogamy of lower strata, which tended to be ethnically mixed and "disorderly." The revolt of 1768 may be seen as a precursor of Atlantic revolutions. Dawdy perhaps claims too much in this respect, and the event perhaps too neatly distinguishes the French from the Spanish era, but she makes a spirited and compelling case nonetheless. In part the revolt was an effort to preserve the existing order (or disorder) of things; namely smuggling and creole autonomy.

Dawdy concludes with a provocative discussion of the meaning of French New Orleans for colonialism and of the nature of colonialism itself. For her, colonialism

represented "a marriage of convenience between empires and rogues" (p. 238). She insists, moreover, that "material meanings of liberty should be better accounted for" (p. 243).

The book is engagingly written, beautifully illustrated, flawlessly edited, and reasonably priced. The author hopes to appeal to a broad audience, but the discursive and episodic approach may discourage some readers. Nevertheless, it is well suited for upper-level undergraduate and graduate seminars and will be of great interest to scholars in diverse fields.

RICHMOND F. BROWN
University of Florida

ALBRECHT KOSCHNIK. *"Let a Common Interest Bind Us Together": Associations, Partisanship, and Culture in Philadelphia, 1775–1840.* (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 351. \$45.00.

Voluntary associations have long been synonymous with American civic life, and those living in the early republic were no less part of a nation of joiners than their later descendants. Albrecht Koschnik's new book on Philadelphia makes it clear that such associations were also vitally important to the growth of political partisanship in early America. Between the 1790s and 1815 Republicans and Federalists created associations that were "mutually supporting partisan armies" that staged fraternal events, marched in parades, electioneered, and provided a place where men "congregated with their peers to demonstrate their partisan commitment" (p. 8). This book, in short, "describes the partisan uses of voluntary associations" (p. 229).

How, paradoxically, did political parties emerge in the anti-party atmosphere of the 1790s? Koschnik argues that associations helped pave the path, serving as way stations or halfway houses, places where partisans could organize and act politically under the cover of pursuing fraternal, benevolent, or cultural ends. Before party organizations and partisan alliances gained legitimacy, voluntary associations offered vehicles through which the politically inclined could socialize and mobilize. Both Federalists and Republicans organized. Republican critics of the Washington administration understood their Democratic Societies as "mediating institutions between the people and the federal government" (p. 7). But when the Democratic Societies claimed to speak for "the public" or "the people," Federalists pounced, accusing them of being "self-created" organizations bent on subverting republican representative government. In Federalists' eyes the Democratic Societies "seemed to adopt techniques of insurrection appropriate for [the American Revolution] but at odds with the new republic's political structures, which were geared toward routine politics" (p. 35). In the aftermath of this controversy, Republican associations did not become less partisan; rather, as Koschnik shows, they became smarter about partisanship. They were careful to

speak only for their members, and did not presume to represent the larger public.

Both Republican and Federalist associations played significant roles in the nation's gradual accommodation to party development. Groups like the Republican Tammany Society and the Federalist Washington Benevolent Society were involved in electioneering, but their chief focus "was on the recruitment of new partisans, year-round sociability to keep their members involved in politics, and the public demonstration of partisan convictions during elections and national holidays," thus contributing "to the slow and conditional acceptance of organized partisan action" (p. 42). In short, both parties developed shadow political organizations that were circumspect about appearances while behaving in political ways, facilitating comfort with party activity. Federalists tended to see partisanship as something the other side did even as their own partisan organizations mirrored their Republican rivals well past the 1801 Jeffersonian ascendancy by attacking Republicans, organizing Federalists, and supporting electoral candidates. But Federalists portrayed their own actions not as political but rather as a "patriotic response to Republican partisanship and administrative incompetence" (p. 87).

In a particularly illuminating chapter on Philadelphia militia companies, Koschnik demonstrates how military preparation joined with political partisanship to provide outlets for party expression and development. Militia companies, although ostensibly concerned with military training, had partisan identities and gave both Federalists and Republicans vehicles for political activity. With the growth of full-fledged party organizations and the gradual acceptance of partisan activity by those formal party structures, however, the political role of voluntary associations declined. Republicans, both in Pennsylvania and nationally, turned to governing and building their organizations so that they paid less attention to practicing politics through associations.

The first three chapters establish very clearly the link between voluntary associations and the rise of partisan politics. The last two chapters are more problematic. Using some rich sources, highlighted by the diary of the young Federalist Thomas Pleasants, which he mines brilliantly, Koschnik traces the evolution of Federalist associations away from politics and toward literary groups, a debating society, and professional clubs. But because these chapters focus exclusively on the Federalists, they illuminate only one half of the partisan divide. We are told that the Republicans concentrated on running government at the state and national levels and on their formal party structures. This is logical, but without a fuller discussion of Republican associational trajectories, these later chapters seem off-kilter. If Federalists transformed the orientation and purpose of their associations, we need to learn more about why and how the Republicans seemingly abandoned theirs. More precision about whether the book is mainly a story of voluntary associations themselves (as the later

chapters suggest) or is about the role of those associations in the rise of party politics (which is the argument set forth in the book's succinct introduction) would have given the book a sharper focus. Still, those first three chapters are worth the price of admission and Koschnik succeeds ably in clarifying the vital role played by voluntary associations in the rise of partisanship in the 1790s, thereby newly enriching our understanding of early national political culture.

TODD ESTES
Oakland University

RICHARD H. GASSAN. *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790–1830*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 213. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.95.

Richard H. Gassan's study of the emergence of New York's Hudson Valley as a tourist region in the early years of the nineteenth century examines the development of critical infrastructure, especially steamships and hotels, and what might be called critical superstructure—the arts of travel, from painting and engraving to guidebooks, travel sketches, novels, and plays. Adding to a growing body of literature on early U.S. tourism and covering some of the same ground as Theodore Corbett did in *The Making of American Resorts: Saratoga Springs, Ballston Spa, Lake George* (2001), Gassan offers a fine-grained approach focused on the careers of businessmen and now-iconic artists and writers whose work was instrumental in developing the "fashionable tour" of upstate New York.

Opening with a detailed history of the founding and development of first Ballston Spa and then its more successful rival, Saratoga Springs, Gassan addresses both local entrepreneurship and necessary improvements in regional transportation that enabled the resorts. Next, he turns to the production of the Hudson River Valley as a tour-worthy landscape. A nice sense of the gritty realities of making a living by brush or pen structures his analysis of the relationship between the itinerary of the "fashionable tour" and the Hudson River School of painting, early travel sketches and guidebooks, and the writings of Washington Irving, Timothy Dwight, and James Fenimore Cooper, among others. The incorporation of the Catskill Mountains and Niagara Falls into the tour and the extension of steamship travel along the new Erie Canal spurred competition among travel writers and businessmen alike. The same transportation improvements that enabled the tour industry's growth also broadened the range of people who could afford to travel for pleasure, to the dismay of the wealthy who had previously had these relatively remote places to themselves. A survey of criticism of the new practice of leisure travel and a chapter foreshadowing the rise of New Hampshire's White Mountains as a destination conclude the book.

Gassan shines as an analyst at a small scale, especially when he details the workings of art patronage and literary marketing in the early nineteenth century. His at-

tention to the biographical, social, and technical histories of publishing, engraving, and painting and the competition among steamship companies are the strongest features of the book. Unfortunately, the author does not link these finely drawn analyses into a coherent narrative, instead relying heavily on arguments about the formation of class and regional elites made by Thomas A. Chambers (*Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs* [2002]) and Charlene Boyer Lewis (*Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790–1860* [2001]). At the same time, Gassan neglects to locate his reading of travel sketches and guidebooks in the context of the considerable scholarship on this topic, aside from the now familiar treatment of notions of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque.

As a result, the book offers no new arguments about the significance of tourism or the development of this particular region, the Hudson Valley, as a landscape of leisure travel. Rather, this book reproduces one of the best-known tropes in modern tourist history—the idea that its chief dynamic is “democratization,” or (put negatively) the effort of elites to escape the vulgar middle classes—without grounding it solidly in the politics of the times and the already existing genre of tourist criticism. Exclusivity may be a universal elite desire, but in this case it was also bound up with the beginnings of urban class formation and spatial segregation in the early nineteenth century. As A. K. Sandoval-Strausz has shown (in *Hotel: An American History* [2007], which may have appeared too recently for Gassan to incorporate it), hotels and hotel patronage played a prominent part in the political and economic struggles rife in this era of the U.S. past. Without this or some other larger interpretive framework, the author’s close readings lose the impact they might otherwise have had. I hope that the author will extend his considerable skill at fine-grained analysis to narrative structure and large-scale questions in the future.

CATHERINE COCKS
School for Advanced Research

RICHARD E. ELLIS. *Aggressive Nationalism: McCulloch v. Maryland and the Foundation of Federal Authority in the Young Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. 265. \$29.95.

Richard E. Ellis possesses an impressive understanding of sub-state factional politics shaping national issues during the early American republic. Ellis’s earlier works incisively probed federal-state dimensions of the Jeffersonian Republicans’ battles with the federal judiciary and Andrew Jackson’s reaction against Nullification. Within a state-centered context, Ellis now examines the constitutional nationalism at issue in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819). The famous case raised the narrow question of whether the Constitution’s enumerated powers and the necessary and proper clause enabled Congress to charter the second Bank of the

United States (2BUS). Two inherent constitutional questions were: could the state tax 2BUS branches operating in the state, and was the Supreme Court empowered to decide the boundaries of state versus federal sovereignty?

The extensive scholarship about *McCulloch* usually focuses on the origins and results of Chief Justice John Marshall’s opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court favoring its own authority and upholding congressional power to charter the BUS. Ellis shifts the focus to state-centered political struggle involving the 2BUS branches; basically, he employs *McCulloch* as a study in law and constitutional politics, emphasizing the latter.

Though Ellis asserts his is the first “in-depth study of *McCulloch*” (p. 4), Mark R. Killenbeck’s earlier book *M’Culloch v. Maryland: Securing a Nation* (2006) discusses how difficult constitutional issues of federal versus state sovereignty—enmeshed in politics—were channeled and resolved through a relatively autonomous judicial process. Killenbeck’s legal-constitutional focus includes, for example, a conspiracy prosecution against James W. McCulloch that Ellis ignores. By contrast, Ellis insightfully links inconsistent state banking practices throughout the nation to the local politics of 2BUS branch operations in Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, and Georgia. Divergent inter-state banking practices and state-federal politics are the context for Ellis’s discussion of Supreme Court cases arising from the latter three states and a heated published debate over *McCulloch* between members of the Richmond Junto and Marshall, though at the time the authors purportedly were anonymous. Ellis also explores the factional struggles among Jeffersonian Republicans involving 1 and 2 BUS, the Bonus Bill, and federal internal improvements. A final chapter links these issues to Andrew Jackson’s veto of 2BUS and suggests the long-term significance of *McCulloch*.

Space limitations preclude detailed consideration of the many linkages Ellis reveals between local politics and constitutional discourse. Essentially, lawyer-politicians employed constitutional discourse about federal versus state sovereignty to promote or resist chartering and taxation of 2BUS branches within their states. The protagonists combined constitutional issues with market expediency, including the pervasive need for credit. In Pennsylvania, South Carolina, New York, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, lawyer-politicians used the same constitutional discourse and market rationales. In each state 2BUS supporters prevailed; but with the recession of 1819–21 the struggle shifted to the courts. *McCulloch* was the most prominent of the cases that reached the Supreme Court, but Ohio was the only state to employ litigation expressly as a defiance strategy. Even so, the Maryland litigation was arranged between the parties as a constitutional test case. Most rooted in local factions, Georgia’s was the weakest case. In Virginia, Spencer Roane and other Junto members used the 2BUS litigation to reargue out of court the Old Dominion’s recurring constitutional

struggle over the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction.

Ellis's book thus should be read for its valuable exploration of sub-state versus federal constitutional politics. Despite much criticism of Marshall, only a portion of one chapter directly addresses his *McCulloch* opinion itself. A fuller discussion would have engaged Kent R. Newmyer and Charles F. Hobson's well-documented view that what most distinguished Marshall's opinion was a constitutional minimalism emphasizing not the Supreme Court's supremacy but its independence. Drew R. McCoy expands upon this view explaining that, while James Madison favored Marshall's affirmation of judicial independence, the former president disliked the *McCulloch* decision because it encouraged factional struggles over nationalist policies in Congress. In addition, more attention to the constitutional merits litigated in the cases would have avoided a misreading of Eleventh Amendment issues; as John V. Orth shows, Marshall's opinions were created during the nineteenth century and largely remain today thus leading precedents in the field. Similarly, *McCulloch* was not appealed from the Maryland Court of Appeals on a "write of certiorari" (sic) (p. 124) but on a write of error. This latter process aroused the Virginians' attacks on *McCulloch* and engendered repeated congressional repeal bills threatening the judicial independence Marshall so vigorously defended.

TONY A. FREYER
University of Alabama,
Tuscaloosa

THOMAS M. ALLEN. *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 275. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

Thomas M. Allen's study of nineteenth-century American temporality begins with a challenge to New Americanist assertions that the mechanical time demanded by the market and its mass-produced watches and clocks created a homogenized temporal experience that displaced alternative and diverse frames of time. According to Allen, historians such as Benedict Anderson have linked the rise of American national identity with the creation in the early nineteenth century of a uniform temporal understanding that "requires the invention of a stable, and, crucially empty temporal container within which national affiliation can express itself" (p. 7). But in Allen's subtle and well-researched work, neither American temporality nor American identity depended upon a single time frame to which all people must adhere. Rather, he finds that the apparent inevitability of homogenous market time notwithstanding, Americans experienced a complex temporal mixture drawn from the discourses of politics, geology, evangelical religion, material culture, and literature. Indeed, for Allen, the weave of multiple temporal understandings did far more to foster a sense of national identity than did the uniform time implied in such things as the printed train

schedule. As much a student of antebellum politics as he is of literature and time, he finds within the interstices of the nation's diverse times the conditions that allowed for the emergence of divergent discourses. "Time," he writes in his excellent conclusion, "is not a unity; it is multifarious and protean, riven with conflict" (p. 219). This quality, he asserts, allies heterogeneous time with a truly democratic nationalism defined by conflicting and competing political discourses.

In the first chapter Allen outlines the role of time in the development of nineteenth-century American identity. While perhaps less consistently than he suggests, American Studies scholarship has (at least until recently) focused on the ideological and physical aspects of space either to endorse or challenge the notion that the nation's history unfolded across the vast terrains of the continent. Even as Americans discarded the notion that American space remained empty until settlers moved in, the projection of national power and the creation of national identity have generally remained an issue of space, of territories to conquer. Allen, however, looks to that other axis—time—to argue that, unlike its spatial counterpart, temporal nationalism has been ignored. According to Allen, figures such as Thomas Jefferson and John O'Sullivan, both deeply implicated in the expansion of American territory, looked "toward a utopian horizon in the future when the nation's contradictions would resolve themselves into a coherent republic" (p. 23). But they did not simply imagine the filled-in spaces of a new "empire of freedom." Rather, "it was precisely America's lack of territorial integrity at inception, its problematic relationship to the space of North America from the very moment of national emergence, that produced the appeal of the elusive temporal horizon of national wholeness" (p. 22). The nation's identity, they assumed, would be defined through time, not space.

In subsequent chapters, Allen draws upon material culture and literary history to present the range of nineteenth-century temporal experiences. In chapter two, for instance, he looks to genre paintings and decorative motifs to explore the emergence of mass-produced timekeeping devices against the backdrop of older, non-market-driven time frames. At once a commodity circulating within the national market, factory-produced patent clocks designed by artisans such as Eli Terry positioned "new technologies of the market revolution within traditional modes of production" (p. 93). While Terry and his fellow Connecticut clockmakers produced objects that kept time, writers such as Catharine Beecher and Henry David Thoreau wrestled with the productive capacities of time itself. Drawing explicitly from the language of the market, both writers wrestled with how best to consume time in order to create the ideal person for the republic. We might be tempted to read Beecher's *A Treatise on Domestic Economy, for the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School* (1845) as a book about the space of the kitchen or Thoreau's *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (1854) as a work about a specific location in Massachusetts. For

Allen, however, these works share a similar temporal economics in that both really concern the most productive uses of time.

Allen's brief but provocative conclusion is likely to antagonize scholars committed to post-national modes of inquiry. Nation-states, he argues, remain valid, and indeed, essential units of analysis, even if they are relatively late to the world stage and subject to ever-changing borders and movements of peoples. Nations emerge in time, through the specific actions of specific people interacting with environments; they are not the passing mirages of a uniform global time. To suggest otherwise, Allen argues, amounts to an ahistorical view of the particularities of both time and space. As Allen makes clear in this impressive book—perhaps most evidently in the discussion of the American response to the vastness of geological time—the nation's temporal sense never coalesced into a single homogenous vehicle for the transmission and reproduction of culture. Like nations themselves, the story is more complicated and interesting than that.

ADAM SWEETING
Boston University

RENÉE BERGLAND. *Maria Mitchell and the Sexing of Science: An Astronomer among the American Romantics*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 2008. Pp. xviii, 300. \$29.95.

One privilege open to those intrigued by American history is the study of astronomer, professor, and women's rights advocate Maria Mitchell (1818–1889). Born and raised on the island of Nantucket, Mitchell learned about observing from her father, the teacher and banker William Mitchell. She studied under him and at a local academy, read available books, attended lectures by visiting luminaries, corresponded with astronomers in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C., and watched the sky through the family telescope. In 1847, her discovery of a comet brought a gold medal from the king of Denmark, the first such honor awarded to an American. Mitchell worked for many years as the librarian of the Nantucket Atheneum and as a computer for the U.S. Nautical Almanac Office. In 1857 she traveled about this country and Europe, first as the companion to the daughter of a Chicago banker and then on her own. Mitchell relished encounters with observatory directors in Edinburgh, Greenwich, Paris, and Rome. She met the scientific author and translator Mary Somerville at her Italian home. She also was an enthusiastic tourist, recording vivid impressions of people and places.

Mitchell continued her computing work during her travels and after her return to Massachusetts. In 1865, she was appointed professor of astronomy at the newly established Vassar College, the first women's college in the United States that attempted to cover the curriculum of men's colleges. Mitchell presided over the Vassar observatory for over two decades, training young women to observe, taking them on eclipse expeditions, and raising funds for improved equipment. Mitchell

also was a forceful advocate of the general intellectual culture of women, particularly through the Association for Advancement of Women. She retired from Vassar in 1888 and died the following year.

Mitchell lectured and wrote widely during her life, and received considerable press attention then. Her sister Phebe Mitchell Kendall prepared *Maria Mitchell: Life, Letters and Journals* (1896), popular science writer Helen Wright wrote *Sweeper in the Sky; The Life of Maria Mitchell, First Woman Astronomer in America* (1949) and emeritus Vassar astronomer Henry Albers compiled *Maria Mitchell: A Life in Journals and Letters* (2001). Her name also appears frequently in articles on the early history of astronomy in the United States and in histories of women in science. Considering the high quality of this work and the dearth of biographies of numerous American astronomers, another biography of Mitchell requires some justification. Renée Bergland's twofold aim is suggested in the full title of this book. First, Bergland argues that there has been a radical change in the relationship between science and gender. In the early nineteenth century, both boys and girls learned in the newly established common schools the science that had been popular in the parlors of the eighteenth century—natural history and rudimentary astronomy. School administrators, eager to hire less expensive teachers, encouraged women to study these subjects in normal schools and seminaries. Nineteenth-century Nantucket girls who wanted to be astronomers “had almost limitless possibilities” (p. 20). After the Civil War, opportunities for women in science narrowed, so that by the twentieth century “anyone who became a scientist transcended femininity” (p. 44). The association between science and the male sex continues to this day “The sciences remain the most rigidly masculine professional fields in the United States” (p. 258). As Mitchell's career began before the rigid stereotyping accompanying the professionalization of science in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it offers a window on “the sexing of science.”

Second, Bergland claims that Mitchell's work is best understood within the wider context of nineteenth-century New England transcendentalism. Born and raised a Quaker, Mitchell broke with the Friends in 1843 and became a Unitarian. She worked closely with Benjamin Peirce of Harvard, reveled in lectures by Ralph Waldo Emerson, greatly admired Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, toured Italy with Nathaniel and Una Hawthorne, and was criticized at Vassar for her religious beliefs. Precisely how these interactions shaped either transcendentalism or the history of astronomy is less clear.

Those who know nothing of Mitchell undoubtedly will benefit from reading this book. Those seeking to gain a clearer sense of the place of women in American science would do better to seek out volumes that define science more precisely (Bergland divides scholarship into science and the humanities, with no place for the social sciences) and look more carefully at scientific institutions (the limitless opportunities of Nantucket maidens did not include membership in scholarly so-

cieties outside Nantucket, attendance at colleges or universities, or routine access to instruments and books). If the volume is republished, the author may wish to spell the names of Benjamin Peirce and Pierre Simon Laplace correctly, move the American Academy of Arts and Sciences from Washington, D.C., to its home in Boston (p. 68), and distinguish the inverse square laws of gravitation and radiation (p. 222).

PEGGY ALDRICH KIDWELL

National Museum of American History,
Smithsonian Institution

SCOTT C. MARTIN. *Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-Class Ideology, 1800–1860*. (Drugs and Alcohol: Contested Histories.) DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2008. Pp. 204. \$38.00.

In 1852, the newly elected president of the recently founded New York Women's Temperance Society, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, urged women who were victims of intemperate husbands to demand property rights, divorce reform, and suffrage as well as to work for legal prohibitions on the manufacture and sale of alcohol. Only a year later, however, both she and Susan B. Anthony withdrew from the organization when a majority of the members voted to limit its activities to temperance reform. At the same time, male temperance leaders forced women activists out of the movement or pushed them into subordinate roles. How might such a conservative and seemingly counterproductive turn in the organized campaign against intemperance be explained?

In this book, Scott C. Martin answers that question and others by means of an analysis of the middle-class ideology of gender that dominated the nineteenth century. Using temperance literature—broadly conceived as sermons, tracts, newspaper articles, medical writing, reform periodicals, fiction, drama, and poetry—Martin demonstrates how temperance was linked to the articulation of that ideology, particularly in the context of its ideas about women.

The terms of nineteenth-century gender ideology, including republican motherhood, separate spheres, and the cult of domesticity, have become well known during the last thirty years, a period in which many groundbreaking studies of women's history and cultural analysis have been published. Martin's book adds to our understanding of that ideology by applying it to the way the temperance movement treated women: first by including them in their role as republican mothers, and subsequently excluding them when they threatened to cross the forbidden boundary into the public sphere.

What is most noteworthy about Martin's study of temperance before the Civil War is the way he manages to demonstrate so effectively how gendered ideologies of republican motherhood, woman's delicate nature and moral and religious proclivities, the cult of domesticity, and the separate spheres of public and private shaped women's role in the movement. Women, nat-

urally delicate and dependent, were typically victims of their drunken husbands; at times they died as a result of neglect, accidents, or crazed violent attacks. As republican mothers, responsible for directing the moral lives of their husbands and children, women were expected to cure the alcoholic excesses of men in their lives purely through "moral suasion," and when their efforts failed they were criticized for being ineffective. At the same time, middle-class women who served liquor in their homes on social occasions were castigated for setting a "fashion" that seduced men to intemperance.

By the 1850s, when it became clear that moral suasion was not effective in alleviating the problem, the movement turned to legislative enactments that prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcohol. When temperance women began to engage in lobbying, publicizing, and other activities in an effort to promote such legislation, their male counterparts excluded them from the movement. After all, participation in public activities was neither compatible with republican motherhood nor the ideology of separate spheres. Woman's special nature meant that her influence operated best at home, but when incursions by the market in the form of the liquor trade made it impossible for women to effectively guide her family on the right moral path, the gender ideology served to exclude her.

The gender ideology inconsistently rendered women the moral guardians of their husbands and children; pathetic, weak, and ineffectual victims; seducers who brought about the downfall of upright middle-class gentlemen; and manipulative, undutiful, unsexed busybodies who tried to push their way into the public sphere. Women were at once too weak and too powerful, victims and victimizers, preservers and destroyers of essential values of American culture.

In short, the temperance movement exploited the middle-class ideology of gender in order to promote its own goals and in so doing emphasized contradictory stereotypes about women made it more difficult for them to engage in public activism. Nevertheless women began to speak out and demand their own rights to participate in the movement and then to participate more generally in the public sphere, just as abolitionist women did.

Martin provides an insightful analysis of the early temperance movement and reaffirms the pervasiveness of nineteenth-century gender ideology. Also, by making extensive use of temperance literature, particularly novels and first-person accounts of the time, he supports his argument and offers a moving and thought-provoking reading experience.

SUE DAVIS

University of Delaware

BENJAMIN REISS. *Theaters of Madness: Insane Asylums and Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 237. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

Benjamin Reiss discusses cultural activities in mid-nineteenth-century American public insane asylums, how they reflected contemporary medical ideas within the asylum movement about "curing" madness, and the impact of asylums on two eminent writers. He argues that asylum treatment during this time had, as a central feature, officially sanctioned cultural expressions that sought to channel patients' creative and literary interests into forms viewed as "correct" while stamping out those interests seen as "dangerous" to sanity (p. 5). The goal was to return mad people to civic life from the social death that was asylum confinement. This was done amid a wider debate about the nature of democracy and social relations within American society in which trying to "cure" madness figured. While Reiss admires the involvement of patients in stage productions and writing in institutional publications, he also critiques asylum superintendents who used these and other forms of cultural expression to try to instill bourgeois conformity in a coercive environment. Creativity was not so much encouraged as cultivated along certain official lines.

Reiss argues that asylum inmates were able to express themselves in ways that superintendents could not always control. His analysis includes patients' perspectives, which makes this book a welcome addition to a field where mad people's voices remain largely unheard. The limitations of his sources are obvious. In *The Opal*, the administration-run periodical edited from 1850–1860 by patients of New York State's Utica Asylum, the writers were uniformly upper-class white inmates from the most privileged wards. Officially sanctioned writings contained in its pages were what administrators wanted the outside world to read; ultimately they only offer a very slight, and heavily filtered, picture of what cultural life inside the asylum was like. Reiss's claim that there was not much "apparent" editorial interference in this publication (p. 34), given the occasional social criticism that slipped through, is not convincing given the far greater amount of hagiographic writing the publication contained. Nevertheless, Reiss does a particularly good job of explaining the socio-medical context that made this publication possible. Other cultural expressions, such as minstrel shows, were used to subdue madness, though not always with success. White insane asylum inmate actors used minstrel shows to make connections between enslaved blacks and themselves. Yet, unlike slaves, Reiss notes, white patients were supposedly confined with the ultimate goal of restoring them to their former citizenship status and freedom after rehabilitation.

While Reiss's effort to include patients' perspectives is important, the evidence is quite thin. He makes no claim of being representative and refers to his work as "a series of snapshots" (p. 17). At times the snapshots seems to be out of focus with other parts of the book, where cultural expression within the asylum gives way to literary representations outside without much connection between the two. A chapter on Ralph Waldo Emerson focuses on his association with Jones Very,

who spent one month confined in 1838, and another chapter on Edgar Allan Poe has even less connection to the goings on in asylums, outside of his own authorship of a fictitious asylum-centered story and a reference to patients celebrating moral treatment architect Philippe Pinel's birthday at Utica in 1846.

Reiss is more focused when examining tension over legitimating asylum authority in a chapter on the influence of William Shakespeare among early asylum superintendents. Shakespeare's plays were read as nascent prescriptions for later moral treatment initiatives, a clever tactic given the playwright's popularity in nineteenth-century America. In a chapter on the published writings of ex-patients, Reiss notes that gender norms of the day enabled a receptive hearing for Elizabeth Packard's charges of abuse when she defended a woman's traditional domestic role, while simultaneously weakening the authority of superintendents with her campaign for stricter asylum admission procedures. However, he overstates his case when claiming that the voices of "virtually all male patients" (p. 177) were ignored during this time; that would have been news to Ebenezer Haskell when an 1868 jury trial supported his claim of unjust confinement in Philadelphia.

In spite of such shortcomings, and given the limits of primary sources articulating patients' perspectives, Reiss does an admirable job of throwing fresh light on asylum cultural history during the mid-nineteenth century.

GEOFFREY REAUME
York University

HOWARD A. SNYDER. *Populist Saints: B. T. and Ellen Roberts and the First Free Methodists*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2006. Pp. xx, 975. \$39.00.

This lovingly crafted, exhaustively thorough joint biography of Benjamin Titus Roberts and Ellen Stowe Roberts is Howard A. Snyder's extended meditation on the foundations of the Free Methodist Church. Snyder structures his story broadly in three sections—"Grounding (1823–55)," "Liminality (1855–60)," and "Mission (1860–1908)"—corresponding to the well-used theory of rites of passage associated with anthropologists Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner. The conflicts and trials that led to the expulsion of B. T. Roberts from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1858 and the founding of the Free Methodist Church in 1860 were, Snyder believes, a kind of ritual transformation of this leading ministerial couple into new leaders of a new community. Snyder also intends to help revise the history of Methodism, the religious movement pre-eminent in numbers and influence in nineteenth-century America. Specifically, Snyder speaks of the crisis of mid-century Methodism, a crisis arising from the embourgeoisement of the church and assorted reactions to its growth in wealth and prestige. This crisis is understudied, alleges Snyder, and his study of the Roberts and the early Free Methodists will counter the bias of most current history, which favors "mainline" perspectives and neglects reformers.

Finally, and most important among Snyder's broad interpretive themes, is the word "Populist" in the book's title. The Robertses, says Snyder, were not populist in the strictly ideological sense of late nineteenth-century American politics, although B. T. Roberts was instrumental in the founding of the New York Farmers Alliance, an organization of national significance in the rise of the Populist Party. The populism Snyder highlights, however, is a radical biblical populism favoring freedom and justice for all God's people, especially the poor. Thus B. T. Roberts was not only firmly antislavery, but he also advocated women's rights to preach and to vote, and he even published a book on money in the 1880s that criticized the demonetization of silver in the 1870s, favored regulation of monopolies and joint stock companies, and promoted a strong inheritance tax. One should make it part of one's religion, he argued, to see that the country is well governed, and that meant that the laws of the land must prevent accumulation and inheritance of vast fortunes. He derived his economic policy positions not just from the democratic impulses of his times, nor just from reformist economists he read, but primarily from his reading of the Bible's teaching on the year of jubilee.

For readers whose impressions of evangelical Protestantism have been heavily shaped by media-savvy right-wingers like Jerry Falwell, Tim LaHaye, or James Dobson, these kinds of thoughts and actions in a conservative Protestant founder of a still-conservative Protestant evangelical group might come as a surprise. Such findings complicate and enrich our understandings of American religious history and should be more widely understood. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Snyder has enclosed his insights in a volume of such forbidding size and narrative tedium and written so unselfconsciously for insiders to the Wesleyan Holiness traditions. Many times in the 900-plus pages of this book one may find things like a page and a half of block quote followed by detailed analysis and commentary—all of which might have been replaced by single paragraph that would have had greater impact on the reader. The moment-by-moment reporting on the spiritual travails of the young Ellen Stowe, soon to be Roberts, go on and on at lengths sufficient to make the reader's eyes glaze over. The account also evinces no awareness that some readers might not grasp the nuances of phrases like "clear and definite" testimony to an experience of "entire sanctification" with a "consciousness of purity" that nevertheless faded into a continuing "lack of spiritual victory" (p. 92). It is too bad that Snyder, who has written concise and deft works in ecclesiology for theologically minded audiences, did not, for this book, find an editor to wield the blue pencil and a sympathetic critic or two to school him better in the historian's art of storytelling. He might have given us a book that said more in half as many words.

A. GREGORY SCHNEIDER
Pacific Union College

TERRY L. GIVENS. *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 414. \$29.95.

Bearing the same title as historian Michael Kammen's Pulitzer Prize-winning *People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization* (1973) and offering a similar engagement with matters "cultural," Terryl L. Givens's book offers a wide-ranging survey and insightful interpretation of the artistic and intellectual output of Mormonism across its 180-year history. The volume is divided into three sections. In the shorter first part, Givens sets the theoretical stage for the latter two by exploring some of the key paradoxes or tensions that he believes drive Mormon "cultural formation" (p. xiii). Four tensions are singled out as particularly productive of Mormon cultural activity: authoritarianism v. individualism, intellectual certitude v. pursuit of knowledge, transcendence v. temporality (or sacrality v. banality), and parochialism v. universalism (or isolation v. integration). Working within the interpretive framework of these tensions, Givens then devotes separate subsequent chapters to the Latter-day Saint "life of the mind," architecture, music and dance, theater, literature, and the visual arts from 1830 to the present. This is an impressive work of synthesis that engages a broad secondary literature in discussing each aspect of the Mormon intellectual and artistic heritage. While other scholars have produced excellent studies treating Mormon literature or music or visual arts, Givens is the first to offer a comprehensive survey of key aspects of Latter-day Saint cultural life across the full span of Mormon history.

This book succeeds on a number of fronts. First, Givens is a gifted communicator. He is able to clothe astute analysis in vivid, engaging prose. Clever phrases and lively language abound, and Givens has a keen eye for irony. As just one example of numerous insightful and stylistically appealing observations, Givens writes, "there was nothing incongruous, in the Mormon mind, with alternating theatrical performances and religious services in the same space (in a typical layout, Mormons today blithely extend [chapel] overflow seating [into] a 'cultural hall,' complete with basketball hoops and free-throw lines)" (p. 146).

At its best, a work of synthesis facilitates broad interpretations and heretofore unrecognized historical associations and connections. Givens is particularly adept at this. He does not just tell his story; he ruminates and reflects on it. In some ways, this book reads more like a work of literary criticism than a typical history book. No mere descriptive survey of Mormon cultural history, *People of Paradox* is an important meditation on Mormonism itself.

A work this sweeping in scope and bold in judgment is not likely to go unchallenged. Indeed, I had my own modest quibbles with it. First, the book's welcome readability, which transcends the measured, plodding prose of some academic work, is occasionally tarnished by overstatement. Particularly when celebrating the ge-

nius of Mormonism or its founding prophets, eloquence sometimes slips into grandiloquence. While constant qualifications of one's argument can become tiresome in a scholarly work, Givens's book could have used a few more. In some places specialists will find the argumentation too smooth, lacking adequate acknowledgment of other equally viable ways to piece together the evidence.

Second, while I found myself enthusiastically agreeing with many of Givens's judgments, some of his historical reconstructions and interpretations did not ring true. This usually occurred when Givens, in making a particular point, elided important variations in Mormon thought or overlooked relevant historical development. More broadly, this work could have benefited from a nuanced theoretical discussion of the appellation "Mormon." On what grounds do particular expressions count to define Mormonism as a whole? Givens does not answer such methodological questions, nor does he provide readers with a clearly stated source criticism.

Givens's use of sources is a third area of concern. While it may be this reviewer's fastidiousness, I wanted Givens, in his numerous quotations of founder Joseph Smith, to consistently use the more recent documentary collections that he knows about and that go behind the redactions of the edited *History of the Church* version to get closer to Smith's original words. Although Givens does so occasionally, it is unclear why he often chooses to cite the *History of the Church* when better sources for the same statement are available. Another inconsistency comes in the realm of acknowledging the secondary sources from which Givens culls primary source quotations. Sometimes the endnotes include "as quoted in," many times they do not. Finally, while Givens is impressive in his mastery of a broad secondary literature, there are a few deficiencies. They are rare in dealing with the scholarship of Mormonism, but in making comparative assessments with other traditions specialists will spot the occasional oddity (such as, his repeated use of British Labor politician Roy Hattersley's book on John Wesley rather than the highly regarded and widely known works of Henry D. Rack or Richard P. Heitzenrater).

A final infelicity pertains to audience. Givens seems to want to target both a general and an LDS audience, yet there are many aspects of Mormon belief and behavior, as well as LDS people and places, that could have been better introduced to outsiders. Non-Mormon readers may also catch the occasional whiff of triumphalism, as this work sometimes reads like a paean to the Mormons and their culture. To be sure, Givens does not ignore Mormon "feet of clay," but once in a while his positive rhetoric seems to overreach the evidence. Lastly, as with almost any book, there are occasional errors in dates, names, and sources.

None of these quibbles, however, should be understood to suggest that Givens's book is significantly flawed. On the contrary, the breadth of its coverage, the insightfulness of many of its observations, and the ef-

fective use it makes of paradox to provide a richly textured portrait of Mormon intellectual and artistic life make it a solid contribution to the growing field of Mormon studies. It deserves to be widely read and discussed, and its superior literary style insures that enjoyment as well as insight will repay its readers.

GRANT UNDERWOOD
Brigham Young University

MATTHEW J. GROW. *"Liberty to the Downtrodden": Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer.* (Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 348. \$40.00.

Thomas L. Kane deservedly stands at the top of the list of non-Mormon heroes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. From 1846, when he first chanced upon a Mormon meeting in Philadelphia until his death in 1883, Kane used his political connections and often his personal wealth to promote the cause of the "suffering saints." Nineteenth-century Americans developed an obsessive interest in Mormonism, and Kane tried valiantly to convince the public that polygamy and the theocratic features of the Mormon Church posed no danger to the republic. His work was mired in controversy and in the end failed to persuade Congress to let Mormons do what they wanted. Nonetheless, his achievements were substantial, as, for example, his central role in negotiating a settlement between Brigham Young and federal officials in the late 1850s that avoided a military showdown in the Utah territory.

Although his Mormon endeavors may be the primary source of his fame (or notoriety), Matthew J. Grow demonstrates in this careful and thoroughly researched biography that the efforts made by Kane in behalf of Latter-day Saints are only one part of what makes his complex life noteworthy. Kane's more general commitment was to win "liberty for the downtrodden," a cause that began with Kane's dismay over violent attacks on Catholic immigrants in Philadelphia and expanded to include, in addition to Mormons, slaves, the urban poor, and women. For Grow, the key to understanding Kane's activism lies in the ideal of the "romantic hero" who "preferred decisive action over contemplation, iconoclasm over conformity, individual judgment over social norms, and personal courage over upper-class comforts" (p. 285).

Certainly Kane's life provides plenty of material for any historian trying to understand nineteenth-century American reform. Kane was born in 1822 into a wealthy Philadelphia family that emphasized achievement and public recognition. His father worked for Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, and Kane remained a Democrat until the outbreak of the Civil War. His brand of reform, according to Grow, stayed well clear of both the Whig Party and of Protestant evangelicals who understood reform as a holy endeavor to eradicate sin (by evangelicals, Grow means Methodists, Presbyterians, and some groups of Baptists.) Kane was a free thinker who eventually settled into a nondenominational Chris-

tianity, but his views about liberty owed more to two extended trips to Europe and to Auguste Comte than to any religious upbringing. The author anachronistically attributes to Kane an appreciation of cultural pluralism, but he did understand the dangers of what Alexis de Tocqueville termed the "tyranny of the majority."

Kane's life reminds us that American "reformers" did not necessarily sing in a choir of angels. Kane took many brave stands, including opposing his father's judicial role in enforcing the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. But his opposition to slavery did not stop him from embracing the Mexican War and the annexation of Texas. His Free Soil beliefs were premised upon "scientific" notions of racial purity. He did not regard pacifism, which underlay his opposition to capital punishment, as inconsistent with his belief in dueling as a way to settle a personal affront nor to his attaching a great deal of importance to military valor. Despite his support for women's rights, he often ignored the opinions of his very interesting wife who finally after years of lovingly resisting Kane's incautious actions found her own independent voice.

If Kane patterned himself after the romantic hero, he chose a model that left him with plenty of room to wriggle. Grow assigns to Romanticism a variety of inconsistent meanings, including a "revulsion against intentionally inflicted pain" (p. 38), a taste for adventure, and a deep investment in the culture of honor and manly chivalry (the latter being a passion Kane shared with southern Cavaliers.) Whether Kane knew much about the "transatlantic literature of romanticism" (p. 285) is not a question that can be confidently answered from the evidence that Grow presents. Rather than following any literary model, Kane's motives may have boiled down to a penchant for grandiose, impractical schemes involving manly posturing. We might better understand his actions as rooted in the psychology of a sickly, 5'4" man who lived in the shadow of a powerful father and an older brother, Elisha, who gained fame, partly because of Thomas's skillful promotion of his image, as a brave Arctic explorer.

Even so, psychology must work through a filter of cultural assumptions. If Kane may not have read Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "Man the Reformer" (1841), he somehow caught the drift of it. Grow's book is commendable in any number of ways, including its sensible reading of documents relating to the Mormon controversy that are anything but transparent in their meaning. Kane himself lied in his reporting in order to get what he wanted. Documents deceive, but there would not be much to the craft of history were it otherwise.

R. LAURENCE MOORE
Cornell University

JANICE L. SUMLER-EDMOND. *The Secret Trust of Aspasia Cruvellier Mirault: The Life and Trials of a Free Woman of Color in Antebellum Georgia*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 171. \$29.95.

In the absence of private papers, Janice L. Sumler-Edmond uses newspapers, court, tax, and military records, census statistics, city directories, and church registers to describe the limitations placed on entrepreneurial, free African-Americans in the early nineteenth-century South. Using the case of Aspasia Cruvellier Mirault, the author argues that interracial relationships were crucial to assuring the physical safety and financial security of free blacks before the Civil War and shows how ambitious and resourceful free blacks could manipulate a discriminatory legal system to pursue their own interests.

Mirault and her family arrived in Savannah from Santo Domingo in 1800. Literate, hardworking, and light-skinned, they established themselves in the free black community by joining the Catholic Church, establishing a tailoring business, and buying slaves. After working for her brother as a seamstress, Aspasia and her sister opened a bakery and confectionary in the mid 1820s. At about the same time, Aspasia began a romantic liaison with Samuel Mirault, with whom she had two daughters. Samuel died some time between 1829 and 1831. Shortly thereafter Aspasia began an affair with James Oliver, a married man. Before Oliver died in 1835, they had three sons.

Through it all, Aspasia's business flourished. With cash in hand, she decided to invest her money in real property. The problem was that the Georgia state legislature had passed a law in 1818 forbidding blacks to own real estate in Savannah. It was the practice at the time, however, for whites to serve as guardians or agents for free blacks who needed someone to help them conduct their business affairs. So Aspasia convinced a twenty-two-year-old white carpenter from Salem, Massachusetts, George Cally, to serve as her representative. He bought the property she wanted using her money and agreed to hold it in trust for her. In 1853, Aspasia built a house on the land but did not live in it long. She died four years later.

When Aspasia's children moved out of the house in 1866, Cally managed the property by collecting rent from the tenant, making needed repairs, and paying taxes in the form of ground rent. In 1871, however, he and Savannah's tax collectors had a disagreement over how much ground rent he actually owed. When he refused to pay the amount they demanded, city officials reclaimed the house and lot and sold them at auction in 1872 to Savannah businessman William Swoll. Two and a half years later, Aspasia's son and three grandchildren initiated a law suit to recover the property. Their lawyer convinced an all-white jury and trial court judge that the irregular, secret arrangement between Cally and Aspasia was legal, that the Mirault heirs' claim to the property was valid, that they could not be held responsible for Cally's negligence in not paying the ground rent, and that Swoll's deed was invalid. Unfortunately the decision was reversed on appeal and sent back to the lower court for retrial. Aspasia's heirs dropped their suit in 1879.

Despite their failure to retain ownership of Aspasia's

real property, various members of her family prospered in the period following the Civil War. Indeed, Sumler-Edmond describes the lives of Mary Jackson, Aspasia's granddaughter, and her husband Albert Jackson, who worked as a bookkeeper and cotton broker, as African American success stories.

While this book adds to the literature on black entrepreneurs in the antebellum South and the way the law influenced their fortunes, it lacks the kind of grounding in the secondary literature that might have enriched the telling of this compelling story. It would have been helpful, for example, if Sumler-Edmond had used Suzanne Lebsock's award-winning *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (1984) to establish some context for understanding the challenges that Aspasia faced as a single, black businesswoman before the Civil War. Material to be found in Ervin L. Jordan, Jr.'s *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (1995) could have helped her to explain why Aspasia's son, Robert Oliver, was willing to serve in the Confederate Army. And Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark's *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (1984) could have provided the context for appreciating what it meant for free blacks to own slaves. This book would also have benefitted from the skills of a good editor, who could have eliminated the repetition of information in the narrative and tightened the organization of the book.

SYLVIA D. HOFFERT
Texas A & M University

JERRIANNE BOGGIS, EVE ALLEGRA RAIMON, and BARBARA A. WHITE, editors. *Harriet Wilson's New England: Race, Writing, and Region*. (Revisiting New England: The New Regionalism.) Hanover, N.H.: University of New Hampshire Press, with the University Press of New England. 2007. Pp. xxvi, 244. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.00.

In 1859, Harriet Wilson published her book, *Our Nig, or, Sketches From the Life of a Free Black: In a Two-Story White House, North, Showing that Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There*. It is an autobiographical novel of her brutal life as an indentured servant in a Milford, New Hampshire abolitionist family of European descent. The book was unsuccessful, perhaps because of poor distribution (she peddled it herself), and her theme that racism existed in New England, the heart of abolitionist fervor. Wilson's book fell into oblivion until Henry Louis Gates, Jr. published it in 1983. He declared it the first novel published by a woman of African descent in the United States. Since then it has drawn scholarly attention and is now part of the canon of African American history and literature.

The book under review contains fifteen essays focusing on Harriet Wilson's book, her life, her legacy, and the experiences of African Americans during her time. The essays affirm the presence of African Americans in New England history, a history that has been white-

washed, according to Joanne Pope Melish (p. xxi). The editors JerriAnne Boggis, Eve Allegra Raimon, and Barbara A. White aim to restore people of color in the region's history.

This book is divided into three sections. Part one, "New Hampshire's Shadows: Context and History," uses *Our Nig* as a vehicle for examining African American history in Milford, New Hampshire, its surrounding areas, and Worcester, Massachusetts. Public documents establish Wilson's residency there at one point in her life. Eric Gardner looks at Wilson's job in Milford following her indenture. Working independently, she made and sold bottled hair tonics, going from door to door. Near the end of the essay, the author notes the audience for Wilson's book. Although she appealed to people of color to buy *Our Nig*, Gardner believes that was not the case. By tracing owners of extant first editions, he hypothesizes that mainly local young whites of the middling class purchased Wilson's book.

In *Our Nig*, a kind woman in Worcester nurses Frado, the fictionalized Wilson, and teaches her to make straw bonnets. Barbara A. White's essay establishes the identity of Wilson's mentor, and notes Worcester as a major town for the straw making industry. Leaping from hats to hair care as a traditional African American occupation, the author discusses the rise and fall of a prominent barber. Similarly, Reginald H. Pitts's essay traces the rise and fall of a Milford family, citing their history as "a case study of the racialized erasure of African American lives in Northern New England" (p. 55). David H. Watters addresses the same theme. While studying the history of a small New Hampshire town, he discovered that the life of a local Revolutionary War soldier was extensively documented, while a slave who fought in the war was not mentioned. Valerie Cunningham also writes of lapses in New Hampshire history. Local historians seldom mention the colony's active participation in the Atlantic slave trade, or that in the nineteenth century, whites' attitude toward blacks ranged from patronizing to open hostility.

Part two of the volume, "Sketches From the Life of a Free Black: Genre and Gender," examines *Our Nig* as literature. Mary Louise Kete compares the book to Thomas Savage's *Memoir of Rev. James C. Bryant, Late Missionary of Am. B. C. F. Missions to South Africa* (1854). Both Wilson and Bryant were servants in the same New Hampshire county at the same time. Both spent their youth in families other than their own because of economic circumstances. Although Wilson was terrorized by her white mistress, Bryant, a poor boy of European descent, lived with a loving African American family. The books tell different stories about race relations in New Hampshire.

In *Our Nig*, the heroine is befriended by her teacher when she integrates the local school. From this incident in the story, Eva Allegra Raimon studies African Americans and the common school movement. She proves that children of color were unwelcome scholars, and identifies the model for the novel's kindly teacher.

Gabrielle Forman's essay examines the unsettled

genre debate concerning *Our Nig*. Is it a novel, as Henry Louis Gates, Jr. proclaims, or is it autobiography? Lisa E. Green's essay boldly declares it the former. She characterizes the heroine as a "disorderly girl," a popular nineteenth-century novelistic device. Helen Frink concurs, comparing the book to fairy tales.

Cassandra Jackson's offering is the most controversial in this collection. It is also the only one focusing on gender. Jackson believes that although the heroine of *Our Nig* chronicles the horrors she suffered from her mistress and her daughter, there was another more despicable violation that is unsaid, but implied. Reading between the lines, Jackson concludes that the heroine's mistress raped her.

Part three is entitled "A Faithful Brand of Supporters and Defenders: Personal Reflections." It consists of four testimonies of the importance of *Our Nig* in these New Englanders' lives.

The scholarly essays in this volume are informative and well written. It is a welcome addition to the study of African Americans in New England history.

ELEANOR ALEXANDER
Georgia Institute of Technology

JANE E. DABEL. *A Respectable Woman: The Public Roles of African American Women in Nineteenth-Century New York*. New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 243. \$55.00.

In 1866, Congress authorized the opening of a district branch of the Freedman's Bank in New York City, an institution that boasted thirty-three regional offices nationwide by the end of that decade. Within five years, deposits in the local division totaled over \$140,000, representing the hard-earned savings of hundreds of the city's black working men and women. However, financial mismanagement and poor investment choices eventually led to the bank's insolvency; in a move reminiscent of contemporary debacles, payments to depositors occurred only after the oversight commission disbursed \$135,000 of the bank's assets to pay salaries and attorney's fees. New Yorkers had to fight to reclaim even a portion of their savings, devastating members of the African American population already suffering from underemployment and poverty.

Jane E. Dabel's book reveals this timely story about the struggles faced by black New Yorkers as they sought to make stable lives for themselves in the five decades after the Empire State's Gradual Emancipation Act put an end to slavery in 1827. Responding to the dearth of studies that focus on the experiences of free black women in the North, Dabel sets out to fill the historiographic gap, and she does so through the ambitious compilation of information from the manuscripts of the federal censuses. The resulting database helps her to offer detailed insight into certain aspects of the lives of black New Yorkers, few of whom left other types of records from which to reconstruct their stories.

Dabel contends that "strong and resilient" (p. 7) black women played a unique role in securing the sur-

vival of the city's black population. In defiance of patriarchal exhortations to a domestic ideal, they navigated governmental bureaucracies in pursuit of their rightful claims to Civil War pensions, they formed self-help and benevolent associations, and they asserted a public role in defense of their own and their race's interests. According to Dabel, in these ways African American women, who "assumed the economic leadership of their community" (p. 64), subverted gender conventions.

Furthermore, Dabel claims that African American women in nineteenth-century New York wielded a great deal of power within their neighborhoods by relying on one another within the city's tenements and in the support that they offered to each other in the development of communal networks. Upwards of half of New York's black households deviated from traditional forms by incorporating both the core family and either extended relatives or fictive kin. The bonds constructed within these "augmented" households helped to sustain black people through times of trouble and strife.

However, this discussion of family forms also reveals some of the weaknesses of Dabel's study. In her effort to highlight black women's empowerment, the author perhaps overstates the positive aspects of a difficult reality. She argues, for example, that the relative absence of black men "increased the power of black women in the home . . . and allowed more women to have significant roles in the community" (p. 52). True enough, to be sure, but Dabel does not adequately discuss the profound hardship simultaneously caused by this circumstance. Without a husband's income or physical presence, black women faced greater pressure to seek employment outside of the home, and even community support might not prove sufficient to protect children left behind (as the example she provides of two toddlers perishing in a fire while home alone underscores).

Dabel offers tantalizing glimpses into the often-hidden world created by women on their own behalf as they confronted the myriad challenges facing them. According to her data, for example, establishing communal ties might protect women from slipping into a life of prostitution, perhaps because domestic servants helped secure similar positions for other women. And women participated in the push for greater civil rights in actions such as their refusal to dismount streetcars when conductors and even the police insisted that they do so. But by not fleshing out this analysis more fully, Dabel neglects the opportunity to demonstrate how these practices fostered both personal ties and women's stature within their communities.

Perhaps most importantly, Dabel does not offer a convincing explanation of why this study is most effective as an exploration of women alone. Indeed, a more comprehensive look at the black experience in New York City during this period would help us to understand women's lives more completely. By situating her argument about women's agency within a more complete portrait of community, including men as husbands, fathers, wage-earners, and prescribers of appro-

priate behavior, Dabel would enhance our appreciation of women's resistance to this traditional authority. In what ways did men push back against women's independence? And how did those women respond? Nevertheless, Dabel's book reminds us that in order to understand the lives of people confronting the many hardships that African Americans faced, we need to consider women in their own right.

MARCY S. SACKS
Albion College

ANTHONY E. KAYE. *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South*. (John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. x, 365. \$34.95.

In recent years, a growing number of scholars have been rethinking some of the basic analytical concepts—agency, resistance, and community—that have organized revisionist historiography on U.S. slavery since the 1960s. Anthony E. Kaye's study plunges into this historiographic ferment with an original and persuasive interpretation of slavery and slave life.

Kaye argues that slaves in Mississippi's "Natchez District" conceived of their world in terms of "neighborhoods," which they defined "as adjoining plantations." Neighborhoods grew out of the stuff of daily life: most prominently work and intimate relations, but also gossiping, trading, stealing—in short, all the things that have long come under the heading of "slave agency." For Kaye, neighborhood "opens a window with a panoramic view of antebellum slave society" (p. 1), particularly four key topics that have preoccupied revisionists: intimate relations, independent production (which Kaye calls "auxiliary production"), resistance, and the slave community. Most of the book proceeds topically, roughly in that order. An all-too-brief epilogue hints at how neighborhood was transformed by war, emancipation, and the entry of blacks into formal politics.

This is an important book, one that will surely become a staple in graduate courses on southern and African American history. Boldly conceived and fluently written, it is informed by careful readings of the historical scholarship, with a dash of political theory, although it tends to bury its theoretical and historiographic interventions in the name of readability. It strategically references regions beyond the Natchez District: the Upper South, the Low Country, and Latin America, both for comparisons and to highlight the essentially diasporic character of a region so dominated by people born back east. It is also deeply researched, primarily in slaveowner letters and diaries, records of the Southern Claims Commission, and (expanding the pioneering work of Noralee Frankel and Elizabeth Ann Regosin) records of the U.S. Pension Office.

What sets Kaye's concept apart from the old "slave community"? Part of it has to do with intentionality, and here Kaye asks us to rethink the agency idea—along with the notions of work, family, and resistance that underpin it—by borrowing from the sociologist

Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration. Nobody gets married or tells stories *in order to* create community; it is a byproduct, "a secondary effect" of actions people take for other reasons—say, falling in love (p. 42). Slaves made their neighborhoods, but there was nothing natural, inevitable, or intentional about it. At the level of terminology, neighborhood simply hews closer to the language mid-nineteenth-century Americans used. Perhaps most important, by cutting loose from the boundaries of the plantation, "neighborhood" offers a way to take account of the multiple centers of gravity that scholars have long recognized in slaves' mental universe. Finally, the neighborhood concept makes it simpler to confront questions of power than the slave community concept does, because it purposely encompasses slaveowners' social spaces and puts them into dialogue with those of the slaves.

The neighborhood concept delivers its biggest dividends in Kaye's discussions of work and resistance. As Ira Berlin, Philip D. Morgan, and others have underscored, work was the key battleground of master-slave struggles over power. Kaye points out that masters did not have to confront slaves everywhere, merely at the choke points where decisions about labor got made: who would supervise (master, overseer, or driver); drawing the lines between staple and auxiliary production and between men's and women's work; and who got put into field or house work. Work defined not only power but space, too. Consistent with Stephanie M. H. Camp's notion of rival geographies, Kaye argues that intimate relations pulled slaves outward from the plantation's core, while work exerted a "centripetal" force that pulled them inward. Thus, there were multiple "centers" to each neighborhood. At another spatial level, looking at the internal slave trade shows us how contingent and "contrived slaves' profound sense of place was" (p. 31). A similar sense of dynamism animates a nifty account of how masters managed to extract more work out of slaves during the antebellum period, waving the banner of "reform" as they shoved "the balance between staple production and reproductive labor" in their favor (pp. 97, 102). Indeed, Kaye's analysis of what many of us have called "independent production" is powerful because it accounts for change over time, and because it treats these activities as *anything but* independent.

"Neighborhood" also provides useful leverage on some perennial questions about slave resistance. "[T]he politics of neighborhood," with its sharp distinction between insiders and outsiders, "all but doomed slave revolts," not just in practical terms but even for slaves to conceive of the kind of broad shared identities necessary for success (pp. 124, 128) except in the most "extraordinary circumstances." For similar reasons, runaways were often strangers, their arrival fraught with mutual suspicion and risks. Indeed, Kaye argues more broadly, "conflict [among slaves] was intrinsic to solidarity," not corrosive of it (p. 120). When Kaye concludes that "[s]laves' most enduring accomplishment in their pervasive battles was the creation of neighbor-

hoods," he comes close to replicating the very formulation of agency-through-community he is critiquing (p. 151). In the end, though, what matters is how fertile the concept is for making sense of broad areas of slave society. And with his sensitive readings of evidence, his attention to the complex valences of intentionality, his ability to conceptualize the overlap between slaves' and masters' worlds, and his attentiveness to the complex geometries of struggle, Kaye has shifted the scholarly conversation.

DYLAN C. PENNINGROTH
Northwestern University and
American Bar Foundation

DAVID I. DURHAM. *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times: Henry Washington Hilliard, 1808–1892*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 241. \$40.00.

That biography can enhance the understanding of a historical period elevates the value of David I. Durham's sound study of the life of Henry W. Hilliard. Durham's subject was a prominent man before and after the Civil War era, but his actions during that era justify the biography. The author has produced a solid and valuable book that provides insight into the ideas of a southerner who was defined by a moderate approach to increasing sectional tension.

Born in North Carolina in 1808, Hilliard would demonstrate his intellectual acumen throughout a lengthy life. He graduated from South Carolina College, acquired oratory skills, read law, and developed a strong and lasting strain of nationalism. Hilliard became a professor at the University of Alabama by Andrew Jackson's presidency, began editing a newspaper, and, moving in 1834 to Montgomery, settled in the city that became his home as a lawyer. Hilliard entered politics and became a staunch Whig. An initial attempt at gaining election to Congress failed, but he represented the United States in a diplomatic post in Belgium during the administration of John Tyler. Able and hardworking, Hilliard spent two productive and pleasurable years in Brussels. It would not be his last successful diplomatic stint.

In an era when candidates spoke (an audiences listened) for several hours at a time, Hilliard was a formidable campaigner. He won election to Congress in 1845. Durham observes that in the years ahead the southern moderate would face the challenge of "delicately balancing his southern interests against his devotion to the Union" (p. 78). The man who prized intellectual over military pursuits believed reason could settle sectional differences. His admiration of Daniel Webster was appropriate. On the house floor, Hilliard deplored the "spirit of conquest" (p. 91), which he associated with the Mexican War, and true to his erudite bent, issued a warning by quoting Shakespeare's Macbeth.

On the vital issue of the period—slavery's expansion to the territories—he pursued compromise. Alabama's

congressman advocated adopting an amendment extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. In the years ahead Hilliard disagreed with William Lowndes Yancey, a Montgomerian who epitomized raging southern nationalism. Democrats considered Hilliard weak on the question of the right of spreading slavery to the territories and attempted to unseat him in 1849. Yancey spoke for Hilliard's opponent but to no avail, for Hilliard was re-elected. Moderation defined the Whig congressman but so did an attachment to the South. On the floor of Congress he would warn the North of the implications for the Union if aggressive attacks on the institution of slavery continued. Three congressional terms ended in 1852 when Hilliard declined to seek reelection.

Hilliard was a lawyer in Montgomery for the remainder of the decade. As sectional passions increased nationally, he faulted both abolitionists and southern rights radicals. Hilliard believed the latter constituted the most critical threat to the Union. Although holding no public office after leaving Congress, he remained a public man whose views were embraced and condemned. Hilliard and Yancey, both lawyers in a very small city, would have had substantial contact. The author does not speculate but it would be interesting to know what personal relations were like between the men so temperamentally and politically different. Hilliard faulted Yancey and the Alabama Platform (1848)—a militant declaration that slave owners could take slaves into the territories—as extreme in 1860. In that presidential year, with the disruption of the Union near, Hilliard campaigned for John Bell. The election of Abraham Lincoln, catalyzing secessionist arguments, placed him in a dwindling minority of Unionists. Hilliard continued to argue against secession but ultimately supported the Confederacy. His military career was brief and undistinguished. Durham theorizes that was possibly so because his subject "was a man of letters and oratory, not a man suited to field service" (p. 146). Hilliard retired from military service in 1862.

Before the war ended, Hilliard moved to Augusta, Georgia, and after conflict he joined the Republican Party. As a Whig, a Unionist, and a reluctant Confederate, Hilliard fit the profile of a certain class of white southerners who converted to the party of Lincoln. His Republican affiliation led to an unsuccessful run for a congressional seat in 1876. Soon thereafter, however, Hilliard parlayed his political loyalties to an appointment as minister to Brazil under President Rutherford B. Hayes. Several productive years in Brazil followed. Hilliard's accomplishments were substantial, but he drew the most satisfaction from contributing to the end of slavery in Brazil. The antebellum Hilliard defended slavery as a legal institution. The postbellum man, baptized as a Republican, concluded as Durham writes "God himself condemned by the inhumanity of slavery" (p. 194). So it was that a public career begun in Alabama's Black Belt ended some forty years later in Rio de Janeiro. Upon his return to the United States in 1881, Hilliard lived the final thirteen years of his life in

Atlanta. Part of the time was occupied in compiling his reminiscences.

There is little to fault in the book under review. Inadequate attention is devoted to Hilliard's conversion to the Republican Party. A search through newspapers and other sources would have more fully fleshed out the newly converted Georgia Republican, and the campaign for Congress in 1876 receives almost no attention. These are small problems, for much more recommends this book. Durham has placed the irrepressible Hilliard, a controversial figure, in the context of a controversial period. Hilliard is worthy of a strong biography and this book fills the bill. The account is well written, researched, and conceptualized. The result is a fine study that provides a view to the times and transcends the biography genre.

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR.
Gainesville State College

PAUL D. ESCOTT, editor. *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. 307. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.50.

North Carolina played a major role in the Civil War. It supplied one of every six Confederate soldiers and one in four conscripts. Nearly a third of all North Carolinians who served in the war died. North Carolinians aided the Confederacy with taxes and impressed goods. Yet, as the essays in this volume make clear, they also resisted the war by self-emancipating and deserting in huge numbers, and many actively aided the Union. And so the war brought its own smaller civil wars, neighbor against neighbor, in parts of the state. During Reconstruction, too, the state was deeply divided as a strong Republican party existed alongside a powerful Ku Klux Klan.

The contributors expand our understanding of such contradictions. They examine such diverse issues as divided loyalties and neutrality, local violence, guerilla attacks and military responses, black efforts to escape brutality and exclusion, the explicit role of race and racism in politics, women's agency in the courts, efforts to improve women's legal position, attempts to shape public memory of the war and Reconstruction, and the consequences of these experiences for North Carolina's subsequent development. Together, these essays sketch a rich picture of the racial and class conflicts that rent North Carolina in this period and beyond.

This book is held together by a shared focus on a particular place and time. Editor Paul D. Escott notes that localism figures strongly: "The world of these North Carolinians, in contrast to our own, was intensely local," viewing "regional or national issues through a North Carolina lens" (p. 3). Regrettably, he does little to flush out the meaning of localism, a slim concept often invoked yet not always able to support the intrinsic explanatory power with which it is imbued. Many of the authors in this volume use "local" as a category of analysis—to greater or lesser effect.

In an essay that appeared in a slightly different form in the *American Historical Review* in 2007, for instance, Laura F. Edwards uses localism with great benefit. Surprised by the fact that women, including African American women, used the courts during Reconstruction as extensively as they did, she asks how they became so trusting in, and knowledgeable of, the legal system. She advances an exciting re-conceptualization of antebellum southern legal culture—one that could profitably be extended back into the colonial period as well. She argues that the antebellum legal system was profoundly local in venue, outlook, and subject matter (the courts were preoccupied with "public" law, i.e., all manner of disturbances of the public peace including criminal offenses) and thus an integral part of southern communities. Even people excluded from the full benefits of citizenship were regular observers of and participants in that legal process—even as the system, as Edwards emphasizes, was designed to maintain rigid social and legal hierarchies and inequalities. Localism in this case is used to convincingly explain a long-standing familiarity that informed women's legal choices in the Reconstruction period.

In an intriguing essay, David Brown engages the polarized debate about the allegiance of lower-class southern whites during the war. Did they progressively lose heart after 1863 because they resented a war fought on behalf of rich slave owners, or did they become increasingly battle weary yet remained loyal to the Confederacy? Having studied Piedmont farmers, many of whom were not "decisively committed either way" (p. 19), Brown argues for a more nuanced middle ground based on close attention to local circumstances. He rightly emphasizes that the war "exacerbated class tensions in a region where the fault lines ran deep" (p. 26). Yet, he argues that in the end, no matter how great their ambivalence about slavery or resentment of planter power, small farmers' desire to protect their families and homesteads trumped any larger ideological or political sympathies. I have no doubt that local conditions and family were crucial in determining people's political decisions—they often are—nor that many people chose to remain on the fence—they often do—and he is right to bring both into the debate. I am less sure, however, that we can so easily separate economic and familial concerns. The letters Brown used as his evidence show that farmers understood the close connections between economic justice and household well-being. Debt and speculation, as much as having to fight a rich man's war, threatened these families, and kept them disaffected. Not surprisingly, the most forceful of these letters was signed "Regulator," reaching back to an earlier time and war in which farmers likewise struggled with economic pressures and moral dilemmas. By privileging family over economics, rather than highlighting their interconnections, Brown runs the risk of using localism in a way that depoliticizes farming families' "neutrality."

North Carolina has long proven fertile ground for studying conflicts over race and class, particularly as

they worked out in the lives of common people, black and white. In this respect, the volume does not disappoint. Readers will come away with new insights about North Carolina, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. And in its focus on violence, and how people tried to resist it, rectify it, expose it, and justify it, the book has a relevance that reaches well beyond the period or North Carolina.

MARJOLEINE KARS
University of Maryland,
Baltimore County

JOHN C. INSCOE. *Race, War, and Remembrance in the Appalachian South*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2008. Pp. xv, 395. \$50.00.

John C. Inscoe's collection of essays reads almost like a monograph. It focuses on patterns in and public memory about Appalachia's experience of the Civil War. Inscoe sets a model for similar works through having a common topic and updating each essay to make it current. The chapters do contain more overlap than is typical for most monographs. Yet, aided by his clear, smooth, and interesting writing style, they insure that readers finish with a solid comprehension of the subject and its bibliography.

Inscoe argues that the common image of Civil War Appalachia as a homogenous white unionist society is a myth created during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by writers casting the story in values then attractive to wealthier northerners in order to encourage investment in the region. In reality unionists were a minority, slaves were present, and the story had other significant elements. To investigate and critique the image, the author examines histories, novels, films, and a play.

Inscoe first points out that mountain unionism did not arise from the absence of slavery. The predominantly small-scale slaveholdings made the institution milder in some cases but harsher in others. Local criticism of slavery and masters came with white supremacist and anti-abolitionist views. The author also observes that the numbers of slaves in Appalachia grew significantly during the Civil War as lowland owners sent them there for safety and as the Confederacy hired them for its factories in the region. In western North Carolina—in many parts of the Confederacy untouched by war, this reviewer would add—the buying and renting of bondsmen continued almost until the conflict's end.

Unionism generally arose in neighborhoods with pro-Union political leaders, bad relations with the secessionist lowlands, and a sense of a weak economic future. Old personal tensions could evolve into political conflicts backed up by kinship networks. While some individuals' allegiances were shallow and changeable, bitter violence often arose between the two sides, despite a general economic interdependence which intensified due to wartime shortages. As occurred commonly dur-

ing the war, women on both sides increased their public activities and independence.

The work contains a few questionable portions. Inscoe's use of a forty-five-year-old memory from Frederick Douglass is not adequate proof that John Brown as early as 1847 schemed to base a slave rebellion in the mountains. Accounts of slave coffles passing through the mountains do not demonstrate that Appalachia supplied most slaves sold in the Upper South; a number of those slaves were marching westward from the coastal states north of South Carolina. East Tennessee Unionists were not the first ones to vote for emancipation; Unionists in Arkansas, Virginia, and Louisiana beat them. Finally, the author quotes Frederick Law Olmsted as writing "slavery breeds unfaithful, meritorious, inexact, and non-persistent habits of working" (p. 68), which makes no sense. A check of *A Journey in the Back Country in the Winter of 1853–54* (1860; p. 228) shows that the fourth word actually was "meretricious."

Except for this handful of very narrow problems, Inscoe is very persuasive. He uses a wide range of relevant case studies to support his insights about wartime conditions in the unusual case of Appalachia. Furthermore, the work is especially valuable because no other book deals with this broad topic.

JOHN CIMPRICH
Thomas More College

JOHN MCKIVIGAN. *Forgotten Firebrand: James Redpath and the Making of Nineteenth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 291. \$45.00.

As John McKivigan's title suggests, James Redpath has remained largely unknown to most students of nineteenth-century America. Perhaps this is because his life overlapped the pre- and post-Civil War eras, denying him sufficient time to make an indelible mark on either. It may also be because Redpath was too restless and impatient to settle on any one cause, and as a result spread his energies and thus weakened his impact. Above all, Redpath was a journalist who supported abolitionism, black rights, Haitian emigration, Irish nationalism, and workers' rights. As such, he was an intimate of John Brown, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and Terrence Powderly. A social activist who never claimed that it was a journalist's role to be objective, he deserves to be obscure no more. McKivigan's biography makes us aware of Redpath's many roles and achievements.

Born in 1833 in Berwick, Scotland, Redpath migrated with his family to Michigan in the late 1840s. In the early 1850s he found employment with Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. He made three trips into the South, wrote a series of anonymous articles that described the lives of slaves and free blacks, picturing them as harshly treated and discontented. By 1856, Redpath was in Kansas, first endorsing political means to make the territory free and then violent antislavery tactics. He met with John Brown and soon began raising funds for him in Massachusetts. Living near Boston, he knew at least the general outline of the Harpers Ferry

plans and served as a liaison between Brown and the Secret Six. After the raid he became Brown's most uncompromising defender. Within two months he wrote *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown* (1860), the most widely read biography until late in the century. Later in 1860 he published a collection of Brown's writings followed by an exposé of southern suppression of free speech. McKivigan's account of Redpath's dominant role in keeping the memory of Harpers Ferry alive is perhaps the strongest section of his biography. Although objective, one feels that McKivigan admires Redpath's efforts in Brown's behalf.

In the early months of the Civil War, Redpath promoted antislavery by urging black migration to Haiti, even acting as an agent for the Haitian government. As a war correspondent in Georgia and South Carolina he moved with the armies of General William T. Sherman. As the war ended Redpath took up the cause of freedmen's education. In Charleston, he briefly served as superintendent of education, recruiting teachers for newly opened schools. His Reconstruction views were closely in line with his antislavery sentiments as he endorsed redistribution of planter lands, black suffrage, and expanded educational opportunities.

In the early 1870s Redpath's career took a dramatic shift, even though his commitment to racial equality remained steadfast. Back in Boston, he began arranging lectures for the Boston Lyceum and then his own agency, the Redpath Lyceum Bureau. His contacts with prominent Americans increased as he arranged lecture tours for Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, Henry Ward Beecher, and Mark Twain. Redpath prospered during these years even as audience interest shifted from lectures to musical and dramatic companies.

McKivigan accurately describes Redpath as an important bridge between abolition and postbellum reform who took up the cause of Irish peasants and workers. Renewing his European ties, he traveled extensively in Ireland, exposing American readers to the sufferings of the Irish poor and the need for land reform. In New York he urged the Irish cause and attention to the plight of immigrant workers in America. He supported Henry George's campaign for mayor of New York in 1886 and worked with Father Edward McGlynn's Anti Poverty Society. In the process, Redpath continually made the link between the workers' plight and that of the pre-Civil War slave. Throughout his diverse reform career there was an obvious consistency in his advocacy of the downtrodden.

Yet in a surprising twist, at the end of his career Redpath befriended Jefferson Davis and helped him write several articles about Civil War history for the *North American Review*. While sympathetic to Davis's commitment to states' rights he nevertheless remained true to his own antislavery principles. Redpath's forty-year battle against the injustices of his era ended abruptly in 1891 when he suffered fatal injuries in a streetcar accident.

McKivigan has provided a well-written and re-

searched account of an important and fascinating life. Brief and succinct, the biography fills a surprising gap in our understanding of nineteenth-century reform. With all of Redpath's diversity, he has been largely ignored until McKivigan's biography. The author suggests that this neglect is because he did not operate from a strong religious base or from a narrow ideological framework. But his broad areas of reform interest and somewhat erratic career clearly deserve the fine biography that McKivigan has written.

FREDERICK J. BLUE,
Emeritus

Youngstown State University

LEON JACKSON. *The Business of Letters: Authorial Economies in Antebellum America*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 331. \$60.00.

CATHERINE O'DONNELL KAPLAN. *Men of Letters in the Early Republic: Cultivating Forums of Citizenship*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. 2008. Pp. viii, 239. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

In 2009, hard-pressed publishers were desperately seeking new ways to pry payment out of online readers who were determined to get their content for free. Subscriptions, micro-payments, voluntary payments, organizational philanthropy, and reader memberships: these and sundry other schemes were on the table. On the cost side, publishers were equally desperate for free content. Bloggers, twitterers, cellphone photogs, "reality" buffs, citizen journalists, interest groups, reprinters, vain authors: anyone who might like to publish without pay was welcome. Meanwhile, sharing readers and "repurposing" content across media and content aggregators, via fair use or piracy, were part of the mix as well. And, of course, advertisers, politicians, and public relations operatives were paying or not paying for space. Indeed, in 2009 the beleaguered business of publishing was an astonishing mish-mash of markets, ranging from the purely commercial to the purely philanthropic and free.

It seems that it was always thus. Two new books on the history of literary production in early nineteenth-century America describe a fascinating complex of economic markets and cultural networks. Both books focus on authors, editors, and literary entrepreneurs who do not fit neatly into the conventional categories of amateur and professional. The standard history of literary authorship in the early American republic, formulated by William Charvat in the 1950s, is a story of evolution from amateurism to professionalism. This interpretation, which still holds sway, is the explicit target of Leon Jackson's book. Catherine O'Donnell Kaplan's study is less about economies and markets and more about sociability and citizenship. But both books are splendid accounts of how literary networks and literary publishing actually worked in the decades after the American Revolution. Reading the two books together should

convince even an unreconstructed modernization theorist that "professionalization" is a misleading anachronism in this era of literary take-off in America.

Jackson's book is a cultural history of the business of publishing: that is, he describes how literary production and literary markets were embedded in culture. Cultural "embeddedness" is his favorite concept. What he means is that even when money changed hands, much more than money was usually involved. He describes literary markets (exchanges) based on patronage, charity, gifts, credit and debt, and even literary competitions. He argues that "what previous literary historians have described, and hence dismissed, as amateur authorship—devoid of economic significance—conceals evidence of a vigorous world of exchange in which authors circulated their works through a variety of deeply embedded economies" (p. 43). In Jackson's account, these "informal and embedded economies were not positioned in opposition to the world of business, but, rather, actually represented the ways in which business was done" (p. 8).

The case studies that Jackson develops to support this argument are varied and fascinating. One example of a literary market based on patronage and charity is the story of George Moses Horton, a slave who wrote love-poems-to-order for students at the University of North Carolina. In a chapter on gift exchange, Jackson describes the ways that authors and periodical editors shared manuscripts, gift publications, literary puffs, and other non-monetary goods as part of a system of obligation as well as friendship. This was not a substitute for market relations; it was how literary market relations worked.

For historians of publishing in nineteenth-century America, two of Jackson's cases are especially interesting: the system of editorial exchange among newspapers; and the perpetual efforts of editors to get delinquent subscribers to pay. Editorial exchange was driven by government policy; federal law allowed newspaper editors to exchange copies with other editors free of postage. These exchanges were obviously formal, economic relationships, but they were also culturally embedded, as Jackson puts it. Better than past accounts of this system, Jackson's account reveals how personal relationships of favor and obligation shaped editors' exchanges. The author also sheds light on the mystery of subscriber delinquency: why would editors keep sending their papers and magazines to subscribers who failed to pay their bills? Jackson shows how previous accounts that dwell on economic factors—especially the role of advertising—are inadequate. Instead, he argues that subscription debts, far from unusual, were part of a "deeply entrenched rural ethic of debt that pervaded early national America" (p. 156).

In her study Kaplan also examines how men (and some women) engaged in literary relationships and exchanges. She rarely mentions markets, but the story she tells is similar to Jackson's. Rather than markets, she writes of networks of sociability—specifically, three networks in the 1790s and early 1800s. The first of these

networks centered around Elihu Hubbard Smith, his magazine the *Medical Repository*, and the Friendly Club in New York; the second network, organized by Joseph Dennie, grew up around his magazine *Port Folio* and the Tuesday Club in Philadelphia; the third network, associated with William Smith Shaw, Arthur Maynard Walter, and Joseph Stevens Buckminster, centered on the Boston Athenaeum and the *Monthly Anthology* magazine. Within these circles of friends, most literary work—from conversation to authorship to sharing manuscripts—did not involve money at all. Money did come into play at the print shop, but even in the commercial realm of publication, intimate personal relations linked authors, editors, printers, and even readers. "Rather than weakening or replacing intimate relationships, the market nurtured them," Kaplan writes. "And sociable practices, born in private conversation and manuscript exchange, helped to develop an American print marketplace" (p. 79).

Though Kaplan's book, like Jackson's, sheds light on the business of literary production in the early American republic, her main goal is to show how the three networks of literary men sought to develop new models of citizenship based not on politics but on literature and a kind of "manly" refinement. In the end, these men of letters failed to link literature to citizenship, in part because they excluded women—some of whom were their friends and fellow authors—from membership in their clubs and intimate circles. "Thus, they did not make common cause with culturally ambitious women but rather too often defined themselves against them," Kaplan writes. Still, "their efforts did not persuade other Americans of the manliness of literary life" (p. 234).

In his epilogue Jackson compares early nineteenth-century literary markets to today's system of academic publishing, which is commercial in its way but also embedded in noncommercial "markets" of unpaid authorship and peer review, organizational subsidy, manuscript and offprint sharing, and photocopying. As a former editor of a history journal, I know those markets well. At my journal, nearly a thousand scholars contributed their labor every year, without pay, as editorial board members, article authors, manuscript referees, and book reviewers. With insight and subtlety, Jackson and Kaplan show that literature—like academic scholarship—was and still is a labor of sociability and citizenship as well as of commerce. Overall, these books are excellent additions to the historiography of American literary production. If they have a flaw it is that neither book explores with rigor the fundamental economic nature of all media content, from belles-lettres to pornography. The fact that media content has no marginal cost—it is not used up when consumed—has a huge impact on how men of letters conduct the business of letters in any age, whether 1809 or 2009.

DAVID PAUL NORD
Indiana University,
Bloomington

SUSAN L. MIZRUCHI. *The Rise of Multicultural America: Economy and Print Culture, 1865–1915*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. 355. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

This expanded version of Susan L. Mizruchi's contribution to volume three of the *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1994) frames a major leap in American literary self-representation in the post-Civil war period. The argument is fairly clear: with the westward expansion of America and its redefinition as a land of immigration from places other than Great Britain and Western Europe, the world of print came to redefine and reframe the economic drives that shaped the American psyche. As the noted theorist of the novel Eberhard Lämmert once said, fiction is a type of thought experiment in which the rules can be created to fashion a world within the bounds of the writer's and the reader's desires. Mizruchi illustrates this well within the complex creation of print culture after 1865. But her take goes well beyond the classic genre definition of "fiction": she looks at print culture in the broadest manner, from novels to scholarly monographs to magazine advertising. While little interested in what has come to be called the "history of the book"—the technical expansion of printing in the age of chromolithography and the Mergenthaler typesetting machine—her study captures the investment that a wide range of groups had in using print culture for their own interests. Thus the claim to a study of "multiculturalism" in the age before this concept is much debated.

From newly freed slaves and freedmen to new immigrant groups such as the Jews to the Boston Brahmins, themselves often a generation or two away from immigrant ancestors, print culture and its creation came to frame desires for inclusion in an America defined by *homo economus*. Noting that this was a period of great shifts in the financial well being of the United States, with recessions, depressions, bank runs, and the collapse of speculation as well as the making of the great industrial fortunes in steel and oil and shipping, Mizruchi provides imaginary scenarios for the impact of such shifts on the ability of writers defined by their social, gender, or racial position to join or to be exploited by them.

Beginning with a strong chapter on the memory of the Civil War the book moves to the role of race and economic opportunity in the Reconstruction period, both as imagined in fiction concerning the immediate past and the present and the shifting values attributed to race within the African American community, and as assessed in autobiographies as well as in the early sociological literature (by W. E. B. Du Bois). The third chapter looks at the "new" immigrants and the reshaping of the urban landscape in fiction, while the fourth chapter examines in great detail the image of Native Americans in fiction and beyond (including in the earliest American ethnologies by Henry Lewis Morgan). In the fifth chapter, on advertising, the sixth, on the world

of work, the seventh, on corporate America, and the final chapter, on American utopias, the interactions among all of the players on the American stage and the various forms of economic fantasy and reality are played out. The book frames a world in which the question of "America" and the question of "production" and "consumption" come to define one another in a startlingly clear way.

This is a major contribution to American studies. It provides new insights into the anomalies of print culture, showing how "major" writers such as Henry James and Willa Cather came to rely on the marketplace in much the same way that Horatio Alger and Mary Antin (very differently located on the economic scale) did. Serial publication, agents, connections with major distributors such as John Wanamaker (of Philadelphia department store fame) played major roles in this world of representations. Wanamaker gave away hundreds of copies of Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) but also sold tens of thousands of copies. This is a tale that Mizruchi tells with great insight, linking literary representations of America and Americans with the world of economic growth and collapse.

If this sounds like an America in our age of capitalism and its vagaries trapped between Tom Wolfe's *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (1987) and William T. Vollmann's *Poor People* (2007), the parallels are quite striking—even to the rise of Sam Walton and of Wal-Mart as a major literary distributor. How would today's American multiculturalism appear through Mizruchi's lens?

I have little to quibble about the value of this book to American Studies, but I might also point out how limited it is by its American perspective. Thus the author quite correctly points out that Antin attended "The Boston Latin School" as a means of entering American culture from her Eastern European immigrant roots (p. 208). But a few pages earlier she comments that Samuel Gompers, likewise a "Jewish immigrant" had attended "a Jewish free school" in London (p. 203). It was the Jews' Free School, founded in 1817, that Gompers attended, perhaps as well known as Boston Latin to the students of English Jewry. Jewish orphans and later immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe were there given a practical education sponsored by Anglo-Jewry to allow them to enter the English working class. Like Boston Latin, the Jews' Free School still exists and is now the largest and most prestigious Jewish school in Europe. This might not have been unimportant to Gompers's basically conservative approach to labor and class as outlined by Mizruchi, just as Boston Latin was clearly central to Antin's understanding of class and the role of education in American social mobility.

This is a great book, well written and well thought through. Anyone interested in print culture should read it and use it as a model for further work on the role of print culture in shaping culture and multiculturalism.

SANDER L. GILMAN
Emory University

GORDON MORRIS BAKKEN. *The Mining Law of 1872: Past, Politics, and Prospects*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. xxx, 237. \$45.00.

Gordon Morris Bakken's new book is a long overdue study and one that has been needed by scholars of mining, the American West, and legal historians. Politicians, mining company boards and executives, and westerners in general will also benefit from reading it.

The General Mining Act of 1872 is one of the oldest on the federal books, one that still has an impact on Americans of the twenty-first century. Long ago, mining left behind the romantic image of a forty-niner or fifty-niner working his pan or sluice beside a western stream, while dreaming of the fortune he was about to make. Yet the act lives on, a ghost of the past.

Even by the time the law was enacted, hard rock, or deep mining, with corporation control, had generally replaced the legendary prospector and his burro. Intended to encourage mining development, the act unlocked valuable mineral deposits on public lands to "be free and open to exploration and purchase." A bargain, even back then, it has impacted the West ever since.

The book under review traces a fascinating story that opens with an effort to develop the West and closes with fights locally, regionally, and nationally to amend or repeal those measures. It matters not whether you are a supporter of the industry or a vocal opponent, because there is much for you to learn and ponder in its pages.

Bakken has carefully and thoroughly constructed the pros and cons of the issue, interviewed participants, supporters, critics, and examined a potpourri of primary and secondary sources to develop this book. The variety of sources utilized is clearly presented in the footnotes, which offer the interested reader further "mining veins" to prospect and mine.

In fifteen chapters, the author traces the local and national mining laws that developed over the late nineteenth century and the legal issues, which evolved as mining companies and individuals squared up over such complicated issues as the apex of a vein. The twentieth century witnessed changes in mining. Particularly in the century's last decades, changes in public attitudes toward the industry and its impact has been evident. The growing environmental movement has brought the industry under fire with passionate attacks that have aroused equally impassioned defense.

Nor is the subject resolved, or less emotional, as the twenty-first century nears the end of its first decade. As Bakken concludes, "The tenacity of inertia regarding the Mining Law of 1872 and the vision of an environmentally cured western landscape that respects both nature and the sacred places of American Indians are up for grabs . . . The battlefronts are local and national. The future of the West is at stake, and only an informed public can determine what lies ahead" (p. 187).

Without question, this is a high-grade scholarly examination, one that deserves careful attention by a variety of people. While Bakken takes the reader along carefully and documents his material, this is not a book

that one can sit down and read in an evening or two. It demands concentration and consideration. An assortment of photographs, maps, and even poetry helps the reader along as well. Bakken and the University of New Mexico Press are both to be congratulated for this thought-provoking study.

DUANE A. SMITH
Fort Lewis College

THOMAS G. ANDREWS. *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 386. \$29.95.

At the outset of this account of the National Guard's infamous attack on striking coal miners and their families on the morning of April 20, 1914, Thomas G. Andrews explains why his rendering is different from others. Namely, he intends to provide a clarifying examination of the event's larger historical context, situating Ludlow, Colorado, in the midst of decades-long battles between coal companies and miners that culminated in the imposition of onerous industrial paternalism. The author also promises to demonstrate the merits of a hybrid labor and environmental history, specifically by portraying the particular dangers of working underground as one of the key factors that gave rise to union militancy and strike violence. Using these two interpretive angles, Andrews both succeeds and overreaches. He conclusively establishes the important role played by company housing, company stores, private detectives, and the National Guard in provoking miners to armed rebellion, yet he muddies his argument with a tenuous environmental determinism.

Andrews begins his story with an engaging biography of William Jackson Palmer, a progressive-minded mining "mogul" too near-sighted to grasp the fact of class conflict, and so an augury of what later went wrong in the southern Colorado coalfields. From there the book segues to an illuminating section on the way coal freed the region from geographic isolation and a lack of other natural endowments, providing energy for railroads, industry, and urbanization. This is followed by an equally compelling description of consequent air pollution in Denver and Pueblo, which Andrews rightly notes was a hazard not experienced equally by all residents. He then details the migration process that brought a polyglot mix of workers to the coalfields, making good use of oral history collections, naturalization records, state and local labor publications, as well as census reports. Like the parts preceding, this latter bit is stunningly well-written, although it is also flawed by an incorrect explanation for the global demographic transition that sent so many rural peasants and farmers to industrial labor elsewhere (citing public health advances and a declining death rate, which started to happen only somewhat later and in urban areas first).

The major interpretive problem in this book comes in chapter four, which introduces the concept of "workscape," a natural environment where work happens. Andrews argues that the mine workscape—with all its

attendant dangers from roof falls, noxious gases, and flooding—produced a work culture that sustained militancy and led to violence. “Instability and violence underground,” he writes, “invariably engendered more of the same on the surface” (p. 140). Yet this line of argument is questionable for several reasons. First, many workers who labored aboveground, in steel mills, on railroads, and as sharecroppers on farms, also developed a mutualist ethic, radical consciousness, and even a willingness to use violence in their struggles. To be sure, those jobs were often or at least sometimes dangerous, but that was not the main cause of militancy. Second, many coal miners, such as those in Appalachia, apparently did not draw the same lessons as southern Colorado colliers from their workscapes, hesitating to organize, strike, and resort to extralegal tactics for many years, until provoked by other factors (e.g., increased regimentation of mine labor, brutality by Baldwin-Felts detectives, and the democratic rhetoric of World War I).

Andrews returns to firmer ground, in fact, when he details and interprets the spread of company towns in the wake of a miners’ uprising in 1894. Instead of preventing discontent and rebellion, he argues, increased corporate control and militarization of coal camps stoked the fire, making “a landscape of woe destined to become both cause and a setting for the deadly coalfield war of 1913–14” (p. 198). Miners experienced these aspects of the changed “landscape” as infringements on their inalienable rights, imposed by tyrants, and therefore a justification for active resistance toward redress (which is Lockean liberalism, or natural rights philosophy, not republican ideology as Andrews suggests). This is quite similar, actually, to the way David Alan Corbin explained the origins of the mine war in southern West Virginia (was that not “the deadliest” coal war?), and his interpretation remains the standard one. No doubt, the same contention in Andrews’s book will become the prevailing historical reading of Ludlow as well.

CHAD MONTRIE
University of Massachusetts,
Lowell

WILSON J. WARREN. *Tied to the Great Packing Machine: The Midwest and Meatpacking*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 317. \$39.95.

This book is a comprehensive analysis of the impact of industrial meatpacking on the Midwest. It demonstrates Wilson J. Warren’s masterful and almost encyclopedic command of the topic. Using a framework that integrates insights from historical literature with those of economics, sociology, anthropology, environmental science, and geographical literature, Warren has created a synthesis that alters common perceptions of meatpacking from the nineteenth century through the present.

Warren, whose first book dealt with Iowa meatpackers, continues to challenge historians’ privileging of ur-

ban over rural and small-town contexts in this volume. He reminds us of how much meatpacking has taken place outside of big cities like Chicago, even though the well-known environs of Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* (1906) have been embedded as the hallmark of that experience. Warren uses the events and context of *The Jungle* as his starting point for each chapter and then shows connections across time and space, moving fluidly among regions, cities, and rural areas of the Midwest. He accomplishes a great deal with this strategy, showing in particular how meatpacking changed local terrains but also played a unique role in altering the entire region. Thus, he reminds us of the intersections between rural and urban economies in a way that is seldom recognized in historical treatments of the Midwest or meatpacking. Indeed, the key value of this book is that it treats the uneven development of capitalist meatpacking and shows how enterprises drew rural and urban arenas into a web of relationships with each other, sometimes allowing for a ratcheting up of standards, but—in recent years especially—also drawing them down in a race to the bottom that has had dire consequences for the Midwest.

Warren discerns four key temporal divisions in meatpacking in the Midwest: merchant-wholesalers who dominated in the early nineteenth century; terminal marketing, 1865–1920, when the Big Five (later, the Big Four) built stockyards and used rail transport to centralize production in large cities (though he reminds us of the continuing role of the smaller packers in this era); early direct buying, 1920–1950s, when the geographical center of meatpacking began to shift from larger cities to more rural Iowa; and modern direct buying from 1960 to the present, when a new capitalist regime dominated by the firms IBP, Excel, and ConAgra used rural bases of operation and a low-paid immigrant workforce to drive workers back into conditions that were just as bad, if not worse, than those experienced in *The Jungle*.

Warren is a labor historian, and much of his book focuses on the unevenness of power for workers in both rural and urban communities. He alters our perception of the makeup of the workforce across time and space. For example, women experienced gendered wages for many years, but this situation has given way to a more mutually subordinate role for both genders in the modern era. Workers in the industry have experienced changing racial and ethnic divisions, and the industry is once again dominated by these issues, especially in rural areas. Workers in small towns rarely faced as many of these obstacles in an earlier era, and they were just as militant and interested in control of the line as were the more well-known United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) union members in Chicago who led the way in fighting racial and gender discrimination in the Midwest.

Warren shows that the political window that allowed for unionization in this period put standards in place for a relatively short period of time in the expanse of the industry’s history. He illustrates how unions created the base for the creation of the middle class not only for

black workers in places like East St. Louis and Chicago, but also shows how rural and small-town workers drew upon a new cultural self-representation that allowed them to build new roles in their communities. The packing unions were among a handful that reinforced the last attempt to build a coalition of workers and farmers in the United States. Although that effort did not last, the Democratic Party managed to build a wide base in both rural and urban centers. But this old regime collapsed when the urban centers of meatpacking unions declined and then, when IBP and other companies eviscerated the union base by relocating to more remote and politically vulnerable areas. This new oligopoly fought against union conditions fiercely and used an immigrant workforce that had little power to challenge declining conditions. The situation was exacerbated by the ineptitude of a more conservative union leadership that sought to facilitate the industry's effort to lower wages. Warren brings the searing consequences of this home by detailing the effects of these actions in rural areas, which faced intense poverty as the costs of meatpacking were "externalized." *The Jungle* was back again.

Warren suggests that Midwest meatpacking altered the environmental landscape, and its dominant position conjured up alternative solutions like vegetarianism and a fight for humane slaughtering techniques. All of these originated more than a hundred years before Eric Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (2001), which has done much to shed light on the modern industry. While Warren confirms that much of the Midwest reinforced a meat-based culture, there were enough voices that questioned industry standards and the inhumane treatment of animals and also led the fight for legal safeguards. But such efforts were often compromised by the political clout of the meat industry and powerlessness of workers, some of whom were, for instance, almost driven to insanity by having to butcher conscious hogs. Warren draws readers into a consideration of the relationship between the conditions of workers in the plant and the treatment of animals.

This book is well written and well researched, although most non-specialists will probably feel weighed down by the data that drive so much of the discussion. My main criticism is that the unevenness of power is not connected to the larger issues of political economy of the Midwest. Did the meat industry carry more or less weight than other industries in altering the landscape for anti-unionism in the area? Were the strategies of these industries influenced by a broader political agenda that originated outside the Midwest? These and other issues of how the industry retained such power are not fully addressed, but what the book does offer is worthy of wide readership.

ROSEMARY FEURER
Northern Illinois University

JAMES M. BEEBY. *Revolt of the Tar Heels: The North Carolina Populist Movement, 1890–1901*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2008. Pp. x, 280. \$50.00.

James M. Beeby's work is the first published book focused on the entire history of North Carolina Populism. But if the format is novel, the topic has been explored for decades. Beeby's effort belongs to a rich scholarly tradition begun ninety years ago by Joseph Grégoire de Roulhac Hamilton. Later, the subject drew the attention of historians C. Vann Woodward and John D. Hicks, both of whom lived briefly in North Carolina. During the past thirty-five years, a meaningful number of books, theses, and articles have approached the subject from diverse perspectives, including politics, race relations, gender, sociology, biography, and religion.

As a result, Beeby's challenge was to offer something new while taking into account that his agrarian field has already been well plowed by several generations. Since the 1950s and 1960s, researchers have scrutinized the leading sources, including the Marion Butler Papers at the University of North Carolina and the microfilmed output of the contemporary press. For the most part, these were also Beeby's key sources. An additional challenge was the historiographical fact that since Hamilton an enormous amount of effort has been spent trying to categorize North Carolina Populists as compromisers intent on defiling the national reform temple. Fortunately, current writing about Populism has moved onto less righteous paths. Nonetheless, Beeby needed to confront this long-lasting struggle over the character of North Carolina Populists and to offer a sound conclusion on their purposes.

An evaluation of Beeby's book on the grounds of both methodology and placement within Populist historiography is positive but mixed. As for methodology, the book is fundamentally sound because Beeby actually took the trouble to read the large number of newspapers, personal papers, and other written sources generated between 1890 and 1901 that are essential to understanding the movement. (Frankly, many of the persons who have written about North Carolina Populism did not do this.) The result is an engaging narrative that presents a persuasive story. However, given the large volume of previous work, this account could have been improved by a more aggressive strategy toward the development and use of new sources. In my view the best part of the book is a chapter based on testimony from previously unutilized records of disputed Congressional elections. It brings to life what it meant to conduct a Populist campaign.

But there were other opportunities. For example, the description of grass-roots Populism should have been enhanced by quantitative analysis of issues concerning economics, demographics, party membership, and voting behavior. Beeby cites and critiques findings from the well-known statistical study of southern disfranchisement by J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One Party South, 1880–1910* (1974). But he is unwilling to pursue the subject at a high level despite revolutionary changes in analytical techniques since Kousser's study was published. Beeby's methodology

and use of sources is professional and thorough, but it does not venture very far down new paths.

A similarly positive, but mixed, evaluation is appropriate for the book's historiographical contribution. Beeby avoids many of the traps of previous historians, eschewing simplistic portrayals. North Carolina Populists, according to his work, were genuine supporters of the official range of their party's legislative proposals. Often, however, they tended to place local political needs over national and state strategies. Beeby recognizes that white Populists, despite efforts to align with black voters, adhered to nineteenth-century bigotry and did not perceive Populism as a movement for racial equality. More importantly, Beeby states that "it is vital to place the rank and file at the heart of the People's Party" (p. 6). Here is an excellent point, one worth attention. But because of the book's reliance on traditional sources, most of its content centers around party elites, something already familiar to historians. So Beeby's point about the rank and file remains undeveloped. Beeby also seems hesitant to discuss the implications of his conclusion: If the rank and file were important forces in shaping the actions of the party, then they deserve a fair share of the blame for the party's defeat. Perhaps, in fact, Populism in North Carolina failed primarily because of the limitations of the rank and file.

This book is a welcome contribution to Populist literature. It considers established sources well and it incorporates and builds on the insights of recent writing about Populism. But it also leaves open the possibility of more dramatic efforts to exploit primary materials and to thereby explain with greater precision and novelty the meaning of Populism in American and North Carolina history.

JAMES L. HUNT
Mercer University

KATHLEEN WATERS SANDER. *Mary Elizabeth Garrett: Society and Philanthropy in the Gilded Age*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 322. \$45.00.

Until the late twentieth century, American women made their greatest philanthropic impact through the power of numbers, while American men increasingly left their most telling imprint through the power of the purse. Mary Elizabeth Garrett was a rare exception to this rule. One of the Gilded Age's richest women, she not only inherited a multimillion dollar fortune from her father but also controlled much of it herself.

The question of control was key, since many fabled "heiresses" were rich in the public's imagination but had little direct access to their funds, which were often managed by the dead hand of male relatives via their lawyers and trusts. A few women succeeded in sidestepping this situation, most notably Olivia Sage, a childless widow, and Garrett, who never married.

Garrett's biography is long overdue, and Kathleen Waters Sander does a splendid job. The railroad heiress's unique contributions first surfaced in the literature

on women's history when Margaret W. Rossiter chronicled Garrett's canny use of "coercive philanthropy" in *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (1982). Garrett made her mark by tethering her \$307,000 gift to launch the Johns Hopkins Medical School with the unprecedented requirement that it admit women students on an equal basis with men and under the same rigorous scholarly and scientific standards, thereby opening the country's premier medical school to female students at its inception. Her landmark 1893 donation was smaller than those of her contemporaries such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, but it had a significant effect, ultimately providing a model for Rockefeller's own philanthropies.

Born in 1854, Garrett was the daughter of John Work Garrett, the president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a close friend of Johns Hopkins and a founding trustee of Hopkins's university. A ruthlessly controlling patriarch, her father quashed Garrett's opportunities for marriage and for higher education. But he also educated her in the rudiments of business management, skills that served her well when she became a trustee of the family holdings after his death. Sander portrays her as an exceptionally savvy "behind the scenes manipulator" (p. 140) in the company's affairs, highlighting her entrepreneurial bent.

But Garrett was best known as a philanthropist. Her generosity was honed through a book club and study group of five close friends and fellow heiresses known as the Friday Night. Their mutual study nourished her lifelong love of learning, even as she fell by the sidelines as her friends attended college and one, M. Carey Thomas, earned a European Ph.D.

Garrett took the financial lead when the friends launched the Bryn Mawr School, an elite prep school for girls, and did so again with the creation of the co-educational Johns Hopkins Medical School after a national fundraising drive failed to yield the necessary funds. She also became a loyal donor to Bryn Mawr, where her donations helped to install and maintain Thomas as president, and promoted suffrage agendas in tandem with Susan B. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw.

Sander chronicles Garrett's life with grace and skill. The author does an excellent job of dissecting the inner workings of Johns Hopkins University's early years and the ways in which the university's programs subsequently provided a template for other philanthropists. Despite occasional lapses, such as Sander's unduly sympathetic description of John Work Garrett's clash with workers during the national railroad strike of 1877 ("His workers had been cowed and his railroad saved. Baltimore could rest assured of its commercial competitiveness" [p. 66]), Sander's treatment is generally balanced and evenhanded.

This book marks an important contribution to the small but growing roster of biographies of female philanthropists that also includes Ruth Crocker's study of *Mrs. Russell Sage: Women's Activism and Philanthropy in Gilded Age and Progressive Era America* (2006) and

Amanda Mackenzie Stuart's portrait of Alva Belmont in *Consuelo and Alva Vanderbilt: The Story of a Daughter and a Mother in the Gilded Age* (2005). As such, it fills an important niche in women's history by illuminating the ways in which a handful of privileged women sought to change the contours of American education, foundations, and social reform through their contributions of money as well as time.

KATHLEEN D. MCCARTHY
Graduate Center
City University of New York

JOANNE PASSET. *Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster*. Cambridge: Da Capo Press. 2008. Pp. xxx, 353. \$27.50.

Jeannette Howard Foster is a name instantly recognizable to a generation of lesbians who came out from the 1950s to the 1970s and who thirsted for a history of women who loved women. Foster's book, *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, self-published in 1956 and twice reprinted by small lesbian feminist presses, was a remarkable work of scholarship that showed its early lesbian readers that they were not alone, since literature throughout the ages had depicted lesbian characters. As Joanne Passet so nicely puts it in the last sentence of her book, Foster's work was "[s]uperceded by the revolution in lesbian studies that it had engendered" but "nonetheless represented a critical step on the road to gay liberation" (p. 283).

Passet's book is a rather conventional biography of a most unconventional woman. Foster, born in 1895, recognized her desire for women and lack of interest in men from an early age and lived a long life filled with unrequited love, passionate crushes on older women, emotional partnerships with women who could never quite come to grips with their sexuality, purely erotic relationships, flirtations, and complicated multiple relationships. It is this portrait of a woman who understood, acknowledged, and acted on her same-sex desires through a period of enormous social change from the 1910s to the 1980s that is the most important contribution of Passet's book. As an educated, respectable, middle-class white woman who had no use for lesbian or gay bars but did not live out her life in a settled, marriage-like relationship, Foster represents a side of lesbian history about which we know relatively little. Only Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy's research on Julia Boyer Reinstein depicts the life of a woman similarly able to spot and connect with so many women with same-sex erotic desires in heteronormative contexts.

Researching Foster's life represented a real challenge for Passet because her subject destroyed most of her personal papers toward the end of her life out of fear of incriminating her lovers, most of whom remained closeted into the 1980s. The author has done an amazing job of recreating Foster's life through family diaries and papers, Foster's unpublished poetry and stories, a few oral histories, and letters Foster sent to others, most notably gay historian Jonathan Ned Katz,

lesbian feminist scholar Karla Jay, and lesbian writer Valerie Taylor. It was Foster's discovery by a younger generation of gay and lesbian scholars and activists that left a record of her early life, but of course almost everything is filtered through a lens of retrospective remembrance. Passet is reduced to speculating about some things, offering "perhaps" and "could have" and "one can imagine" at some points. Still, the portrayal is convincing. The image of Foster caressing with her eyes young lesbian artist Tee Corinne, who came to visit her in her Pochahontas, Arkansas, nursing home, makes Foster's sexual frankness and seductiveness in her early days believable.

But this is not just a book about Foster's erotic and sexual life. She was a talented woman who majored in chemistry, earned an MA in English literature, and was one of the first women to receive a Ph.D. in library science. She taught in high schools and colleges, served as the librarian for Alfred Kinsey at his Institute for Sex Research, wrote poetry and stories, and through her whole career obsessively compiled information for her major compendium on lesbians in literature. She lived in an astonishing number of places, moving around for jobs and lovers and to gain access to ever more books with lesbian content. Not until late in her life did she win recognition for the importance of her work, which she had to struggle to get into print.

This is a fascinating story of an extraordinary woman in lesbian history. Passet clearly admires her subject, even though she notes the racism and snobbishness that was part of her background. The biography does not transform in any fundamental way what we know about the changes in U.S. society for people with same-sex desires over the course of the twentieth century, but it does bring Jeannette Howard Foster to life as both a pioneer scholar and a woman who experienced lust and love in a milieu vastly different from the world of lesbian bars in the days before lesbian and gay liberation.

LEILA J. RUPP
University of California,
Santa Barbara

MARK A. LARGENT. *Breeding Contempt: The History of Coerced Sterilization in the United States*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 213. \$34.95.

The history of eugenics has enjoyed increasing scholarly attention over the past ten years. Mark A. Largent's book contributes to this rejuvenated literature with a narrative that skillfully follows the history of coerced sterilization in the United States from its origins in the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Largent's history reveals how campaigns in favor of sterilization extended well beyond the rise and fall of the mainstream eugenics movement. In doing so, he seeks not to sensationalize sterilization or to demonize its advocates, but to explain why so many Americans advocated sterilization laws that today are the subject of apologies from state officials.

The book begins with sterilization's first advocates:

physicians who saw it as both a punishment and a treatment for criminal behavior. From Gideon Lincecum's 1849 bill for the Texas legislature, Largent follows a range of nineteenth-century calls for the castration of criminals. Castration could be represented as therapeutic and as punitive; furthermore, some saw it as a solution to perceived problems of heredity and society, especially those with sexual or racial dimensions. While castration would lose its popularity with the advent of the vasectomy in 1897, Largent reveals how it set the stage for later eugenic sterilization campaigns. Hysterectomies were also advocated during this period for women supposedly afflicted with mental disorders understood as originating in their reproductive systems. As with men, this sexual surgery was understood as a treatment for homosexuality and masturbation, although the same behaviors in males seemed to produce both greater anxiety and more medical intervention.

From nineteenth-century medical advocates, Largent turns to twentieth-century biologists who championed eugenics. The rise of eugenics in the United States sought to legitimate often dubious biological interpretations of social phenomena (such as crime) and thereby provide a new foundation for the advocacy of sterilization. Because he wishes to focus on the institutionalization of eugenics, Largent organizes his second chapter around the biography of Charles B. Davenport, the well-known leader of the Eugenics Record Office during the first decades of the twentieth century. Trained as a zoologist and deeply interested in questions of evolution, Davenport was drawn into eugenics by his wife Gertrude, Largent contends. With generous support from Mary Harriman, Davenport established the first major eugenics institution in the United States and became its best-known advocate. Yet, as Largent compellingly argues, Davenport did not condone sterilization as a state policy; instead he favored segregation of the supposedly less fit. While this more-nuanced view of Davenport's stance on sterilization is certainly important to note, the influence of his close colleague Harry H. Laughlin is also undeniable, although Laughlin's much more strenuous campaign for sterilization legislation gets relatively little attention in this history.

The advocacy and opposition to sterilization legislation are the subjects of Largent's next two chapters. While acknowledging legal precedents in marriage restriction laws, Largent concentrates on state-by-state efforts to pass eugenically motivated sterilization laws in the early twentieth century. Particular historical and legislative circumstances made each state's efforts slightly different, even if some state cases such as *Buck v. Bell* (1927) and *Skinner v. Oklahoma* (1942) ended up in the U.S. Supreme Court. Largent documents how legal challenges based on claims of cruel and unusual punishment and violation of due process rights shaped specific state statutes. But his analysis of how *Buck v. Bell* both supported state sterilization and galvanized opposition, especially from Catholics, reveals how contentious both sterilization and eugenics became by mid-century. That is not to say that Largent follows some

historians who depict the downfall of eugenics after World War II as a reaction to Nazi atrocities. Largent differentiates sterilization from eugenics, in part because sterilization laws remained active long after the 1940s.

In one of his most original sections, Largent uses evidence from a survey of 200 biology textbooks to make a compelling case that sterilization and eugenics were not widely opposed until the 1970s. Until then, sterilization and eugenics were mentioned in many textbooks, often in positive terms. Beginning in the late 1960s, historians of eugenics offered a much more critical evaluation of eugenics, and that critical stance was adopted by contemporary biologists and biology textbooks.

Largent's book ends with recent efforts to promote sterilization, such as California's 1996 chemical castration law for sex offenders. Using the re-emergence of chemical and surgical castration as legal and medical remedies for sex crimes, Largent argues for the importance of seeing connections between past and current policies. Instead of creating histories that distance us from reprehensible policies and practices, he contends that his more-considerate history offers a better guide to understanding the motivations and problematic assumptions underlying contemporary sterilization debates. It would be wonderful if such histories were not needed, but since they are, we can be grateful that Largent has provided us with this one.

LAURA L. LOVETT
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

AMY LAURA HALL. *Conceiving Parenthood: American Protestantism and the Spirit of Reproduction*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2008. Pp. vii, 452. \$32.00.

In this book Amy Laura Hall explores the unusual history behind many of our contemporary assumptions about reproduction. Organized thematically, the book tackles a broad range of subjects: the twentieth-century phobia about germs and the need for sanitized homes and bodies; notions of scientific motherhood and the industrialization of infant care and feeding; the Protestant encounter with the eugenics movement and notions of "fitter families"; the cultural meaning of the Protestant family in the age of the atom; and, more recently, the discoveries of the genomic revolution. Hall's richly detailed portrait reveals the astonishing eagerness with which Protestant Americans sought the imprimatur of science for their most private parenting decisions, and the ease with which they subsequently judged the decisions of others who did not conform to the directives of that science. As science supplanted the seemingly less reliable tenets of conventional wisdom and tradition, and the advice of the physician trumped the intuition of the parent, the notion of a regulated and responsible parenthood took hold, often with disturbing consequences. By placing their hopes in science

rather than in the theological tradition of grace, Hall convincingly argues, Protestants became complicit in this often-repressive history.

Hall draws on a broad range of materials for the book, including popular magazines from the 1920s through the present, archival sources, and, most effectively, images from popular advertisements. She begins each chapter with a selection from a popular hymn, urging readers to contrast the sensibilities of these more traditional spiritual clarion calls with the behavior encouraged by the popular advice on parenthood proffered by Protestant magazines such as the Methodist family periodical *Together*. Studying the implications of Lysol advertisements that appeared in publications such as *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Parents*, for example, Hall finds a consistent emphasis on the need for *control*: control of one's own body, one's children, and, by extension, control over irresponsible reproduction. Hall dissects the moral message behind Lysol's seemingly benign insistence on the need for a thoroughly sanitized home.

Hall also ably analyzes the many meanings of scientific motherhood in the twentieth century. Advertisements and articles in magazines offered a steady stream of advice to mothers about their children, provoking as much as allaying their anxieties about whom they should trust. Increasingly, the answer was science. Beginning in the early twentieth century, with advertisements extolling the superior wisdom of physicians, through the 1930s, when manufacturers touted the scientifically tested benefits of infant formula and food, parents were encouraged to view their children through a medical lens. The Gerber baby food company even had its own gleaming exhibit in the Hall of Science at the 1934 Century of Progress Exhibition in Chicago. Hall follows this medicalization of childhood through to the present, offering a sharp and compelling critique of contemporary pharmaceutical advertisements that promise a return to "ordinary" by way of Ritalin and other drugs for children suffering from conditions such as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder.

The second half of Hall's book explores the legacy of Protestant participation in the eugenics movement, as well as the Protestant response to the ethical challenges posed by the atomic age and the current genomic revolution. Here her indictments of people of faith for their abandonment of grace are most powerful. In the case of eugenics, for example, Protestant leaders and their congregations eagerly defined themselves against the so-called feeble-minded, peddling an image of typical family life that stigmatized dirt, disease, and difference. In doing so they supported punishing social policies such as compulsory sterilization.

Hall's work challenges many comfortable assumptions about the history of reproduction. Americans like to believe that they have overcome the narrow-minded, unscientific thinking that fueled the eugenics movement, for example, but as Hall notes, social pressures are still brought to bear on families with regard to the quality of their children. "Tools to plan, evaluate, and

enhance children . . . have become standard parental and political equipment," she notes (p. 217). The "democratic calculus of worth" involved in individual decisions over whether or not to terminate a Down Syndrome pregnancy, for example, are not the same as coercive eugenic policies sponsored by the state. But in their stigmatization of difference and judgment of social worth, they are kin.

Hall's book is a powerful work of interdisciplinary historical and cultural analysis that is informed by theological ethics. Her astute deconstructions of images are especially compelling and will be of significance to students of cultural history. Her reach is broad, and although it occasionally leaves the reader wishing for a more sustained chronological narrative, her book is an important contribution to the ongoing study of eugenics, domesticity, and the history of the family. Hall's work shows just how powerful and pernicious have been the forces encouraging Americans to engage in quality control of their own and others' children.

CHRISTINE ROSEN
Ethics and Public Policy Center,
Washington, D.C.

MEGAN J. ELIAS. *Stir It Up: Home Economics in American Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 226. \$45.00.

For many academics and popular commentators, home economics has been and remains a mercilessly mocked field. Megan J. Elias's monograph, which examines its evolution during the twentieth century, investigates why. In spite of its more recent names—Family and Consumer Sciences or Human Ecology—the subject has never succeeded in severing its ties with an essentialist view of women as inherently suited to domesticity. Yet quite to the contrary, Elias argues that the founders of home economics believed that women were not naturally inclined to be good at housekeeping and insisted that study, particularly science, was key to helping women acquire such abilities and expertise. This, they hoped, would both improve the practice of housekeeping and alleviate much of the dissatisfaction associated with women's household responsibilities.

Elias's work is clearly indebted to *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession* (1997), a collection of essays edited by Sarah Stage and Virginia B. Vincenti. In her monograph, Elias fleshes out many of the claims introduced in that earlier volume. For one, she identifies home economics as a movement with origins in the Progressive era. Like other initiatives undertaken by women at the turn of the twentieth century, the home economics movement sought both professional authority and broader social change in the lives of women. Elias claims that founders succeeded in building their expertise and an academic field of study, yet they failed in their efforts to train a society of efficient and fulfilled homemakers. Domestic scientists had their moment of triumph—and perhaps even some academic legitimacy—in the early decades

of the twentieth century, but by the 1950s they were widely trivialized and primarily recognized as consumer product endorsers.

The success of early home economists can be measured by the careers of many of the movement's founders, whose biographies and professional trajectories Elias examines. Taking seriously the ambitions and the limitations of the field's creators and spokespersons, Elias describes women who sought careers in higher education and who had little in common with the (future) wives and mothers they sought to aid. This was especially the case for those early home economists who, like Cornell's Martha Van Rensselaer and Flora Rose, set up "long term loving partnerships" together without men and children (p. 195). Pioneers such as Ellen Richards, a chemist and the first female graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, sought to associate university home economics programs with science; cooking and cleaning could be perfected, according to Richards, with a deeper understanding of how chemicals functioned. In addition to chemicals, some early courses contemplated the position of women in society as well.

Another measure of success for the field dates to both world wars and the Great Depression, times when the expertise of home economists was in demand—and not just for teaching in secondary schools. Elias notes that more than thirty schools offered master's and doctoral degrees by 1932, college extension programs expanded into rural communities, and the government, military, hospitals, and other sites hired home economists, especially for work related to nutrition and food conservation. Advertisers sought their cooperation, and a number of home economists enjoyed the higher salaries and expanded work opportunities offered by the business sector even as such work privileged profit making over scientific research.

The enduring image of home economics, though, is not one of college-educated women in lab coats measuring the chemical processes in a test kitchen, as depicted in an illustration included in the book from the University of Kentucky in the 1920s. By the mid-twentieth century when home economics was widely adopted as a high school course for girls, it came to stand for cooking and sewing, or courses in which girls mastered domestic skills in preparation for married domesticity. This version of home economics was, Elias argues persuasively, a distinct departure from the scientific and progressive approach envisioned by many of the founders and put into practice in college classrooms. By the 1940s, she notes that home economics was no longer a movement for social change. Although the burgeoning women's movement of the late 1960s shared some common concerns with progressive home economists, young feminist activists thought differently; Robin Morgan publicly proclaimed home economics "the enemy."

Even as high school home economics classes grew to reinforce gender conformity, Elias shows that the field was not entirely averse to women's liberation. In fact,

in the early 1970s a University of Wisconsin campus home economics department offered "The Social Roles of Women in America," a course similar to ones offered in the 1920s. Moreover, countercultural practices of gardening, cooking, and living in harmony with nature in the 1970s revived many of the original premises of the field's founders, though with far more essentialist views of women than those to which Van Rensselaer or Richards subscribed.

Throughout the book Elias considers both professional and popular opinion about home economics; and her sources range from personal papers housed in university archives, professional publications for home economists, and home economics textbooks to newspapers, popular magazines, and, for the latter period, television. She ends with a lively epilogue that touches on the relationship between domesticity and popular culture in the era of Martha Stewart, the Food Network, *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*, and HGTV.

SUSAN K. FREEMAN
Minnesota State University,
Mankato

CONSTANCE ARESON CLARK. *God or Gorilla: Images of Evolution in the Jazz Age*. (Medicine, Science, and Religion in Historical Context.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 289. \$35.00.

On my office bookshelf sits a small stuffed monkey, a souvenir from the Scopes "Monkey" Trial Museum in Dayton, Tennessee. The plush simian sports a t-shirt making explicit its connection to the 1925 trial, an event that invited much popular attention to the small town and no small number of journalists, street preachers, scientists, souvenir hawkers, and even a suit-wearing circus chimp named Joe Mendi. Monkeys, cavemen, and evolutionary missing links were popular images in press accounts of the trial, and as Constance Areson Clark explains, the creation, manipulation, and interpretation of the images of evolution can be an important window into the culture of the 1920s, the contested boundaries of scientific expertise, and even America's continuing evolution controversies.

Images of evolution—from the legions of cartoon monkeys in satire magazines to the beast-like depiction of German soldiers in Allied World War I propaganda and even to the diagrams in science textbooks—are central to Clark's arguments on how scientists and the public encountered and imagined evolution. Her point, though hardly novel, is telling in its application of how creators and consumers of the images do not make the same meanings. The cultural power of the Scopes Trial, Clark explains, was in its ability to turn William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow into symbols, drawings, or characters for a larger yet confusing cultural debate over religion, science, and humanity.

The evolution controversies of the era also point to an important contest that went largely unnoticed by the public focus on the implications of evolution: "who should speak for science" (p. 55). The scientists most

visible to the public did not necessarily represent the majority of scientific opinion at the time. The central figure in Clark's tale is Henry Fairfield Osborn, a patrician Columbia University professor and president of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, who proved a problematic choice for the face of science education in the 1920s. Osborn wrote both popular and scholarly books on evolution, was widely sought after by reporters for commentary on issues of science, and was quite intentional in his efforts to shape the public understanding of evolution. As a proponent of evolution—including human evolution—who had performed extensive fieldwork on elephants and their evolutionary development, Osborn was a credible scientist who also had a museum and a public platform in the modern metropolis of New York that he intended to use to further science. Like many of the most visible evolutionists of the 1920s, however, Osborn was an active supporter of the pseudoscience of eugenics even though the evidence for such theories was already unraveling by this time; he contributed the preface to Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race; or, The Racial Basis of European History* (1916) and hurried completion of his museum's central exhibit on human evolution in time to host a meeting of the International Eugenics Congress in 1921.

The popular debates over evolution almost inevitably turned toward the theory's religious implications, for if man was not a special creation but instead evolved through a natural and perhaps even random process of natural selection, then many orthodox understandings of humanity seemed endangered. Osborn was among the most prominent of a class of writers Clark terms "the reconcilers" for their efforts to assure the public that there was no necessary conflict between science and religion. But Osborn's was a liberal faith in progress that was ultimately incompatible with a Calvinist belief in human depravity, and, Clark argues, his efforts at reconciliation actually weakened scientific authority by seeming to overstep its bounds of expertise.

Clark's investigation of the images of evolution in the 1920s is telling, yet all too limited in geography and scope. Her focus on Osborn and the northeastern press only tells of how some portion of the United States might have viewed the images of evolution. When she engages fundamentalism, she largely limits her view to New York's outspoken Rev. John Roach Straton, a good choice perhaps to remind us that fundamentalism and antievolution were not exclusively southern phenomena. But readers get little sense of how southerners—religious or otherwise, for or against evolution—viewed these images or even created their own. We learn nothing about the American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings in Tennessee in 1877 and 1927 or how Wilbur A. Nelson, the Tennessee state geologist from 1918–1925 and a Southern Methodist, sought to educate his public. Despite these limitations, Clark's investigation of the images of evolution in the 1920s is a wonderful window into the place of science

in the United States and how the cultural concerns of an era can shape scientific activity.

CHARLES A. ISRAEL
Auburn University

MICHAEL R. FEIN. *Paving the Way: New York Road Building and the American State, 1880–1956*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2008. Pp. viii, 316. \$39.95.

PETER D. NORTON. *Fighting Traffic: The Dawn of the Motor Age in the American City*. (Inside Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 396. \$35.00.

Manifestations of popular culture from *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1988) to *Who Killed the Electric Car* (2006) blame the dominance of automobiles in the United States on a coalition of oil, auto, and tire companies that conspired in the mid-twentieth century to replace convenient trolleys with unpopular buses. The origins of this myth can be traced to a 1974 report entitled "American Ground Transport: A Proposal for Restructuring the Automobile, Truck, Bus, and Rail Industries" that U.S. government attorney Bradford Snell submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Despite being challenged by many urban histories since then, the myth continues to be widespread. Erased by this story of corporate conspiracy are the complex political and rhetorical struggles behind the making of transportation infrastructure. Both of the books under review detail these struggles through meticulous examinations of newspapers, magazines, professional journals, and government records.

In some ways the texts complement one another, with Michael R. Fein focusing primarily on highways and Peter D. Norton on city streets, but their theoretical projects are quite different. Fein looks at the development of highways as a model for how public policy changed over the twentieth century while Norton's interest is in how technological infrastructure emerges out of material and symbolic conflict.

Fein uses the evolution of road building in New York State to illustrate how the ground was set for a "major overhaul in American governance" (p. 17). At the end of the nineteenth century, road building was a local affair. Farmers and merchants petitioned their highway commissioners when they saw the need for a road and then participated directly in its construction and maintenance. But by the mid-twentieth century, although local residents still had a voice in the routing of highways, the power had shifted to state-level administrators.

This shift did not occur without resistance, especially on two fronts. First, rural residents opposed the idea of paying additional taxes for a statewide system that they saw as primarily benefiting wealthy urban vacationers. Second, machine politicians sought to maintain a patronage system in which contracts could be given to party allies.

By the 1930s this resistance was overcome due to several factors. Perhaps most important, the traditional system's slow pace of construction and poor maintenance

nance of roads failed to meet drivers' needs. Furthermore, federal aid served to boost the legitimacy of state highway authorities. Fein labels this transition from local to statewide governance "democratic" based on statistics indicating that "more than 3 out of 4 households owned cars" in 1930 (p. 270). He concludes this from census data showing one car per 5.34 people and 4.1 people per household. However, this calculation is problematic because if smaller suburban families were more likely to own cars than large urban families, it might be that closer to one out of two households owned cars.

The overestimate of car ownership reflects an underappreciation for the number of people not included in the benefits from these vast public investments. Indeed, as Fein points out, this underappreciation characterized the attitude of highway administrators who saw motorists as the only citizens who mattered. Thus, road construction and maintenance came to be seen as a public good deserving of government funding, while similar funding was denied to rail transportation. Although Fein acknowledges this bias, he says little about the consequences. Mainly, working-class urban residents faced deteriorating mass transit while they subsidized streets and highways used by middle-class suburban car owners.

As Norton shows in his book, urbanites were harmed in more than one way by the growing dominance of automobiles. Pedestrians saw cars as a threat to traditional uses of the street, such as for shopping, children's play, and socializing. They favored strict constraints on the auto's speed and movement through the city. The transformation of the street into a transportation corridor required a sophisticated lobbying campaign on the part of what Norton labels "motordom." Transit companies initially supported this campaign, but they also supported the exclusion of automobiles from streetcar tracks. From the perspective of early transportation engineers, this made sense because trolleys could carry many more people than private automobiles, so assuring their freedom from traffic improved overall mobility.

By the late 1920s, the concern of engineers had shifted from improving general transportation efficiency to, above all, accommodating the automobile. Norton uses the writings of Miller McClintock, one of the most influential authorities on traffic at the time, to illustrate this shift. In his 1925 book *Street Traffic Control*, McClintock criticized the automobile for its inefficient use of space and sought to limit its access to the street, but two years later he argued for rebuilding cities around the needs of car drivers. McClintock and others defended this position by appealing to "the American spirit—freedom of movement" (p. 168). At the same time, Norton suggests that McClintock's change in perspective might have been influenced by the funding his research received from the Studebaker Corporation. Like other auto companies, Studebaker was concerned about a drop in sales and wanted to make car driving more convenient.

Both Norton and Fein reveal the politics behind engineers' supposedly scientific neutrality, but Norton demonstrates more clearly the regressive nature of U.S. transportation planning. He notes how the 1924 Major Traffic Street Plan for Los Angeles, along with its traffic code designed by McClintock the following year, ignored the need to exclude autos from the path of streetcars. The "success" of Los Angeles came to influence cities across the country, and the consequences continue to reverberate today. For example, transit-dependent riders in Los Angeles have long demanded dedicated lanes for buses on major thoroughfares, but the car driver's sense of entitlement to street space appears too entrenched to overcome. Meanwhile, studies consistently rank Los Angeles as having the worst traffic congestion in the nation.

Similar improvidence can be found in the massive federal and state aid afforded highway construction while intercity and intracity rail were starved of funds. Americans traveling to Europe are often surprised at the reliability and speed of train service there, a difference largely attributable to the fact that Europeans had the foresight to construct a balanced transportation system. In this regard, New York State is an exception in many ways on account of its frequent Amtrak connections from Boston to Washington, D.C., its extensive commuter rail network, and its subways—all of which are, of course, centered around New York City. This makes Fein's use of the state as an archetype somewhat problematic. California, where the auto rose to prominence more quickly than in any other state and where freeway planning became a national model, might be more representative.

Missing from both books is a significant discussion of whose voices were excluded from transportation policy decisions. The consensus that developed around street design and highway funding took place in the early and mid-twentieth century when the United States was still, in the words of Michael Omi and Howard Winant, a "racial dictatorship." Those denied a voice in public policy were also those most harmed by it. Throughout the twentieth century people of color were the least likely to own automobiles, and this continues to be the case today. A recent study indicates that whites are nearly five times more likely to have access to a car than blacks.

Despite their gaps, these two books demonstrate exceptional scholarship and deserve to be read by historians of technology, urban design, and public policy, as well as planners, policy makers, and, one can hope, documentary film producers.

PAUL MASON FOTSCH
California State University,
Northridge

DAVID WELKY. *Everything Was Better in America: Print Culture in the Great Depression*. (The History of Communication.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. x, 266. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$25.00.

What happens to a "culture industry," one that has relied for years on a business boom, when economic circumstances change for the worse? How are new commercial imperatives reflected in the stories and features of news, magazine, and pulp fiction publications? To what extent do these stories operate to expose or cover up the social realities of an economic depression? And how do businessmen, reporters, and other mass-market writers negotiate the shifting sands of public opinion while remaining loyal to ideals that have become out of step with current social and political thought? As members of the business culture, bankers and financiers came under heavy criticism for the 1929 stock market crash that caused many people to lose their jobs and hard times to become entrenched. Publishers, who had peddled the 1920s images of abundance, wealth, and upward mobility, needed to make new appeals to Depression-era readers even as they relied more heavily than ever on advertising revenues and business methods. David Welky's book focuses attention on the question of how the American publishing industry responded to the economic and social crisis of the 1930s. It also provides a timely examination of the tension between conservative tendencies in the publishing business and the progressive liberalism that resulted from widespread disillusion directed at the capitalist system.

Divided into three sections that look at three elements of the industry—newspaper publishing, magazine publishing, and mass-market fiction—Welky's text draws a portrait of an industry struggling to adapt to new times while maintaining the conservative, business-friendly status quo upon which its original success was based. At the start of the Depression, President Herbert Hoover mishandled press criticisms of his policies and managed to alienate his conservative and business-minded allies. Newspaper publishers initially reacted to the 1932 election of the media-friendly Franklin D. Roosevelt with some alacrity, yet as fears for the freedom of the press arose with Roosevelt's reform of *laissez-faire* business, newspapers turned critical and threatened their own circulation numbers by going against the tide of popular opinion. Despite this, Welky shows in subsequent chapters that newspapers were able to regain any lost ground by promoting conservative ideologies within the reports of the Lindbergh baby kidnapping, the 1932 Los Angeles and 1936 Berlin Olympics, and comic strips such as "The Gumps," which offered a vision of social stability based on the reassertion of "traditional" American values. News, sports, and comics, he asserts, created and promoted a national mainstream culture that continued to support the values of hard work that underpinned capitalist ideology.

Magazines, longtime markers of social status and purveyors of capitalist fantasies, struggled even more than newspapers against the tide of declining advertising and subscription revenues. As Welky convincingly argues, the emergence of *Life* magazine in 1936 was a success where others failed because of its ability to negotiate the tension between conservative and progres-

sive values within its pages, thereby creating an ideology in keeping with the corporate liberalism of the New Deal itself. In chapters that focus further on the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Superman* comic book series, he offers detailed readings of the stories in these publications to show how they reflected the changing economic and social circumstances of their intended audience. In a final section on books, Welky continues to illustrate this point through case studies of bestsellers like the detective fiction of Ellery Queen and the novel and movie *Gone with the Wind*.

Welky's book covers a huge range of print material, which he has clearly read in quantity. However, because he did not consult industry archives or records, his history is that which is knowable only from the published stories themselves. The overall success of the book is reliant more on synthesizing parallels between individual case studies than on any new observations or interpretation of the stories. Welky does not add any further information, for example, about the Lindbergh baby kidnapping than is already available in the many studies that have been made of it. As he repeats the narrative of events, his central thesis gets swamped by the desire to show rather than analyze. Likewise, he spends time summarizing and synthesizing works such as John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*, and even *Superman*, all of which have drawn detailed commentary elsewhere. Despite this, Welky's dizzying array of examples is held together by the overarching thesis that each one emerged from a paradoxical tension that propelled mass publishing throughout the decade. By placing his case studies within this broad matrix, he creates an engaging portrait that illuminates how business culture reinvented itself, stayed in the "mainstream," and survived when faced with the threat of seismic social changes.

SUSAN CURRELL
University of Sussex

SIMON TOPPING. *Lincoln's Lost Legacy: The Republican Party and the African American Vote, 1928–1952*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2008. Pp. xi, 309. \$65.00.

Simon Topping has written an interesting and scholarly book on a topic that has been largely neglected by historians. His subject is Republican Party strategy—or lack of strategy—toward the African American electorate between the years of 1928 and 1952. It is not, therefore, a detailed analysis of how African Americans voted, but rather a broad-ranging account of party history. Furthermore, in his words, it deals "unapologetically" with just the national level of politics (p. 6). Although there is much in Topping's analysis with which to agree, there is also one important respect in which his "national" approach leads him to ignore the equivalent of a large (but Democratic) elephant sitting in the middle of the room he is trying to describe. Contrary to the author's underlying assumption, it can be argued

that in the two decades after 1934 the Republicans had little to gain from trying to attract African American voters from the Democratic Party by changing their national policy agenda.

Briefly, Topping's argument proceeds as follows. Most enfranchised African Americans voted for Herbert Hoover in 1932, but after 1934 the Democrats received seventy percent of this vote. The economic policies of the New Deal were largely responsible for the switch, and it was in the interest of the Republicans to counter the Democratic agenda with one that would have a direct appeal to African Americans. Their votes could swing control of a number of states in the North, thereby generating presidential victories for Republicans. The failure to pursue those votes represented a lost opportunity. However, Topping's analysis omits the crucial point that one consequence of the New Deal was to weaken Republican competitiveness in many northern and midwestern cities. In Kansas City, for example, Democrats had already started building electoral alliances with black Americans by the late 1920s; after 1932 it became apparent that party building in African American districts would consolidate Democratic electoral gains of that year. The mobilization of previously non-voting urban Americans (black and white) from 1932 onward produced the collapse of Republican city organizations in places like Chicago, even though in a few places (including Philadelphia) Republican machines endured until the early 1950s.

While electoral alliances with local Democratic parties in the cities were usually not built on especially good terms for African American community leaders, these new institutional links meant that "winning back" the black vote would have involved much more for the Republicans than, say, adopting radical stances on anti-lynching legislation at the national level. It can be argued that, even by strongly differentiating themselves from the Democrats with a pro-civil rights agenda, breaking these new urban alliances would have been difficult for Republicans; politics was not just about what national politicians said. Moreover, it would have split their party; as Topping recognizes, there were many Republican politicians who were far more interested in building links with white southerners.

This is not to conclude, however, that the Republicans had lost forever any chance of regaining the African American vote. For example, it could be argued that a Richard Nixon victory in 1960, followed by his conversion to a radical civil rights agenda in 1962 (in response to the mounting pressure produced by marches and demonstrations in the South), could have destroyed part of the New Deal coalition, thereby enabling the Republicans to retain power on the basis of that division. However, the point about this hypothetical scenario is that the Republicans could hope to counter Democratic organization in the cities only by being in a position to enact policies to which African American voters could then respond. Taking stances when they did not control the White House could never have broken the Democrats' links with northern Afri-

can Americans. Moreover, just as Franklin D. Roosevelt had required a national crisis to reconfigure his party's national coalition, so too would the Republicans have needed one in order to displace the Democrats' ascendancy among black Americans in the northern cities. Such conditions were not present in the twenty years after 1932, and there was little prospect then of the Republicans reversing their position. Indeed, the mass migration from the South in the 1940s only increased the Democrats' urban advantage.

Topping is correct in arguing that failure to respond to the African American electorate in the North in the 1920s was a major error of Republican strategy. The migration northward in the first two decades of the twentieth century had provided an opportunity for urban Republican parties to rebuild their electoral coalitions, but most attempts at inclusion were halfhearted at best and would cost the party dearly after 1932. Nevertheless, Topping's conclusion that "it is difficult to understand why the Republican Party did not make more of an effort to regain the African American vote" (p. 208) ignores just how constrained Republican electoral strategies were after the New Deal.

ALAN WARE
Worcester College,
University of Oxford

JOHN F. LYONS. *Teachers and Reform: Chicago Public Education, 1929–1970*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 287. \$40.00.

With public workers now comprising forty percent of all union members in the United States, labor historians are increasingly re-examining their past. One of several recent works on teachers' unions, this book is one of the best histories of public-sector unionism yet. It is an excellent study of teachers' unions in Chicago and also a fine piece of local political history, with interesting interpolations of race, gender, and education policy issues as well.

The story begins in the 1930s, a watershed decade in standard labor histories but not for government employees, whom the National Labor Relations Act (1935) excluded. Still, unions appealed to teachers who wanted renewed professionalism, better compensation, or progressive reform in education. The Great Depression, brought teachers "payless paydays" and pay in scrip. In 1933, teachers, led by John Fewkes, organized mass demonstrations and began merging older groups into the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). By 1938, the CTU was the largest teachers' union in the country. However, it faced challenges due to internal divisions caused by the racial segregation of schools and gender issues. Women mostly taught in grade schools and men in high schools, and their goals differed; although both wanted better pay, women more frequently stressed school reform and community politics. All of these divisions would come into play later.

Denied formal bargaining rights, teachers had to deal

with the Chicago Democratic machine. As Mayor Edward Kelly consolidated power, the CTU focused increasingly on bread-and-butter issues. Patronage, a bane in public employment generally and Chicago especially, hurt the schools, as teachers, contractors, and others often were hired as a reward for political loyalty. Increasing labor violence in the late 1930s prompted Kelly to ally with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL), thereby giving the CTU more political influence. As pay improved, teachers became less interested in educational reform.

During World War II, opportunities for female teachers increased, but compensation became a more exclusive focus. In 1944, the CTU (prompted by a mostly female teachers' group) won one of the first teacher salary schedules not segregated by sex. Lyons's description of how male teachers perceived a decline in their status (for example, complaining about the "emasculatation of the schools") is fascinating, as is his discussion of "labor feminism."

The 1950s brought a red scare but also reform. Mayor Martin Kennelly promised teachers better pay, better conditions, and a voice in school policy. Patronage was reduced, but anticommunism morphed into a general attack on "progressive education" and teacher control. Notably, black teachers who supported civil rights were often accused of communism.

Lyons links the Chicago teachers' 1960s push for collective bargaining rights with the civil rights movement. While many states passed public-sector bargaining laws in that decade, Illinois did not. But, Lyons says, Chicago school teachers won "collective bargaining rights," referring to a not-uncommon practice of public employers discussing employment matters with unions in the absence of formal legal structures. The CTU won "exclusive representative" status and signed a contract in 1966.

During the battle over school desegregation, civil rights activists pressured Mayor Richard J. Daley with boycotts. Meanwhile, violence in the schools increased, and white teachers often blamed black students for the problem. Some white teachers sought transfers to white schools and worried that the civil rights movement threatened their working conditions and autonomy. However, some younger teachers, in an expression of significant "generational discontent," allied with civil rights groups. All teachers suffered from lagging pay. By the late 1960s, more radical activists downplayed integration and instead called for more black administrators, an end to certification tests for (disproportionately black) substitute teachers, and more curricular emphasis on African American issues.

As protests intensified, Daley supported collective bargaining for teachers to retain the CFL's support and to incorporate the CTU into the Democratic machine. Activists used student walkouts in 1968 to win more black staff and greater attention to African American topics in the classroom. In 1969, with the CTU split on

some civil rights issues, a financial crisis threatened teacher pay, and the CTU struck for the first time. A significant minority of black teachers did not support the strike. Daley mediated a settlement that granted all of the CTU's demands, including the certification of substitutes by three years of satisfactory service instead of an exam. The CTU won another strike in 1971 that benefited from increased support by black teachers. By this time more black teachers were employed, more had power within the CTU, and the curriculum focused more on African American experiences.

The section of Lyons's conclusion that discusses events since the 1980s is too brief. Readers may also wish to learn more about the decades the book covers. Were public school maintenance workers in the 1930s really relatively privileged? Why did schools become more violent in the 1950s? How, specifically, did the CTU's collective bargaining work? While critics of teachers unions could learn much from this book, they might think that all of their objections are not sufficiently addressed. Still, this excellent work does an impressive job of covering four turbulent decades. It should be read by anyone interested in labor, education policy, urban politics, or Chicago history.

JOSEPH E. SLATER

University of Toledo College of Law

RICHARD R. VALENCIA. *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality*. (Critical America.) New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 483. \$49.00.

In this book Richard R. Valencia effectively weaves together a wide variety of large and small, famous and forgotten, Chicano legal challenges to educational discrimination and ties the entire corpus of activism around the concept of critical race theory. This book is successful as a reference work and as a synthesis of critical race scholarship on the varied, confusing tangle of Mexican American educational litigation.

Valencia devotes specific chapters to the somewhat overlapping areas of segregation, funding, special education, bilingual education, school closures, undocumented students, higher education, and high-stakes testing. Unsurprisingly, the largest topic is school segregation. Valencia begins with the recent discovery of the *Romo v. Laird* (1925) case in Arizona, the first Mexican American anti-segregation lawsuit. He also insightfully examines the similarities between the Mexican American and African American civil rights movements, noting that educator Marie Hughes's pedagogical and psychological testimony in the landmark *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946) case of California "paralleled the arguments that were to be made later by Dr. Kenneth Clark in the *Brown* case" (p. 27). Valencia demonstrates that the racializing power of the law and the judiciary kept both civil rights movements from more neatly converging in this period. For example, a federal appeals court explicitly refused the efforts of

both civil rights movements to apply the *Mendez* case to *Plessy v. Ferguson* in a way that would perhaps have ushered a *Brown*-like decision a decade earlier.

Valencia's work makes numerous other important contributions. In particular, the chapter on undocumented students contributes a badly needed focus on the *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) case of Texas. Much discussed by legal scholars yet relatively ignored by historians, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled five to four in *Plyler* that the states could not deny undocumented students access to the public schools. Valencia notes that "Of the numerous Mexican American-initiated lawsuits discussed in this book, *Plyler* ranks at the top regarding the reach of civil rights on the Mexican-origin community" (p. 245). Given the current Latino demographic revolution in this nation, historians must begin to critically engage the recent work of legal scholars on this and other similarly important topics. That the designers of the infamous Proposition 187 in California intended their 1994 effort to result in a test case that would overturn *Plyler* during a much more conservative judicial climate only heightens the importance of this case to historians working on recent political culture, civil rights, education, and immigration. This book offers an excellent starting place for such future work.

While the importance of this study as a valuable reference to other scholars cannot be underestimated, its intellectual engagement with critical race theory is just as important. The author contextualizes critical race theory as "a form of oppositional scholarship" born in response to the waning of public interest in civil rights litigation during the 1970s; it involves the "centrality and intersectionality of race and racism," challenges dominant ideologies, is committed to social justice, to the importance of experiential knowledge with regard to racism, and to an interdisciplinary scholarly perspective (p. 2). Valencia smartly highlights the notion of "legal indeterminacy" as the key theme of Mexican American litigation history (p. 4). One of the drawbacks to critical race theory, perhaps related to the interpretation's reliance on postcolonial theory, is that subtlety occasionally disappears; judicial caution, punctilious compliance with laws, and very real, if misguided, pedagogical concerns, for example, can blithely appear as manifestations of direct, racist intent without nuance or explanation. This is a minor interpretive quibble, though, that is readily countered by the book's willingness to criticize lionized civil rights institutions such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund in those instances when they performed poorly (pp. 184–185).

Valencia's study offers enterprising historians myriad ways in which to engage the increasingly paramount subjects of Mexican American education, race, poverty, and immigration. In this original and laboriously researched book, Valencia successfully communicates the size and complexity of the Mexican American community's quest for better schools—and how much more is

left for historians to do on this important yet neglected topic.

CARLOS KEVIN BLANTON
Texas A&M University,
College Station

GASTÓN ESPINOSA and MARIO T. GARCÍA, editors. *Mexican American Religions: Spirituality, Activism, and Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 443. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$25.95.

This collection consists of fifteen essays framed by an introduction and a conclusion. The Introduction suggests that this is one of the first books to study Mexican American religion from a multidisciplinary and nonsectarian perspective. Although some of the reasons given for this seem silly (e.g., religious studies did not emerge as an academic discipline until the mid-1960s), editors Gastón Espinosa and Mario T. García are likely correct in saying that the study of Mexican American religion has often been pervaded by a Catholic sectarian bias. So: what new insights do the editors achieve by adopting a multidisciplinary and nonsectarian perspective? According to the Conclusion, these insights include that religion plays a major role in shaping Mexican American identity, and that outside the institutional church "religious symbols, rhetoric, and worldview" have often been reworked in very creative ways in Mexican American art, drama, and literature. Do the essays in between live up to the promises and claims found in the Introduction and Conclusion? Sometimes yes, but often not.

Rudy V. Busto's essay, for example, starts by pointing out that most accounts of Reies López Tijerina have ignored Tijerina's experience with the "Valle de Paz" utopian community that he founded in the 1950s on his later Land Grant activism. True enough. But as Busto himself notes, not much is known about what happened in that community beyond Tijerina's own vague account—and in the end Busto does not really advance the discussion. The result: I still do not have a clear sense of how the Valle de Paz experience influenced Tijerina.

Socorro Castañeda-Liles's review of scholarly approaches to Our Lady of Guadalupe contrasts "apparitionist" scholars (so-called because they accept that the apparition to Juan Diego really happened) with "anti-apparitionist" scholars (who challenge the apparition's historicity). In summarizing the apparitionist position, she devotes much attention to their arguments about the way in which Guadalupe functions to empower women in a patriarchal culture, but little attention to why they accept the apparition account at face value. In discussing the anti-apparitionists, by contrast, the author mentions in passing that these historians emphasize Guadalupe's role as a Mexican national symbol but spends much of her discussion outlining why they challenge the apparition's authenticity and then providing critiques of these challenges (for example, pointing out that scientists who have examined the Guada-

lupe image have "concluded that it is impossible to determine the pigment's makeup"). Still, even putting aside the "apparition was likely real" emphasis that seems implicit in her discussion, Castañeda-Liles does in the latter part of the chapter present a good account of the ways in which Guadalupe has come to be re-imagined by Chicana feminists in their writing and in their art.

Kay Turner argues that for the women who maintain home altars, these altars are a way of establishing a relationship with supernatural beings (like Mary and the saints) but also of sacralizing relationships within a family. And apart from the occasional unsubstantiated generalization (e.g., women in the West have maintained domestic altars continuously since pre-Christian times), Turner's interview data does, I think, illustrate the very creative ways in which these two goals are accomplished. By contrast Laura Pérez's discussion of the "altar-inspired" art of Amalia Mesa-Bains seems a little too narrowly focused to be of general interest.

Mario T. García's "Religion and the Chicano Movement" seems to me to be—the Introduction's caution about sectarian bias notwithstanding—a fairly uncritical account of the *Católicos por la Raza* movement in California.

Brown Moses's chapter on Francisco Olazábal and Mexican American Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century is a well-written historical essay whose conclusions seem tightly tied to the material reviewed—but this only served, in my mind, to highlight the absence of tight links between data and conclusions in the chapter that immediately follows, Luis D. León's account of a *curandera* in Los Angeles.

Richard R. Flores's essay aims to relate descriptive material on *Los Pastores* troupes (groups that stage a Christmas drama in private homes during the Christmas season) to a variety of theoretical arguments relating to gender. But most of his references date from the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s. Was the essay written for this volume, or has it been sitting around unpublished for a decade?

On balance, I suspect that this is a book that scholars interested in the study of Mexican American religion will want to read. I also believe, however, that it would have been a much better book if the editors had made more of an effort to hold contributors to the standards laid out in the introduction and the conclusion.

MICHAEL CARROLL
University of Western Ontario

KENNETH D. ROSE. *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II*. New York: Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group. 2008. Pp. xvii, 361. \$26.95.

In this sprightly book, Kenneth D. Rose challenges the popular glorification of the "Greatest Generation" as uniquely united, patriotic, honorable, and worthy of emulation. This wartime generation has been celebrated in numerous books by Tom Brokaw, Stephen E.

Ambrose, and others who credit its members with rising from the Great Depression and submerging their class, racial, and personal differences and interests to unite against the forces of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. Rose's narrative questions such a view and portrays the wartime generation in a harsher, more probing light. Members of that generation were only human, of course, and Rose has chosen to balance their achievements by spotlighting inconsistent, tragic, and sometimes disreputable aspects of the American wartime experience at home and abroad. Thus, we also see incompetence, racism, greed, and brutality amid a wartime generation celebrated for self-sacrifice, unity, and patriotism.

On the home front, there were bureaucratic bumbling, continued discrimination against women and minorities, segregation of African Americans, racial tensions, internment of ethnic Japanese, war profiteering, a thriving black market, family stress, and increased juvenile delinquency. Overseas, the horrors of extended combat were borne by a disproportionate minority, fewer than one million among the sixteen million Americans in uniform. The end of the war was accompanied not only by record numbers of marriages and births but also by the highest divorce rates in American history before the enactment of more lenient divorce laws in the 1970s. "The Greatest Generation possessed some of the same frailties as lesser generations," Rose declares, "and the Good War exacted a steep price on Americans both at home and abroad" (p. 250).

Returning veterans cast a "silence of memory" over their worst experiences, and many people on the home front reacted similarly as they all sought to move on with their lives. Rose contends that it was several decades later that, in part as an antidote to national frustrations and divisions, a deceptive, self-satisfying vision of a heroic, unified generational effort was constructed to restore a sense of the greatness of America. The Greatest Generation, he concludes, is more invention than truth.

"[C]anonizing the Americans of World War II does a disservice both to the historical record and to the individuals themselves," the author claims (p. 7). It is unfair because they lived through extremely difficult—even brutal and disintegrative—times, and it is dangerous because "it leaves behind the impression that war draws all people closer together, that cohesion is maximized and conflict minimized . . . [and that] war itself is an attractive option rather than an absolute last resort" (p. 254).

Although emphasizing the horrors of war for those who fought it and the social pressures on those at home, this is not an antiwar book. Despite the war's costs, Rose sees it as justified and necessary in the quest to stop brutal regimes that led to the Nazi genocide in Europe and what he calls the "Pacific Holocaust" imposed by the Japanese (p. 251).

The author asserts that he is writing revisionist history against the prevailing myth. But this is not new. Revisionism on this subject has been going on for more

than twenty years. As Rose's own secondary sources indicate, notable critiques of the romanticized notion of the American war effort at home and abroad have been included in many notable works since the 1980s, among them Studs Terkel, *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (1984); Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the World War II* (1989); William O'Neill, *A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II* (1993); Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (1994); and Gerald F. Linderman, *The World within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II* (1997).

Such accounts have provided much of the basis for the present book, which is still useful because Rose has organized and summarized existing findings in a lively and effective manner. Although he eschews archival materials, Rose has enlivened his narrative with quotations and anecdotes from published primary sources: memoirs, collections of letters, government reports, and articles from a variety of civilian and military newspapers and magazines.

This is a valuable book for those who want a highly readable, up-to-date account covering the dismal as well as the encouraging aspects of the American social and cultural experience in World War II.

JOHN WHITECLAY CHAMBERS II
Rutgers University

JOHN G. TURNER. *Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. x, 288. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Campus Crusade for Christ, founded in 1951 by Bill Bright, reports on its website (February 27, 2009) that there are Campus Crusade campus ministry chapters on 1,090 university campuses in the United States, that last year 49,776 university students indicated "they had met Jesus through our U.S. Campus Ministry," and that in the same year "14.4 million visits were recorded to Campus Crusade-sponsored websites." The organization has a budget to match, with combined U.S. and international revenues just short of \$650 million, according to its 2007 annual report. Indeed, as John G. Turner reports in this history of the organization and its founder, Campus Crusade for Christ is the largest "non-philanthropic" evangelical parachurch organization in the country, and one's understanding of the broad, diverse, and influential movement known in the United States as evangelicalism cannot be complete without full consideration of this giant operation.

Within this well-written biography of Bright, which is also an organizational biography of Campus Crusade for Christ, Turner examines key intramural relations between Campus Crusade and InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (another evangelical campus ministry parachurch organization); Campus Crusade and stalwart fundamentalist institutions Bob Jones University and Dallas Theological Seminary; and Campus Crusade and

Jim Wallis, the influential editor of the progressive evangelical periodical, *Sojourners Magazine*.

Turner also turns his attention to the relationship between Bright and wider political and social movements, such as anticommunism, the entry of the evangelical right into active electoral politics, and the counter counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s. All came together, according to Turner, in very illuminating ways at Campus Crusade's "Explo '72"—a "Godstock" rather than a Woodstock—at which 85,000 high school and college students gathered for a week in Dallas to live in tents, pray, witness, listen to rock music, discuss matters of race, and practice "an inchoate theological ecumenism" that "would have been an unrecognizable anathema to an evangelical audience a decade earlier and showed the extent of the evangelical commitment to remain close to the mainstream of American culture" (p. 121). And, according to Turner, Bright's unrelenting pragmatism led him to make "practical accommodations" to female leadership, allow some staff to "dress like hippies," and hire "former executives to evangelize businessmen and politicians" (p. 231). Bright and his Campus Crusade were modernizing influences within the Protestant evangelical movement and, by being that way, kept evangelicalism ever fresh and on-the-move.

Turner also included material of a more local nature: a sense of the way in which Bright and his wife, Vonette, understood their marriage as a joint ministry, for example; the early campus ministry at UCLA; and the tensions within the Campus Crusade staff, especially in the early years. All such contributes to this well-rounded, multidimensional, and amply researched historical study.

BETTY A. DEBERG
University of Northern Iowa

DIANE PECKNOLD. *The Selling Sound: The Rise of the Country Music Industry*. (Refiguring American Music.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 294. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

This is a terribly good book: good because of the wealth of factual material and insights it introduces; terrible for some because it directly confronts with historical evidence the view expressed by a few country music historians and folklorists that the music is an age-old rural folk expression that was gradually adulterated by the crass exploitation of outside commercial interests. Diane Pecknold shows that, at least from the early days of the twentieth century, artists and fans actively cooperated in making country music a commercial enterprise.

Pecknold uses published sources to understand the period before World War II, but in discussing the period from 1945 to 1975, which encompasses most of the book, she draws largely from archived discourses not previously available in published form. Unfortunately, it is not always clear what these sources are because they are not immediately noted in the text. Rather they are collectively cited at a paragraph's end together with all the works used in that paragraph.

In spite of its subtitle, the book does not celebrate the corporate innovators or chronicle the interlinking set of companies that became the industry. There are no statistics on corporate growth, concert attendance, record sales, employment, or industry profits. Instead Pecknold makes a careful analysis of the preserved discourses about country music, its fans, and its industry that were made by stakeholders ranging from artists, the music industry trade press, advertisers, and fans. She also includes the diverse outsiders interested in using the music for their own ends, such as politicians, the popular press, and academics. She convincingly shows that "commercialism" displaced "authenticity" as the dominant discourse over the value of country music by the 1960s, except among the sort of historians and folklorists she calls "preservationists."

According to Pecknold, one root of commercialism is the postwar country fans, artists, and business people's anxiety over the déclassé image of devotees as shiftless, illiterate bumpkins lurking on the margins of urban society. The industry's trade association, the Country Music Association, founded in 1958, worked relentlessly to change the image. A 1963 representative promotional brochure entitled "The Selling Sound of Country Music" stressed that loyal country music fans were willing targets for advertisers because they had good jobs and steady incomes, lived primarily in towns and cities, had stable families, and were regular purchasers of big-ticket consumer durables. Echoing a rags-to-riches theme, other brochures stressed that country fans were avid consumers because they wanted to show that they were no longer poor country folk but part of the middle class. Relentlessly pitching this message to radio station owners and national advertisers led to a rapid rise in the number of country format radio stations, which in turn built phonograph record sales and revenues from touring. The development of weekly charts of record sales meant that DJs with no knowledge or taste for the music could program "country" by simply playing the currently charted songs at the expense of bluegrass, gospel, western swing, and the longtime favorites of the genre.

Pecknold cites the diverse characters in Robert Altman's film *Nashville* (1975) to illustrate the permeable boundaries separating a country music fan, a semi-pro, and a professional. She shows that fans actively contributed to the commercial discourse by promoting the music and their favorite artists through fan letters to magazines. These commercial efforts became more focused in the 1950s with the development of fan-initiated artist fan clubs run primarily by unpaid working-class women who tirelessly promoted their favorite artists and the genre. Having meager promotional budgets for country music, the record companies initially welcomed these efforts, but after 1969 the club women were no longer welcomed at trade events because of fan infighting, their defense of fading stars, and off-message statements about CMA goals. Professional promotional teams were initiated to present an unfailingly positive image of artists and the genre.

Pecknold explores the links between the industry and

national politics, citing presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson's failed attempt to woo supporters, the federal payola hearings that not only accused rock 'n' roll but also country of being dangerous music, and the use of artists by the politician, George Wallace, and other Dixiecrats. Most tellingly, she shows the pivotal role that country music and its industry played in Richard Nixon's "southern strategy" to capture the South for the Republican Party.

Surprisingly, the book does not spotlight song publishing, though it was the most profitable part of the country music business. It also suffers from being Nashville-centered. Little attention is given to the Hollywood cowboy movies and the western look that was exploited in a diverse range of products. The extensive southwestern dance-hall industry and its associated western swing music are also ignored.

This is not an economic historian's study of the rise of the country music industry, but by focusing on industry as a discourse about commercialism, Pecknold makes a unique contribution to country music scholarship that will be an invaluable resource for decades to come.

RICHARD A. PETERSON,
Emeritus
Vanderbilt University

MELVYN STOKES. *D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation: A History of "The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time."* New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 413. \$24.95.

There was no shortage of commentary on *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) over the course of the twentieth century. But Melvyn Stokes's book, coming on the eve of the film's centennial, is likely to be its definitive chronicle in the twenty-first century. Much of what Stokes covers has been extensively discussed in a variety of contexts. But no one volume brings together the variety and depth of research he does here.

This book is perhaps best understood as a series of concentric circles of historical interpretation. Following an introduction that notes the ongoing power of the film to generate controversy even in contemporary U.S. society, Stokes proceeds to use the occasion of the film's premiere in Los Angeles to provide an exhaustive overview of the plot. He then offers a pair of biographical profiles: one of Thomas Dixon, author of the novels *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900* (1902) and *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (1905), on which the movie would be based, and the other of D. W. Griffith, the man who would compile a synthesis of print and stage versions that Dixon himself would dub *The Birth of a Nation*. Stokes notes, as previous observers have, the curious combination of Victorian piety and personal restlessness that marked the careers of both men, who came out of a similar Reconstruction milieu with a strong desire simultaneously to honor their Confederate patrimony as well as to channel inchoate ambitions

in a rapidly evolving popular culture landscape. Similarly curious are the incendiary racial views of the two men, given that neither regarded such views as especially remarkable or believed they were problematic or even central to their aesthetic and moral concerns. Indeed, as Stokes moves into an ensuing chapter that details the logistical, financial, and artistic obstacles involved in bringing the most ambitious cinematic enterprise of its time to its fruition, one can almost forget, as Griffith and his collaborators surely did at least some of the time, how much hate animated this gargantuan labor of love.

In terms of its historiographic contributions, however, the locus of the book is not the film's production but rather its distribution and reception. It has long been recognized, for example, that Griffith did not actually invent many cinematic innovations such as close-ups or cross-cutting but deployed them with unprecedented skill and scale in his work. Stokes makes a parallel argument in analyzing the series of decisions behind the film's financing, release, and promotion, whether in choosing the risky but ultimately profitable strategies of road shows, live-theater pricing, use of professional publicists, or other techniques. Although its makers were financially stretched to the breaking point on the eve of its release, the film ultimately became immensely successful, even if the long-term consequences engendered a sense of rigidity that ultimately compromised Griffith's artistic independence. Here again one encounters the strange mix of middle-class values, cultural innovation, and reactionary politics that cohered to make a durable impact on American culture.

It is the third leg of this triptych that dominates the second half of the book, in particular the struggle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to combat the racist power of *The Birth of a Nation*. This, too, is a familiar chapter in the saga of the film's cultural history. But Stokes investigates the matter with uncommon depth. He notes, for instance, the shifting strategies of the NAACP, which moved from public demonstrations to censor the film to a quieter approach of pressuring local officials, a shift made in response to repeated political defeats and free speech concerns among civil libertarians. He also describes internecine battles within the NAACP and between that organization and Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee machine as well as with more radical figures like William Monroe Trotter, whose more frankly political approach in Boston initially seemed promising. In the short run, the civil rights community lost most of the battles it waged, with notable exceptions in Kansas and Ohio—indeed, the filmmakers actually paid a group of African Americans in Oakland to call for a boycott to stoke interest in the film (p. 169). But Stokes also notes that the campaign greatly raised the profile of the fledgling NAACP and demonstrated a growing consciousness among blacks and whites alike of the emerging electoral power of African Americans throughout northern and western cities.

In the final chapters of the book, Stokes situates *The*

Birth of a Nation in terms of the racial and wartime anxieties of the late Progressive era and World War I, as well as the Civil War historiography of Dixon/Griffith's time (here it is worth making the now proverbial point that Dixon was a graduate school classmate of Woodrow Wilson at Johns Hopkins University, and that the film had a special White House screening). Stokes's careful excavation of the source material for the movie reveals Griffith's sometimes shocking inversion of writers like Radical Republican Albion W. Tourgée and Wilson himself in *Birth's* willful insistence on celebrating the Ku Klux Klan in the face of missing or contrary evidence. Such falsehoods are all the more appalling, and even alarming, when one considers the tireless repetition on the part of the film's boosters that it was a scrupulously accurate reconstruction of history.

For all its breadth, Stokes's book has two discernible shortcomings, if not quite omissions. The first is the ongoing influence of *Birth* in subsequent popular culture of the Civil War. It would have been interesting, for example for him to do more of a direct comparison of the film with *Gone with the Wind* (1939), especially given the fact that Margaret Mitchell's novel was every bit as celebratory of the Klan as Dixon and Griffith were, while the film version was not. The other would be to extend the historiographic debate of interpretation surrounding the film. Like Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1936), *Birth* poses knotty questions about the distinction between politics and aesthetics. In the long shadow of poststructuralist theory, the pendulum at the turn of this century remains on the side of their inseparability. Stokes seems to agree but never says so explicitly. It might be helpful to see the question reframed.

"The time will come," Griffith is quoted as saying in 1915, "when children in the public schools will be taught practically everything by moving pictures" (p. 172). It is a long established truism that Griffith's messianic belief in the power of film to transform the world was at best a matter of pacifist naïveté. Yet as Stokes notes, in his confidence in the triumph of visual media, Griffith now seems more prescient than ever. If the truth—whatever it may be—is a good deal more elusive than movies like *Birth of a Nation* assert, the task of addressing it remains urgent. In our charming confidence in the typeset word in professional journals like this one, the final naïveté may be ours more than his.

JIM CULLEN

The Ethical Culture Fieldston School
New York

GARY W. GALLAGHER. *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War*. (The Steve and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. 274. \$28.00.

When he was a fourteen-year-old boy in Alamosa, Colorado, in 1965, Gary W. Gallagher watched *Shenandoah*, a movie about a Virginia farmer (Jimmy Stewart)

who does not want to see his sons fight in the Civil War. He was so fascinated with the story that he remained in Alamosa's Rialto Theater for two more screenings. Now, after many years of teaching and writing about the history of the Civil War, Gallagher has published a book-length examination of *Shenandoah* and other movies on the subject. Interestingly, Gallagher expanded this study of representations to include works of graphic art. He examined illustrations in 2,750 advertisements, especially those that appeared in magazines with Civil War themes. As in the case of films, he concentrated on works produced in recent decades. There has been a surge in public curiosity about the war, especially after the appearance of Ken Burns's acclaimed documentary series, *The Civil War* (1990).

Gallagher observes four major traditions of interpretation in these media: the Lost Cause, the Emancipation Cause, the Reconciliation Cause, and the Union Cause. The Lost Cause provides a sympathetic view of the South's difficult experiment in nation-building, and the Union theme describes the war essentially as "an effort to maintain a viable republic in the face of secessionist actions that threatened the work of the Founders and, by extension, the future of democracy in a world that had yet to embrace self-rule by a free people" (p. 2). The Emancipation tradition interprets the war especially as a struggle to remove slavery's cancerous influence in American society, and the Reconciliation theme emphasizes "an attempt by white people North and South to extol the American virtues both sides manifested during the war, to exalt the restored nation that emerged from the conflict, and to mute the role of African Americans" (p. 2).

Interpretations of the Lost Cause usually play down the significance of slavery as a factor in the sectional conflict. Instead, producers of this art stress the Confederacy's constitutional high-mindedness and the gallantry of its soldiers on the battlefield. Before World War II, Hollywood films often reflected this interpretation, but in recent years American cinema has given the tradition very little screen time. Ronald F. Maxwell's *Gods and Generals* (2003) is unusual, since it evoked some of the old Lost Cause themes. In the realm of art, however, the tradition of the Lost Cause remains popular. Many Americans buy paintings of Robert E. Lee or Stonewall Jackson and scenes depicting Confederate soldiers as gallant warriors. This art appeals to customers who favor states rights and resent federal power. Some of the graphics attract people who are unhappy with the changing racial landscape in modern America (many of these individuals favor paintings depicting the leadership of Nathan Bedford Forrest, an ex-Confederate who led southern whites in violent opposition to blacks during Reconstruction).

The Emancipation Cause began to attract greater support from Hollywood filmmakers in the decades after World War II. *Friendly Persuasion* (1956) and the movie that enthralled Gallagher in his youth, *Shenandoah* (1965), led the shift toward films that stressed the wrongs of slavery and the value of black emancipation.

A 1989 movie, *Glory*, marked the beginning of the Emancipation Cause's dominance in recent Civil War cinema. Gallagher attributes this change, in part, to the influence of the civil rights movement and to modern views of race. He should note the importance of market factors, as well. When African Americans became prominent as patrons of the movies after the 1960s, Hollywood's filmmakers demonstrated greater sensitivity to the Emancipation theme.

Although the Union Cause served as a primary motivating factor for many Yankee soldiers and civilians during the war, Gallagher points out that the theme has received scant attention in recent cinema and artwork. It gets limited screen time these days largely because patrons find it difficult to understand why men would risk their lives for the nebulous ideal of "Union." Americans also associate the Union (i.e., the North) with factories and large populations and a powerful, intrusive state operating from Washington, D.C.—generally negative images. Some Americans are unhappy with the global projection of U.S. military and economic power in recent decades. Images of Union forces rampaging through the Confederate countryside remind viewers of the destructive actions of the U.S. military in Vietnam, notes Gallagher. These impressions leave the Union Cause, a key factor in the real Civil War, rather obscure in the representations by moviemakers and artists.

Gallagher, one of our finest historians of the Civil War, brings an abundance of sharp insights to this thoughtful analysis. By drawing attention to four principal traditions of interpretation in cinema and art, he demonstrates how popular culture both reflects and shapes our understanding of the war's meaning.

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN
University of North Carolina,
Wilmington

ELLEN R. BAKER. *On Strike and On Film: Mexican American Families and Blacklisted Filmmakers in Cold War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 349. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Historian Ellen Baker has written an impressive first book that finally does historical justice to one of the most famous labor strikes of the Cold War era. Importantly, Baker's account delivers three different levels of analysis of Mine-Mill local 890's miners' strike against the Empire Zinc Company in Grant County, New Mexico, in October 1950. Because the labor action and the underlying gender tensions within the striking miners' families were made famous by the radical semi-documentary film *Salt of the Earth* (1954), Baker is required to do a multilevel analysis of the conditions surrounding the strike which elevates the book to much more than a traditional labor history.

The first part of the book, however, does provide a long, detailed account of the social and economic conditions of Grant County, which moved from an Apache-dominated, out-of-the-way region of southern New Mexico in the late-nineteenth century to a sophisti-

cated, highly racialized outpost of a global mining industry by the mid-twentieth century. The industrial workforce that came to risk their lives and earn their livelihoods in the region by the early twentieth century were strictly divided by race, as was the social geography of the neighboring company towns and the larger town of Silver City. The labor revolts and New Deal politics of the 1930s drew communist organizers to the difficult arena of labor organizing in the industry, while participation by Mexican Americans in the armed services in World War II made it probable that returning veterans would seek greater opportunities through organized labor in the CIO Mine-Mill union.

The strike of 1950 was against the growing retrenchment policies of Empire Zinc, which saw in the anti-communist rhetoric of the Cold War era a reason to fight any protection of worker rights as agitation by "outside forces." Though communists were certainly in the mix of leaders in the local, more important was the rise of a Mexican American local leadership paired with a sympathetic and effective white leftist couple, Clinton and Virginia Jencks, who arrived from Denver in 1946. This tandem was able to translate the bonds of brotherhood that marked the mining community into a labor action that challenged the balance of power in southern New Mexico.

When mining officials were able to win an injunction against pickets by miners from the local courts, it was the ingenuity of the local population that made this labor agitation more revelatory than the dynamic embedded in other strikes of the era. Members of the ladies' auxiliary of the union noticed that the legal ruling did not prohibit the wives and children of the miners from taking their place on the picket lines, so a spirited union meeting produced a contentious decision to encourage women to take up a position that many miners felt violated a central tenet of respectable femininity. Women increasingly appeared on the picket lines, in the courtrooms, and in the jails, as well as challenging their own ambivalent husbands by demanding that they take up traditional housekeeping functions at home in a reversal of gender roles. Baker makes clear the various tensions that this reversal unleashed within families as well as the return to traditional roles that followed the moderately successful conclusion of the strike itself.

While this fascinating story of gender reversals makes the strike noteworthy in the annals of labor history, the "worker-artist alliance" in the making of the film *Salt of the Earth* is what makes this book exceptional. Baker is able to detail how a group of blacklisted writers and filmmakers from Hollywood connected with southern New Mexican miners through a chance meeting on a vacation ranch near Taos in the summer of 1951. This led the Hollywood artists, led by producer Paul Jarrico and co-writer Michael Wilson, to decide to tell the cinematic story of the 1950 strike, urged on by their wives and creative partners to foreground the expansive role of women. Their experimental vision incorporated Mexican miners, wives, and children into roles in the film itself; the final product had to win union

approval. The film also generated considerable anti-communist hysteria among local and state officials intent on disassociating the region with leftist activity.

It is in Baker's decision to chronicle all three major parts of the Grant County story—the strike itself, the gender transformation, and the filmmaking—that this book distinguishes itself from other labor histories. She has produced a revealing historical analysis of the intertwining worlds of labor, race, culture, and politics in Cold War America that the film *Salt of the Earth* so movingly captures.

GEORGE J. SANCHEZ

University of Southern California

LAURA A. BELMONTE. *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 255. \$47.50.

Despite the term's frequent employment, the United States' century-long relationship with public diplomacy can best be described as "love/hate." This has been especially evident during the past decade, which at its outset began with Congress declaring that as the Cold War had ended, so too should the government end the distinctly "un-American" informational programs that were required to fight it. The United States Information Agency, the most public component of the public diplomacy bureaucracy, was unceremoniously incorporated into the State Department in 1999. Three years later, the bungled response to the outpouring of global anti-American sentiment following the tragedy of 9/11 and the American decision to invade Iraq demonstrated the folly of such actions.

Laura A. Belmonte demonstrates that this is merely the continuation of a decades-long conflict within the U.S. government. Her book chronicles America's great struggle with public diplomacy during the early decades of the Cold War. This thoroughly researched and well-written text explores the battles Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower waged against a recalcitrant Congress to appropriate the necessary funding to wage a global ideological battle against the heavily financed Soviet propaganda machine. She describes a terribly dysfunctional government (eerily reminiscent of today) barely able to acknowledge the need for a peacetime public diplomacy apparatus, having just disbanded the one used to fight World War II, and struggling to divine the most appropriate message about the U.S. to spread around the world.

Belmonte divides her study into six chapters. Chapters one and two analyze the efforts made by the Truman and Eisenhower administrations to create a peacetime public diplomacy program to defeat Soviet efforts to sully both American policies and American culture, preying on a global public which knew little about the United States and was suspicious of its intent. Her analysis of the devastation wrought by the domestic anti-communist crusade is especially riveting. The rabid McCarthyism of many in Congress during the late 1940s and 1950s led to mass purges of officials who sought to

present a more nuanced image of American life. Instead, Congressional leaders mandated that agencies like Voice of America and the United States Information Agency present only the best of America—eliminating any artistic or literary works from many leading, albeit left-leaning, American writers—thus painting a caricature of the United States that Soviet propaganda effectively challenged.

Senator Joseph McCarthy's demise gave U.S. public diplomacy more latitude to admit to the world America's domestic problems, but the tensions within these messages remained—chapters three through six document the battle over these points of contention. How should the United States argue for the superiority of its democratic system over the opposing totalitarian models? What are the advantages of the American economic system over that of Soviet socialism? How should the United States portray the differences between the Soviet and American perspectives on women's rights? And, most difficult of all, how should America's painful struggle with race relations be presented? Few issues so undermined America's moral standing than the battle over segregation. Newspapers the world over reported on racial violence throughout the South, particularly the frequent lynchings that terrorized the African American population and provided Soviet propagandists with more fodder with which to discredit the image of American democracy that the United States so earnestly hoped to present.

Belmonte could have strengthened her discussion by including an introductory chapter explaining the high degree of anti-Americanism that existed throughout the early postwar era and the various Soviet campaigns to exploit it. This would have been especially beneficial today, as many readers have long forgotten that the problem of anti-Americanism long preceded the policies of George W. Bush's administration. Also, this would also have helped remind Americans of the enormous ideological challenge posed by the Soviet Union during those early decades.

I also believe that Belmonte somewhat overstates the financial discrepancy between the United States and Soviet public diplomacy campaigns. It is next to impossible to determine exactly how much the U.S. government spent since much of the effort remained clandestine and the monies ran through a wide variety of government and non-governmental agencies. For instance, my own research indicates that significant sums were funneled through the Defense Department in addition to the Central Intelligence Agency and ostensibly independent organizations like the Ford Foundation. U.S. campaigns directed at Europe—the front lines of the early Cold War—received financing from both the Marshall Plan and a special slush fund that provided at least an additional half-billion dollars from West European counterpart funding. Belmonte mocks as “laughable” the Eisenhower administration's 1950s public diplomacy budget of 500 million dollars, arguing that it represented merely one percent of defense spending at the time (p. 179); translated as a percentage

of GDP, however, that figure equals 14 billion dollars today—not exactly chicken feed, especially compared with current expenditures.

Aside from these points, Belmonte has produced an invaluable contribution that should be examined by everyone interested in understanding public diplomacy and in building an effective public diplomacy campaign.

GREGORY MITROVICH
Columbia University

KIMBERLY WALLACE-SANDERS. *Mammy: A Century of Race, Gender, and Southern Memory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 184. \$40.00.

Kimberly Wallace-Sanders begins her book by recounting some awkward moments. When people learned she was researching the cultural history of “Mammy,” the female stereotype of the loyal southern slave, things often became uncomfortable. Some white people offered recollections of their own “Mammy.” Black people often angrily recalled the white children their mothers cared for as domestics. Colleagues expressed concerns that by hiring an Afro-Caribbean nanny, they were proliferating a system of racial inequality and exploitation. This range of responses to the Mammy figure—from wistfulness to anxiety and rage—is the subject of Wallace-Sanders's study. Using fiction, advertising, dolls, postcards, and photographs, she views Mammy as “a multifaceted prism” through which we can see “a continuous spectrum of views and attitudes about racial hierarchy” (p. 11).

Instead of viewing Mammy solely as the product of white southerners' imaginations after the Civil War, the author puts her on a timeline that reaches from 1850 to the present. She finds that the archetype of a motherly, fiercely loyal black woman was not just a product of white southerners' nostalgia, nor was she simply a stereotype meant to assert African American inferiority—although she was both of these—but she also became an instrument of political critique aimed at white supremacy and the South's long history of slavery.

In fictional representations, and in the memories of white southerners, much was made of the idea that Mammy, with her unshakable faith in the superiority of white folks, loved the white children she tended more than her own. While acknowledging the fraught relationship between the white child and her black caregiver, Wallace-Sanders makes an interesting choice: to put Mammy's relationship to her *own* children at the center of her analysis. In the author's view, Mammy's poor relationship with her offspring was insulting in two ways. First, it suggested that black mothers “exhaust their store of maternal devotion with white children and come home empty.” And second, such representations implied that black children were “both subhuman and dispensable” (p. 26).

African American writers began their critique of the black Mammy as early as the mid-nineteenth century. According to the author, Frederick Douglass revised the representation of his mother between his *Narrative*

of the *Life of An American Slave* (1845) and the publication of *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) for "purely political reasons": namely, as an antidote to fictional Mammy figures. When Douglass recalled his childhood in *My Bondage*, his mother was no longer a shadowy figure who appeared only at night but became a heroine, appearing with ginger cakes to quash her son's hunger. Ex-slave narrator Harriet A. Jacobs wrote perhaps the most forceful condemnation of popular renderings of black motherhood. The painful sacrifices Jacobs made for her children, explained in language that made direct appeal to the sympathies of white mothers, placed her well outside the stereotype of the black Mammy.

Postbellum representations of Mammy have perhaps received the most attention from scholars of late. Wallace-Sanders uses the figure of Aunt Jemima as representative of the fictionalized "Old South" promoted by whites, northern and southern, in the postbellum period. Aunt Jemima was a successful trademark because of "an interweaving of commerce, memory, and racial nostalgia" that promoted the idea of national reconciliation after the Civil War (pp. 60–61). But equally interesting are the uses of the black Mammy by African American writers such as Charles W. Chesnutt and W. E. B. Du Bois in the early twentieth century. Mammy figures represented the "Old Negro" in the era of the "New Negro," and in many of these stories, she meets her demise. In a short story by Charlotte Hawkins Brown, she is crushed by snow falling off a roof on her way to make biscuits for the white woman she had "raised." And Chesnutt has his Mammy Jane shot amid a race riot, where she literally "dies at the feet" of the doctor who represents the New Negro in the story (pp. 114, 91).

In the final chapter, Wallace-Sanders discusses Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) alongside William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* (1929). Despite differences between the Mammies in *Gone with the Wind* (she counts at least three) and Faulkner's sympathetic character Dilsey, Wallace-Sanders believes Faulkner is unable to fully escape "the Mammy Trap": Mammy still casts her shadow over Dilsey as she scolds her boy more harshly than the white children of the house (p. 122).

While the critical analysis here is provocative and fresh, the work of other authors is perhaps too often referenced in the text, which makes for difficult reading at times. The use of Michel Foucault and Mikhail Bakhtin, while helpful when studying representations of the bodies of black mothers, could be confined to footnotes. But for those interested in understanding this complex figure in American popular culture, Wallace-Sanders's book is revelatory.

MARY NIALL MITCHELL
University of New Orleans

JAYNA BROWN. *Babylon Girls: Black Women Performers and the Shaping of the Modern*. Durham, N.C.: Duke

University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 339. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

This book examines African American female performers—actresses, singers, vaudevillians, and comediennes—who revolutionized the theater and shaped modern black culture. Focusing on well-known performers (Florence Mills, Josephine Baker) and lesser-known artists (Aida Overton Walker, Ida Forsythe, Dora Dean), Jayna Brown analyzes the success of black women attempting to forge theatrical careers amid considerable obstacles during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The various times and places of the emerging vaudeville stage created opportunities for black resistance to racism; black farce and satire, Brown asserts, often subverted oppression and underscored "the fissures in hegemonic claims, revealing the ways hierarchies breed their own instabilities" (p. 5). The author aims to uncover the interiority of female performers by emphasizing their artistic agency.

For Brown, dance gesture is a form of shifting hieroglyphic expression: "I argue emphatically that black movement is always multiply signifying. This means that the same dance phrase can be read differently by different people" (p. 15). Black vernacular dance grew out of the modern condition of disorientation, alienation, and movement; the mobility of black dance was influenced by the Great Migration to the North, which in turn defined its aesthetics. Dance also became one of the few acceptable forms of financial freedom for black women. There was considerable profit to be made in social dance, and the actresses in this study were the apotheoses of great entrepreneurs invested in Gilded-Age commercialism and individualistic enterprise. In addition to being gifted performers, they were adept self-promoters, capitalizing on the ephemerality of performance and the ability to appear as representatives of several concepts: sexual objects as well as controllers of their own destiny. They gave audiences what they wanted to see and hear (black sexuality and so-called rhythm) while simultaneously subverting stereotypes (Jezebel and Mammy), resulting in the creation of a whole new idiom of folk expression and business acumen. Cakewalking, for instance, was significantly more lucrative than the limited work available such as domestic service and teaching; ultimately, cakewalking becoming big business with black women the veritable CEOs of their artistry. Brown quotes the dancer Forsythe, who presciently said that cakewalking "was good because colored people got a job all those years and didn't have to scrub anything. Just prance around and smile" (p. 142).

Each of the seven chapters focuses on a particular performance: touring picaninny choruses of the late nineteenth century; Topsy as an icon of black femininity; the rise of burlesque and the city personified by the 1890 stage production *The Creole Show*; the flourishing of the cakewalk at the turn of the century; the significance of social dance for interracial communication; and the protean identity of chorus line dancers. The

final chapter considers the fluid work of the two leading black actresses of the twentieth century, Mills and Baker. In each case the author looks beneath the surface: "Whatever the imagined black body conveyed, it ran under the skin, flowed through the blood and nervous system, and rang in the bones" (p. 81).

Black women navigated a complex world of racial perceptions, using whatever advantage they could find to carve out careers and make their case as artists. Whether it was Forsythe's cakewalking, Walker's modernist Salome dance, or Baker's burlesque, each technique "developed by African American women vitalized the white dance instructor's choreography" (p. 169), "miscoded the black expressive body as primitive and then sought to sublimate these fantasies of originary energy" (p. 175), and "worked within and against familiar versions of racialized femininity" (p. 190). Brown's analysis synthesizes performance and cultural studies, examining these actresses through the intellectual template of urban social development: "black women performers' expressions of urban sophistication were sleek-haired celebrations of working-class resilience, of their restless, multi-directional forms of survival black women forged for themselves" (p. 197).

Although carefully researched, the book is not so carefully edited. Several sentences and virtually an entire paragraph on page 49 are repeated on pages 50 and 51; the author spells Ada Overton Walker for a while, then arbitrarily Aida Walker, then back to Ada (Walker changed her name during her career, but Brown fails to explain this); and the book overuses the term "I argue" (who is the author arguing against?). Readers unfamiliar with the history of African American female performers will find the ideas in the text to be original; those familiar with this history will find information and concepts repeated from other books. Finally, the book's occasional academic prose style will irritate some people. Still, so deeply felt is this work that the author's compassion for the actresses is palpable. Brown's moving defense of these performers overcomes any objection, making this an important study of pioneering women who contributed an enormous amount to the cause of civil rights and the development of American theater.

DAVID KRASNER
Emerson College
Boston

SARAH EPPLER JANDA. *Beloved Women: The Political Lives of LaDonna Harris and Wilma Mankiller*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 232. \$30.00.

"Beloved woman" is the traditional name the Cherokee Nation gave to women who had earned respect and authority in tribal affairs, sometimes for their feats in battle but more generally for their spiritual wisdom and power. Sarah Eppler Janda applies this term to the subjects of her book, LaDonna Harris and Wilma Mankiller, whom she considers the two most important Na-

tive American female political leaders in the late twentieth century. Janda focuses on how Harris and Mankiller formed their identity as Indian women, the means by which they gained authority, the objectives to which they applied their power, and the public images they constructed and were constructed by.

LaDonna Harris was born in Oklahoma in 1931 to a Comanche mother and a white father. She spent her childhood with her maternal grandparents, immersed in a community steeped in Comanche culture. In her last year of high school, she married Fred Harris, bore three children, and supported her husband's career first in the Oklahoma legislature and then as U.S. Senator in the heyday of the Great Society. As the couple became part of Washington's inner circle of liberals, Harris used her husband's prestige and connections—as well as the media's fascination with this interracial marriage and her Comanche heritage—to advocate for Native American issues and ultimately to establish an independent career as spokesperson for Indians.

Harris's first involvement with minority rights began in Lawton, Oklahoma, as part of a small group of whites, Native Americans, and African Americans determined to integrate the city. In 1965, she helped organize and then led Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, designed to tap federal antipoverty funds to open opportunities for Native Americans in mainstream society while at the same time maintaining cultural autonomy. In Washington, she advised her husband on Indian issues, testified before Congress, chaired the National Women's Advisory Council on the War on Poverty, helped found the National Women's Caucus, and served on the National Council on Indian Opportunity. Impatient with the slow pace of the Nixon administration on Native American matters, Harris founded and led for more than two decades Americans for Indian Opportunity to advocate for Indians; educate tribes about their rights and opportunities under federal programs and law, and assist with litigation.

Fifteen years younger than Harris, Wilma Mankiller was born in northeastern Oklahoma to a white mother and Cherokee father, and at the age of ten moved with her family to San Francisco, as part of the government's relocation program. Mankiller stayed in the Bay area for two decades, where she married, bore two daughters, divorced, and, most importantly, joined Indian protests to regain land and rights. Shortly after she moved back to Oklahoma in 1976, Mankiller took a leadership role in community development projects for the Cherokee Nation. Encouraged by the current chief, Mankiller won election as deputy chief in 1983, besting another woman in a runoff election. She was elected chief in 1987, becoming not the first female chief but the first to lead a major tribe, a position that she held until 1995 when poor health prompted her decision not to seek re-election. Like Harris, Mankiller was a visible feminist, serving on the board of the Ms. Foundation and supporting Anita Hill when she charged Supreme Court Justice nominee Clarence Thomas with sexual harassment.

Janna carefully constructs the context in which these women operated both as Indians and as women—the war on poverty, shifts in federal Indian policy, intra- and intertribal disagreements, the rise of second-wave feminism, and women's movement into politics. Yet, aside from references to testimonials and letters, we learn relatively little about the material impact of the programs and institutions with which these women were associated on the lives of Indians or about the actual outcomes of policy disputes.

Indeed, Janna has fulfilled a different purpose, demonstrating how for both Harris and Mankiller gender intersected with ethnicity to form their particular commitments to Indian affairs and assessing the strategies by which they acquired power and authority. Mankiller especially referred to the degree of equality that Native American women experienced before white contact and argued that she and other female leaders were simply fulfilling traditional women's roles, "challeng[ing] gender constructs in the name of Native American tradition" (p. 168), a claim that Janna judiciously analyzes.

Primary source evidence for the book lies largely in the papers of its two subjects, the *Cherokee Advocate*, and eighteen interviews. Unfortunately, Janna had to abandon the interviews she conducted with Mankiller and her relatives when Mankiller took issue with some of her arguments. A larger book might have been constructed with the use of state and federal government records (National Council on Indian Opportunity records were the only government sources cited) and/or other organizations in which these women participated, such as the National Women's Political Caucus or the Ms. Foundation. Nonetheless, this work provides a useful introduction to Harris's and Mankiller's roles in Native American politics and a provocative discussion of the means to women's political empowerment.

SUSAN M. HARTMANN
Ohio State University

DONALD WORSTER. *A Passion for Nature: The Life of John Muir*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. 535. \$34.95.

Relatively late in life, John Muir left his beloved California and spent a year going around the world. A seasoned explorer (despite his commitment to remain planted at home once he started a family), he might have come back from the Russian forests, the Himalayas, the Pyramids, and the isles of the Pacific with a new angle of vision on the vexed relationship between humanity and nature. Yet, as Donald Worster somewhat ruefully acknowledges, Muir passed the bulk of this trip casually botanizing and "avoiding larger questions about modern war, the clash of cultures, or the environmental impact of the global economy" (p. 385). Of course, if Muir seemed unwilling to engage with the problem of modernization in 1904, he was nevertheless enmeshed in a thoroughly modern network of transportation on every day of his journey. "Had he walked the

whole distance," Worster comments, "it might have been different" (p. 386).

Readers of Worster's subtle, layered biography of Muir would do well to turn its pages slowly and perhaps perambulate for a few minutes at the end of each chapter. If you are desperately writing the lectures for your first environmental history course and wind up scanning this book for a new take on Muir and the early conservation movement, you may come away disappointed. Indeed, you may feel, as I initially did, that Worster sacrifices too much to the genre of narrative biography—that he avoids larger questions. As I savored this book over several days, though, I became convinced of Worster's wisdom, embodied by his decision to let the story of Muir's tangled life—especially his personal life—suggest the complexity of both the author's and his subject's "passion for nature."

Worster develops Muir's vision in flowing chapters whose structure and language elegantly bolster and extend the book's analyses. In "Border Crossings," Muir's early wanderings between the United States and Canada and between factory jobs (at which he excelled) and amateurish botany expeditions come to reflect his deeper distress over the boundary between the civilized and the wild and his true ambivalence about (not simple rejection of) urban industrialism. In "Earthquakes," we get the expected discussion of San Francisco in 1906 but also a portrait of the "fault lines" (p. 371) in conservation politics and the "quaking and fracturing" (p. 390) of Muir's "enlightened utilitarianism" (p. 315), which had for a time successfully combined aesthetic, spiritual approaches to nature with pragmatic concerns about resources, but which eventually came to be seen as naïve.

In many recent accounts of Muir's role in the history of environmentalism, Gentle John comes off not just as naïve but as pernicious, as if it is largely his fault that in the United States the environmental movement has been characterized by elitism, racism, a general blindness to the power dynamics built into the capitalist system, and an almost fanatical devotion to beautiful scenery and the experience of wilderness. Worster defends his man gradually and judiciously, wielding both passion and reason. He grants the flaws in Muir's conservation philosophy, which never cohered (what exactly are nature's rights?), and grants that Muir often wore rainbow-colored glasses—that his enlightened view of the harmony of nature caused him to ignore the darkness in both forests and people. But then Worster posits that Muir was a reluctant reformer and that, in any case, every reformer is an idealist: "the labor radicalism of Debs and the prairie populism of Bryan" (p. 364) also had gaping blind spots. On the one hand, Muir dismissed labor struggles and erased a history of violence against Native Americans, but he also celebrated Alaskan natives' adaptive ways of working with nature. Certainly, as Worster notes, Muir was sometimes an escapist who bought into our emerging therapeutic culture and failed to strike at the roots of environmental destruction. Yet was he not right that human beings need

places as beautiful as Hetch Hetchy, sacred places of unmechanized recreation where we might re-create ourselves—and our societies?

I have to admit that I am not wholly convinced by Worster's arguments; I am most in sympathy with him when he expresses disappointment with Muir for not thinking systematically about the culture of industrial capitalism. Unfortunately, Worster never fully engages with William Cronon's justifiable insistence on "The Trouble with Wilderness," never acknowledges that Muir's preservationism has often distracted environmentalists from questioning the basic ways in which American society distributes and consumes natural resources. Moreover, while I applaud what Worster calls the "modern liberal democratic" (p. 6) impulse to extend moral frameworks beyond humanity, in practice I think it makes little sense to grant human rights to plants and animals. As long as human injustice persists, and as long as we have to destroy other living things in order to survive, I will prefer to uphold not the rights of nature but a vision of the healthful interdependence and interpenetration of nature and humanity.

Still, I find myself haunted in unexpected ways by some of Worster's stories. In 1908, Muir spent three weeks on Pelican Bay, in the Klamath Basin, at the invitation of his old friend Edward Harriman, one of the spoils-system capitalists in whom Muir placed far too much faith. The bucolic setting helped Muir overcome his chronic writer's block, but, as Worster explains in a rare tangent, it turned out that this region of southern Oregon was about to become the site of "an environmental controversy of long-lasting significance" (p. 412). Developers like Harriman wanted the Klamath Basin for dams, canals, and irrigated agriculture; President Theodore Roosevelt, another one of Muir's friends, wanted to make it into the first major sanctuary for waterfowl. Increased farm production is often a social good and sometimes even a necessity. But today we can also posit a potential social need for "the protection of wild species and their habitat from invasion and extinction" (p. 411)—a stance that would be virtually unthinkable if people like John Muir had never staked out the cultural value of having a passion for nature.

AARON SACHS
Cornell University

CHAD MONTRIE. *Making a Living: Work and the Environment in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. x, 177. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

This book brings labor and environmental history together in six chronological case studies spanning the 1830s through the 1970s. In that sense, it is perfect for the undergraduate classroom. The text succeeds on two levels. First, it continues an important theoretical discussion amongst environmental historians about the place of class and labor within their subfield of American history. Second, it provides readers new to both labor and environmental history with a succinct intro-

duction to the ways in which American workers across divisions of race, class, and gender used ideas of nature, physical labor within the natural world, and outdoor recreation to negotiate, buffer, and resist the transition from rural to urban life, from preindustrial to industrial labor.

As Chad Montrie explains in an excellent introduction, environmental historians have begun to integrate labor history into their work on three fronts: the use of class as a category of analysis in examining "traditional" environmental history subjects, such as the conservation movement; union participation in campaigns for public health, pollution control, wildlife conservation, and other protections; and a theoretical exploration of work as a fundamental human connection to nature. Labor historians, however, have thus far failed to integrate workers' relationships with nature into their histories. This book attempts to fill that gap.

The gap—created by scholars in both fields—grew out of labor and environmental historians' dueling narratives of alienation. Here Montrie picks up the conversation addressed in detail by Gunther W. Peck in "The Nature of Labor: Fault Lines and Common Ground in Environmental and Labor History," *Environmental History* 11:2 (April 2006): pp. 212–238. For Karl Marx, as Peck explains, wage labor alienated the worker from his or her own body and from nonhuman nature; thus "the key narratives of labor and environmental history were one whole" (Peck, p. 214). Environmental historians, however, tell stories of human alienation from nature and the catastrophic results for natural systems; labor historians focus on human alienation from the products of labor and the catastrophic results for workers. Montrie elaborates: "While labor historians have focused exclusively on alienation as a matter of labor and social relations transformed . . . environmental historians have tended to see people's estrangement from nature as part of economic change, but without much attention to work" (p. 7).

Montrie's six case studies connect labor and nature. Lowell mill girls, Mississippi slaves and sharecroppers, Kansas farm women, Appalachian farmer-miners, Detroit autoworkers, and Mexican American field workers all challenged alienation from the products of their labor and the natural world. Their resistance took varying forms. Workers wrote romantic poetry in protest, joined unions, tended gardens and chickens, struck for better wages, built summer camps for children, and maintained old or created new connections to the natural world through hunting and fishing. Those activities also changed workers' understandings of nature as romantic sentiments recast the physical environment as more benign and scenic than dangerous and productive.

In some cases, creative resistance merely delayed or modified the loss of connection to both nature and independent labor. For African American sharecroppers in the Mississippi Delta, independent production of any sort constituted resistance to a system bent on their subjugation; hunting, fishing, and gardening, however, could not keep families rooted on the land in the long

run. Many ended up in northern cities where they faced new levels of alienation. West Virginia coal miners and timber workers left their hill farms for seasonal wage labor while growing crops at home. Even in company-controlled mining camps, workers kept gardens, hunted, and fished. Here Montrie makes wonderful use of company store ledgers to show how workers and their families used gardens to limit their cash purchases and therefore their dependence on employers. Together, he argues, these histories allow "for a more complicated examination of how people experienced many facets of alienation" (p. 9). The end result for most workers remained alienation in some form, but resistance "provided the foundation for modern environmental and environmental justice movements" (p. 8).

Many of these stories end with the workers' retreat into urban homes and jobs, into the city and away from nature. Urban work itself and domestic consumption—both important to labor and environmental history—get light treatment here. There are, however, plenty of stories to tell about labor and nature in cities, and Virginia J. Scharff, among others, has argued that women's labor of consumption and reproduction in the urban and suburban home does connect humans to nature in important ways (see Scharff, "Man and Nature! Sex Secrets of Environmental History," in Virginia J. Scharff, ed., *Seeing Nature Through Gender* [2003], pp. 3–19). However, Montrie's book will inspire scholars to take on these topics and many others, and as such provides new directions for both historical fields.

KATHRYN MORSE
Middlebury College

EARL POMEROY. *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by RICHARD W. ETULAIN. Foreword by HOWARD R. LAMAR. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xxv, 570. \$35.00.

When noted western historian Earl Pomeroy died in 2005 at age 89, he left behind an unfinished manuscript on which he had been working for nearly forty years. His former student Richard W. Etulain became his literary executor and spent over two years revising Pomeroy's work; David M. Wrobel provided a supplemental bibliography; and Howard R. Lamar added a helpful foreword. Thus, Pomeroy's magnum opus reflects a group effort, but one of which he would have been proud.

Since Pomeroy defines the Far West as encompassing all states west of the Missouri/Mississippi (excluding Texas) but including Alaska and Hawaii, he has a broad canvas on which to paint. He concentrates primarily on economics, politics, and technology, with side ventures into social relations and social attitudes. His overview identifies three main themes: the crucial role played by the federal government in the development of the modern Far West; the boom-and-bust nature of the western economy; and how various ethnic groups slowly became westerners.

Pomeroy's analysis of the evolution of western agriculture—from homesteaders to the recent depopulation of the Great Plains—is filled with insights. A surprising number of early homesteaders had no previous agricultural experience. These greenhorns tried to raise wheat on land that would barely support sagebrush and planted fruit trees in valleys where the blossoms froze every April. Although many female homesteaders "proved up," the life of women, as one North Dakotan put it in 1915, resembled that of a convicted murderer: "servitude for life at hard labor without recompense—but without a murderer's guarantee of enough to eat" (p. 31).

The increased mechanization of the farms, plus the rise of corporate ownership with its itinerant, often immigrant, workforce turned post-World War II western agriculture into "a species of engineering, ultimately of chemistry" (p. 65). Although increased economy of scale ensured a steady output of wheat, corn, and vegetables, the heavy investment in equipment hampered diversification and gradually drove many family farmers out of business. In the 1960s, seventy percent of Great Plains counties lost population, and pockets of rural poverty—harder to ameliorate than their urban counterparts—became a fixture of the landscape. As Pomeroy wryly notes, by the late twentieth century western agriculture could produce anything—except the next generation of farmers.

Next to agriculture, the economy of the Far West depended on extractive industries, from the earlier gold and silver rushes to the modern oil, natural gas, timber, copper, and uranium booms. But these modern operations seldom echoed the previous hopes of an individual's striking it rich. To the contrary, before World War II, many western regions had become virtually "fiefs of organized capital" (p. 305) as gigantic corporations such as Phelps Dodge, Anaconda, Weyerhaeuser, Kennecott Copper, the Big Five sugar companies, and the railroads dominated the economies—and the politics—of their respective regions. The often brutal working conditions led to the upsurge of radical western politics, from the Industrial Workers of the World to the Nonpartisan League to Upton Sinclair's failed run for governor of California in 1934. H. Gaylord Wilshire, whose name remains on the California landscape, was both a millionaire and an advocate for socialism.

In two chapters on "Rails, Roads, and Cities," Pomeroy argues that the theme of distance essentially defined the region. Consequently, the arrival of the railroads, automobiles, and aircraft changed virtually everything. The onrush of automobiles reshaped western cities to the detriment of public transport. In 1959, a Californian observed that a horse and buggy could travel across Los Angeles in 1900 as fast as a car during rush hour traffic. Pomeroy's erudition is especially noticeable in his discussions of the major western cities, from Butte to Anchorage to Honolulu to Portland and onward.

In general, the author holds to a narrative center, re-

lying primarily on statistics rather than anecdotes to support his positions. Sometimes, however, he has trouble distinguishing the forest from the trees. Similarly, he seldom makes the leap to more general conclusions. For example, he overlooks the role of professional athletics (in the form of teams like the Denver Broncos and Los Angeles Lakers) in crossing ethnic bounds to help forge a regional identity. He discusses Hollywood primarily as a minor California employer before World War II. The Atomic West, with dilemmas of waste storage that will bedevil the region far longer than the ugly scars left by the copper industry, is also given short shrift. But when Pomeroy does generalize, he is right on target. He notes that the New Right, the New Left, and the hard-edged political conservatism of Richard M. Nixon, Barry Goldwater, and Ronald Reagan all had western roots.

In his foreword, Lamar observes that Pomeroy was often described as the "historian's historian" (p. xvi). This is indeed so. His final book will be indispensable to all serious scholars of the western experience, and it belongs in every public library. But with a prose style that often resembles the Llano Estacado, this volume is unlikely to reach the audience that it deserves.

FERENC MORTON SZASZ
University of New Mexico

CHAD ALAN GOLDBERG. *Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 366. \$22.00.

This book argues that social welfare policies in the United States have been "preeminent sites for political struggles over the meaning and boundaries of citizenship" (p. 1). Drawing on the work of theorists such as T. H. Marshall and Pierre Bourdieu, Chad Alan Goldberg sees citizenship as a process of "classification" and contends that the twentieth-century welfare state did not extend social citizenship to all classes of residents. He compares three sets of programs to illustrate his theory: the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (often referred to simply as the Freedmen's Bureau) and Civil War veterans' pensions; the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which became the Work Projects Administration in 1939, and the Bureau of Old-Age Insurance (OAI); and Workfare and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). These comparisons, Goldberg argues, suggest that social policies are "not merely an outcome or consequence of past political struggles; they also influence subsequent struggles through their material and symbolic effects on political elites, interest groups, and mass publics" (p. 9). In the United States in particular, he observes, "racial politics should be seen as having a distinct influence on the outcome of the classification struggles" (p. 24). This last observation will come as no surprise to historians.

Goldberg recasts his episodes in American welfare history in terms of classification theory. Thus he sees freed slaves after the Civil War as a new group of clients

whose status and rights were uncertain. The Freedmen's Bureau's efforts to provide assistance to these clients raised questions about the meanings of citizenship. While white Civil War veterans could draw on antebellum links between citizenship and property, ex-slaves could not escape the "cultural analogies between slaves and paupers" (p. 96). Indeed, Goldberg observes, "In contrast to Union veterans, freedpeople's classification struggle generated a broad and vigorous racial backlash" (p. 89). Put simply, race mattered.

Race also mattered during the 1930s as citizenship was once again redefined in terms of work and welfare. The New Deal, Goldberg argues, "unsettled established patterns of civic inclusion and the content of national citizenship" (p. 105). Struggles over the scope and administration of, and eligibility for, the WPA and OAI created new groups of welfare-state clients who were treated in contradictory ways. The WPA treated workers as dependent persons subject to supervision and discipline. OAI, by contrast, treated clients as "rights-bearing citizen-workers" (p. 105). As a result, the WPA, like the Freedmen's Bureau, failed to remove the stigma of pauperism from the men and women it served. While blacks made up only a small percentage of WPA clients, Goldberg suggests that race shaped the outcome nonetheless. He contends that attempts to classify WPA workers as deserving citizens threatened powerful southern interests with stronger federal controls, an extension of federal labor standards, and the potential mobilization of black workers.

Goldberg's final comparison between Workfare programs in New York City during the 1990s and the Earned Income Tax Credit (dating from the 1970s) further reveals how conflicts over the meaning of citizenship were linked to ideas about work and race. (In this case gender also played a crucial role, but the thrust of Goldberg's argument centers on racial issues.) He argues that welfare policy changes during the 1990s generated political and legal uncertainty about the status and rights of workfare workers. Workfare and the EITC created new groups of clients, both programs were means tested and conditioned support on work, and both directed benefits largely to the parents of dependent children.

The differences between the two programs, however, proved to be crucial. EITC "conformed to classical liberal values," providing benefits to people who worked for wages. The program was tax based, eligibility for it depended on assets as well as income, and it demanded a lesser degree of federal control. Workfare, largely aimed at an urban, black population, demanded that recipients spend down their resources to qualify, exerted a large degree of control over behavior, and was tied to what the author terms the "discredited welfare policies of the past." Like their predecessors in the Freedmen's Bureau and the WPA, Workfare recipients' efforts to be recognized as rights-bearing citizen-workers failed, and they could not escape the stigma of pauperism.

Goldberg ultimately challenges both state theorists

and political conservatives. He argues that the particulars of the policy—means testing, universal versus targeted—matter less than the “family resemblance” between the policy and traditional poor relief. Neither universalism (the argument from the Left) nor work (the argument from the Right) are in themselves sufficient to classify clients as citizens. Rather, the more features a policy shares with poor relief—discipline, training, and character rehabilitation—“the more likely it is that the clients of the policy will be stigmatized as paupers” (p. 287).

The case studies presented here draw on a wide range of secondary sources as well as the author’s own experience organizing workfare workers in New York City. This is admittedly a work of historical sociology and thus should not be taken to task for a paucity of archival research. Still, it would be fair to say that there is little that is new in the narrative. Historians may find the author’s theoretical formulations intriguing, but they may also find the conclusions unsurprising.

SUSAN LEVINE

University of Illinois at Chicago

MANDI ISAACS JACKSON. *Model City Blues: Urban Space and Organized Resistance in New Haven*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 279. \$25.95.

This is a thoughtful, carefully researched study of opposition to the urban renewal projects that scarred New Haven, Connecticut, in the 1950s and 1960s. Urban renewal is a familiar subject for critical scholarship, and New Haven has been a familiar site for case studies, partly because this former manufacturing center received so much federal attention back in the days when it had a bright future as America’s “model city.” But Mandi Isaacs Jackson’s purpose is not to show once again that slum clearance and redevelopment were costly mistakes. She is more interested in how ordinary people fought some of the most egregious projects. Despite the well-financed efforts of officials to treat urban space as an abstraction, a blank slate to be wiped clean for reuse, New Haven residents defended alternative visions for the city that were nurtured by their practice of daily life. The ordinary spaces they occupied—apartments, sidewalks, parks, and coffee shops—were both targets of urban renewal and resources for resistance.

The book vividly displays the clash between two strains of 1960s liberalism. On the one hand, the administration of Mayor Richard C. Lee embodied the official confidence that any problem could be solved with the proper application of power, money, and expertise; on the other hand, neighborhood organizers reflected the emerging demand for grass-roots empowerment. “Would cities be something that could be ‘managed,’ like a corporation . . . or would they be governed, designed, and sustained by the people who lived and worked there?” (p. 116). Jackson’s sympathies are obvious—she hopes her study will inspire as well as illuminate—and any reader seeking a neutral description of urban renewal should look elsewhere. She seems at

times to give control of her narrative to the former activists she interviewed. Yet her tone is not strident; she skewers callous officials with examples of their own words and behavior.

Chapters devoted to specific projects trace the development of opposition through the late 1950s and 1960s. Chapters one and two describe the destruction of the working-class Oak Street neighborhood and part of lower Dixwell Avenue, an African American neighborhood near the Yale University campus. The first area became an underused stub of an expressway, and the second became a shopping plaza and a residential complex intended for the white middle class. Jackson describes officials’ efforts to suppress opposition by co-opting neighborhood leaders and stigmatizing other inhabitants as “the dregs of humanity.” Before Dixwell Avenue could be cleared, though, one faction of the black community held a sit-in in the street, shattering city officials’ claim that redevelopment enjoyed unanimous support. Chapters three through five examine the growing resistance in the Hill neighborhood, a predominantly black area that had received many of the people displaced by the earlier redevelopment efforts. Here citizens’ groups emerged as community leaders, with the support of left-wing activists from Yale. Jackson tells how people used the spaces of the neighborhood to launch rent strikes, a “freedom school,” and a new playground. City officials tried to redevelop the Hill with a minimum of public participation and public awareness while also secretly gathering information on individual residents and buildings. The riots in the summer of 1967 caught City Hall by surprise and highlighted the limitations of a top-down approach to urban governance. Afterward, aldermen approved an alternative redevelopment plan generated through citizen participation, although federal spending cutbacks and policy changes ended up blocking the work.

The last two chapters examine two redevelopment battles in the downtown area. Chapter six tells how activists helped block plans for a half-mile-long parking garage and a six-lane road that would have encircled the city’s core. The center of organized resistance was a movement-run coffeehouse in the area threatened by redevelopment. The final chapter contrasts the construction of a luxury hotel symbolizing the “New New Haven” of affluent consumption, with the demolition of the old Strand Hotel that housed several dozen working-class people. Although hotel residents lost their fight to save the Strand in 1970, Jackson argues that, by that point, New Haven’s people had successfully asserted their right to participate in city planning. Having thwarted the demolition planned for the Hill, the ring road, and the garage, they had established a local culture of citizen action that persists today.

This book could have been more accessible to general readers if it had been edited to reduce repetition. Readers who are not familiar with New Haven might also wish for more maps. But on the whole, this is an impressive piece of scholarship that will be of particular interest to scholar-activists studying urban social move-

ments. Even readers who do not share Jackson's opinions will gain new insights into the 1960s social and political turmoil that she describes.

PETER C. BALDWIN
University of Connecticut

SCOTT KAUFMAN. *Plans Unraveled: The Foreign Policy of the Carter Administration*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2008. Pp. 298. \$38.00.

In this book Scott Kaufman provides a thorough overview of Jimmy Carter's foreign policy, and he argues that Carter's record was not successful. The main reasons for this, according to Kaufman, were Carter's poor management system, his refusal to make tough choices, his attempt to handle too many problems at once, and his failure "to give the American people a vision" (p. 4). For the most part, Kaufman does a very good job of proving his points. This well-written book, which is based on a careful reading of the published literature and the primary documents at the Jimmy Carter Library, would be a useful addition to a course on U.S. foreign relations or recent U.S. history.

The text under review begins with an insightful first chapter that provides the context for Carter's presidency. It features brief biographical sketches of Carter, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, Vice President Walter Mondale, and First Lady Rosalynn Carter. These will be helpful for undergraduate students in particular. The emphasis on the First Lady's influence is especially interesting, and it constitutes a unique aspect of Kaufman's work. Including sketches of a few more figures, such as Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young, would have made this section even better.

Kaufman nicely details the key episodes of late 1970s U.S. foreign relations. He discusses Carter's successes, such as the Panama Canal Treaty (1977) and the Camp David Accords (1978), as well as the failures that contributed to Carter's 1980 election loss, including his response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian hostage crisis. He clearly and concisely examines Carter's policies toward China, Vietnam, Cuba, Central America, and the Horn of Africa. In his conclusion Kaufman reiterates his thesis that Carter "did not handle his foreign policy well" (p. 237). His final assessment of Carter, like most of the book, is careful and convincing.

But at times, such as in its treatment of the government's southern Africa policy, Kaufman's book fails to portray Carter's achievements accurately. The author correctly credits Carter with paying more attention to the region than his predecessors. His first section on Rhodesia starts strongly, clearly chronicling the key events of 1977, including the repeal of the Byrd Amendment and Carter's important meeting with Julius Nyerere, the president of Tanzania. As Kaufman continues the story into 1978, however, he omits important details, such as Ambassador Young's meeting with

Zimbabwean nationalists at Malta. He also fails to mention the lengthy White House discussions between Carter and Kenneth Kaunda, the president of Zambia. His contention that Carter failed to either "endorse or reject the Salisbury Plan" (p. 66) is an oversimplification that downplays the president's strong commitment to the sanctions against Rhodesia.

Later in the book Kaufman recounts the 1979 resolution of the Rhodesian crisis, acknowledging that it was a "partial success" (p. 189) for the Carter administration. His summary of the Lancaster House Agreement, which set the stage for the transition to an independent Zimbabwe, attributes too great a role to the British. First, more of the credit for this turn of events should be given to African leaders such as Kaunda. Second, Carter's role was much more instrumental than Kaufman would have us believe. The president's refusal to recognize the Salisbury Plan elections helped convince the new prime minister of England, Margaret Thatcher, to work for a more inclusive solution. Furthermore, as the Lancaster House Conference neared in the fall, Carter fought tooth and nail to keep sanctions in place.

Kaufman's claim that Carter did not contribute much to the ultimate resolution of the Rhodesian conflict is based partly on his view that the 1979 resignation of Ambassador Young made southern Africa a lower priority for the Carter administration. Young's influence on Africa policy was certainly significant, but his departure from office did not push Rhodesia off the agenda. In writing this section (which incorrectly places Young's resignation in April instead of August), Kaufman should have consulted my *Andrew Young: Civil Rights Ambassador* (2003). Doing so would have resulted in a more accurate analysis of Young's role and of Carter's diplomacy in 1979.

More importantly, the examination of relations with southern Africa in Kaufman's book would be much stronger and more nuanced if he had incorporated research from Zambia and South Africa. These countries possess rich archival collections from the 1970s; multiple newspapers, and many former officials willing to be interviewed. While the field of diplomatic history is becoming more international with each passing year, Kaufman remained in the United States while researching this text. To be fair, it would have required years for him to visit archives in all of the countries affected by Carter's policies. Nevertheless, the reliance on published works and American sources is a weakness. Kaufman has provided a helpful overview of Carter's foreign relations for non-specialists, but his book is not quite the definitive scholarly account.

ANDY DEROCHE
Front Range Community College

SUSAN E. LEDERER. *Flesh and Blood: Organ Transplantation and Blood Transfusion in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 224. \$35.00.

While the concept of American exceptionalism may not be in vogue anymore, it appears to have made a comeback in Susan E. Lederer's intriguing new book about the ready acceptance of organ transplants and blood transfusion in the United States. Lederer, whose previous works have focused on the ethics of medical experimentation, sees American culture as unique in privileging the potential of medical science over the religious and cultural taboos regarding changes to the human body. Far from being fearful, Americans have embraced organ transplants and blood banks in much the same way they welcomed the cotton gin and the automobile—as signs of measurable human progress.

Lederer focuses first on the medical breakthroughs in these fields. She deftly guides us through the relevant history, from Karl Landsteiner's discovery of different blood groups to recent advances in tissue typing, from the wizardry of transplant pioneer Alexis Carrel to current research in the replacement of body parts. Even better, she demonstrates how knowledge evolved in these fields as researchers, building upon each other's work, began to unravel the complexities of human flesh and blood. Much of the progress took place in the United States, where medical research, increasingly well-funded in the twentieth century, became an integral part of America's can-do, no-limits approach to problem solving as a whole.

Public interest was intense. "Between 1916 and 1940, more than 32 American films included blood transfusion as a specific subject," says Lederer, and the same held true for organ transplantation (p. 55). By mid-century, these subjects were an integral part of American popular culture, with newspapers breathlessly reporting stories of hopeless patients brought back from death's door with a new kidney or a pint or two of perfectly matched blood. As Lederer notes, these breakthroughs largely occurred in an era of stunning medical success, alongside the discovery of life-saving drugs and vaccines, which served to mute the accompanying moral issues. Raising doubts about the direction of medical research in this era was akin to criticizing the gift of life itself.

Lederer is particularly good in pursuing the cultural implications of such progress. Americans, for example, seemed less resistant than Europeans to both the re-making of the human form and the commercialization of its individual parts. One could pick up a U.S. newspaper in the 1930s and see numerous advertisements for the sale or purchase of everything from an ear to an internal organ. (This practice was finally outlawed by the National Organ Donors Transplant Act of 1984, which applies only to transactions within the United States). And it is no accident that Americans use the term "blood bank" to define their system of collection and distribution, since it relies more heavily on paid donors than volunteers. No other nation, says Lederer, has so comfortably embraced "the commodification of the body" (p. x).

Still, the great strength of the United States—its extraordinary diversity—produced complications as well.

Replacing an organ or a pint of blood was never simply a medical procedure, says Lederer. It represented "identity and affiliation" and "reeked with powerful cultural ethnic, and religious associations" (p. 33). What did it mean for a Christian to receive an organ from a Jew— and vice versa? Was black blood safe when given to a white person? The answers, not surprisingly, mirrored the prejudices of the time. Indeed, from World War I until the Korean conflict in 1950, the American Red Cross segregated blood by race, even while admitting that the reason was social rather than scientific: southern whites, in particular, would not accept an integrated system. Although Lederer does a fine job explaining the medical side of these issues, she leaves a number of questions unexplored. We are told, for example, that several Deep South states refused to enact popular bills mandating blood labeling by race, yet we never learn why. Nor do we get a good sense of the fears surrounding the transmission of disease through transfusion and transplantation, whether it be syphilis or AIDS. The latter controversy—its impact on our culture and blood supply—is all but ignored.

In 1968, the United States experienced its first interracial transplant, when an ailing white man in Virginia received the heart of a "brain dead" black man. Lederer uses this case, with great skill, to highlight the hard questions that Americans had previously sidestepped but could no longer ignore. What roles do race and class play in the selection of donors and recipients? Will indigent communities become unwilling providers of "spare body parts" for the wealthy? (In the Virginia case, doctors performed the operation without the consent of the donor or his family.) As Lederer makes clear, medical miracles can no longer be separated from ethical constraints. For those who need to learn why, this book is a wonderful place to begin.

DAVID OSHINSKY
University of Texas,
Austin

ERIKA DYCK. *Psychedelic Psychiatry: LSD from Clinic to Campus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 199. \$35.00.

In this able monograph Erika Dyck describes an important but largely unknown subfield of the history of psychopharmacology. The history of medical drugs that affect brain and mind, their social uses, and their underlying science has been experiencing a revival of interest among historians of medicine. However, the subject's origins have remained largely obscure. Many are unaware that psychopharmacology really began in 1943 with Swiss chemist Albert Hofmann's discovery that a drug he had synthesized five years earlier, called d-lysergic acid diethylamide lysergide, or LSD, was highly psychoactive; it produced hallucinations that were deemed (inaccurately as it turned out) "schizophrenia-like."

Early on, scientists conducted much research on such "psychotomimetic" agents (for which the psychiatrist

Humphrey Osmond coined the memorable term “psychedelic”) in hopes of learning more about schizophrenia. One site of this research was a provincial mental hospital in Weyburn, Saskatchewan. Here occurred the story that Dyck chronicles: namely, efforts to establish medical uses for LSD, partly in the area of deepened personal insights in psychotherapy and partly in the treatment of alcoholism. Weyburn in the mid-1950s, she writes, “became a hub of international networks for the advancement of psychedelic research . . . These LSD experiments, which made critical contributions to public health reforms and psychiatric research, became some of the largest, most enduring, and internationally significant experiments in the post-World War II period” (pp. 2–3). Dyck’s book, which is mainly about Weyburn and its cast of characters, is overtitled, leading one to think it might be a general history of the rise and fall of LSD, which it decidedly is not.

Relying heavily on the archival personal papers of the two principal investigators, the English-born physician Osmond and his Saskatchewan-born colleague Abram Hoffer, Dyck maps efforts in Weyburn to demonstrate legitimate medical uses of LSD. These efforts came to an end as the drug diffused from the strict controls of a medical culture to vast and unconfined street use. Hoffer and Osmond were, alas, partly to blame for their own downfall as they toyed with such organizations as the Commission for the Study of Creative Imagination that seemed more interested in LSD as a “spiritual enhancer” than as an anti-alcohol and psychotherapeutic agent. Also, Hoffer and Osmond did not help their case by scorning the use of randomly controlled clinical trials, which in the early 1960s were becoming the gold standard of evidence in psychopharmacology. Dyck’s focus is almost entirely Canadian, yet she includes riveting sections on patients’ accounts and on the two investigators’ efforts to defend the ritual uses of a similar hallucinogenic drug, peyote, among the Native American population in Saskatchewan.

Dyck’s book began life as a doctoral dissertation, and it still bears some of the narrowness of focus of the genre. LSD research in those years was taking place across a broad front in international psychiatry. But by concentrating exclusively on Weyburn, Dyck gives the impression that Osmond and Hoffer were really the main players—or at least the only ones who counted—as evidenced by her assertion that they initiated biochemical approaches to schizophrenia, which is certainly not the case. The impact of LSD use on various investigators’ own states of mind has been a lively behind-the-scenes controversy in psychopharmacology, one that Dyck tends to gloss over. But there were other researchers who unquestionably addled their brains with the chronic use of hallucinogenic substances, and this is a darker side of the subject that enthusiasts such as Dyck give short shrift.

In sum, LSD research did indeed give an initial lift to the science of psychopharmacology, and it is most use-

ful to have at hand such a smoothly written account derived from archival research.

EDWARD SHORTER
University of Toronto

RAKESH KHURANA. *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 531. \$35.00.

Rakesh Khurana’s sweeping history of American business schools offers a bold overview and a moral message. Khurana argues that one motivation for founding business schools was to create management as a profession with a set of ethical standards. But the leaders of business schools were never able to create a code of professional ethics like those involved in the training of doctors and lawyers. Managerial education, instead, has ended up catering to students by treating them as customers. Business schools have given students what they want: in other words, a set of narrow, mostly financial skills that they can sell to the highest bidder. The book ends by arguing that business schools need to reconsider how ethics must be infused into the managerial curriculum to create the sense of a profession so that managers might be more likely to worry about the public interest and less likely to act irresponsibly.

Khurana begins by surveying the development of the large corporation in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. For the first time this produced a large demand for managers. By 1875, the idea that there could be systematic training for managers began to take hold. But, prior to 1920, almost all of this training occurred in private business and commercial schools.

The first business school associated with a university was founded in 1881 at the University of Pennsylvania (the Wharton School). University faculties generally resisted the opening of business schools because they did not see management as science, arts, or humanities but instead as something akin to vocational training. Khurana shows that at least some of the leaders of business schools saw their mission as creating managers with a strong sense of social responsibility. They used this idea to push the founding of business schools with their colleagues. But unable to create a consensus on what such a profession should be, business schools more or less developed their own models of training, models as much in competition with each other as they were in agreement. Khurana reveals that, while business schools ended up being accepted into American universities before World War II, there was always the suspicion that they were of low academic quality, and they were therefore viewed in mainly negative terms.

In the postwar era, business schools expanded in line with the postwar economic boom and the great expansion of American universities. Khurana documents how private foundations (Carnegie, Rockefeller, and later Ford) and the federal government helped push forward

reform in business schools during the 1950s. He also illustrates how these reforms had the effect of causing business schools to concentrate on teaching specific kinds of skill sets to students, particularly financial, accounting, and marketing expertise but also general management and statistics. The result of all of this was to produce managers who were oriented towards working in large businesses where they would manage their firms primarily through the use of quantitative tools. This meant that any idea that managers were professionals who served the public good was gone from management training.

Khurana does a nice job of showing how business schools became a business from the 1970s onward. Business schools formed a set of tiers, and the top schools became more selective. The skills students increasingly wanted were financial in nature, particularly those in the newly expanding field of financial engineering. In order to attract the best students, business schools willingly catered to this desire. The students, who were selected according to academic criteria, were heavily recruited by large corporations, investment banks, and management consulting firms that paid high salaries. Business school rankings considered student opinions and placements as the critical variables that influenced school quality. This pushed the top schools to figure out ways to cater even more directly to students and therefore reinforced the system.

This book seems to have been conceived during the corporate scandals of 2001–2002. Its message—that business schools need to return to a conception of management that stresses serving the public good—is a message that certainly rings true in the current economic situation. However, I think that it is out of tune with the analysis that Khurana gives. He presents a persuasive case that, in the end, business schools are intimately linked to managerial labor markets and the current crises that businesses face. MBA students do not want to know about ethical decision making; instead they want skills that will give them the best job that will pay the most money. It is hard to imagine business school deans (or anyone else in universities, government, or business) undermining what these student-customers want. Business school faculty members earn huge salaries that are dependent upon consulting, rich donors, and profitable executive education programs. Students are still fixated on financial engineering even as all business schools have rushed to incorporate courses on ethics into their curriculum. It remains to be seen if the current financial meltdown will increase or decrease interest in people with those skills. But if business schools will change, Khurana's analysis suggests it will be in response to these larger forces in the managerial labor market, not some abstract concern of what it means to be a manager.

NEIL FLIGSTEIN
University of California,
Berkeley

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

PHILIP P. BOUCHER. *France and the American Tropics to 1700: Tropics of Discontent?* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 372. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

This study offers a new synthesis of the history of the French circum-Caribbean before 1700. Philip P. Boucher argues that such a volume is essential since scholars of the Atlantic world do not know enough about the French empire, surveys on the French in the Americas often include errors on the Caribbean, and, among scholars of the French Caribbean, the eighteenth century and the Haitian Revolution have eclipsed the earlier period. Boucher's sources include a vast array of secondary and printed primary materials in French and English as well as his own archival research. While the work is synthetic, Boucher offers original interpretations on several points.

The book's opening chapter describes the environment and geography of the Caribbean and of the coastal areas of South America, especially Guiana, which were its adjunct. Boucher emphasizes the islands' diversity and that they did not develop identically. Saint-Domingue, for instance, evolved in isolation because it took a week to sail there from the Lesser Antilles. Boucher also discusses Carib culture, drawing on French travel accounts. The book's second chapter examines French "false starts" before the establishment of colonies in the 1620s.

The third and fourth chapters turn to what Boucher calls the "frontier" era of the 1620s to 1660s. He stresses that it was not inevitable that the islands would develop into sugar colonies. Boucher also departs from narratives that portray the French empire as characterized by royal control in contrast to the "laissez-faire" British Empire; in his view, French colonists "established themselves . . . without significant assistance . . . from the state" (p. 111). Other notable aspects of chapter three include a critical view of Alfred Crosby's thesis on the Columbian Exchange, building on David Jones's work, and a fascinating account of how indentured servants were recruited. Chapter four focuses on obstacles the monarchy faced in trying to exert control over far-away colonists.

Chapters five and six discuss frontier-era society in the French Caribbean. Boucher states that he wants to study all island inhabitants, including whites, whom he feels have been unjustly neglected. Developing on the question in his subtitle, he argues that, excepting Caribs, life was better for all groups in the islands in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth. Chapter six offers a glimpse into the lives of indentured servants and slaves.

Chapters seven and eight turn to what Boucher calls the pre-plantation era, the 1660s to the 1690s. These years saw a gradual transformation to a sugar economy as well as Louis XIV's partial success in asserting control over the islands. However, these years also witnessed several wars which hampered Caribbean devel-

opment. Boucher also discusses the selective enforcement of laws on the islands and that some islands had more difficulty recovering from war than others.

Chapters nine and ten examine the islands' transitions to plantation economies, led by Martinique. Against James Pritchard's *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (2004), Boucher maintains that, if the monarchy's colonial initiatives did not always go as planned, royal ministers such as Colbert nevertheless played a significant role in spurring colonial development. Chapter nine offers social and demographic information on island whites, including women; chapter ten notes that, as word of poor treatment slowed the recruitment of indentured servants, the importation of African slaves rose. The volume's conclusion previews a planned volume on the tropics from 1700 to 1789.

Boucher's work is strongest in examining the waning and strengthening of royal control over the islands and in recreating the lives of their white inhabitants. The book also offers excellent comparisons of the French and other empires; furthermore, its lengthy bibliography, posted online by the author and based on four decades of research, will be of great service to other scholars. The book makes a commendable effort to reconstruct seventeenth-century slave life given the limits of existing sources, though it would have been helpful to read these sources more against the grain as Megan Vaughan did in *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius* (2005). Also problematic is Boucher's question about whether "all African American slaves [were] worse off than all bonded folk in West Africa" and his argument that such questions "should be posed" even if they have a "whiff of heresy" (pp. 11, 300). On the one hand, the question sets up a false dichotomy, since individual slave conditions varied between masters and in different kinds of labor situations in each area; on the other, it elides the prodigious amount of research on African slavery. For instance, John Thornton, whom Boucher himself cites, has found that slaves in general were seen more like "subordinate family members" in Africa (*Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* [1992], pp. 86–88), which was hardly the case in American chattel slavery. Still, the book is likely to be of use for far longer than the five to ten years Boucher modestly predicts (p. x); it will be a great help to anyone seeking to work on the French circum-Caribbean in the Old Regime, as well as to scholars of the Atlantic World in general.

ALYSSA GOLDSTEIN SEPINWALL
California State University,
San Marcos

CHRISTOPH ROSENMÜLLER. *Patrons, Partisans, and Palace Intrigues: The Court Society of Colonial Mexico, 1702–1710*. (Latin American and Caribbean Series.) Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2008. Pp. x, 278. \$34.95.

Political and administrative histories of Spanish colonial governors and similar high executives are far from unknown in Spanish-language historiography. The genre goes back to the writings of the classic liberal and conservative historians of the nineteenth century, sometimes as integral parts of general histories, and has survived down to this day in more "scientific" writings. In English, however, this sort of work, which here focuses on the tenth duke of Albuquerque's tenure as viceroy of New Spain, is rarer—particularly so in recent decades, as historical curiosity has drawn us more to economic, social, ethnic, and cultural studies.

Notwithstanding, Christoph Rosenmüller's work is a good example of what this type of study can be, given the historiographical context. That context for anglophone historians of colonial Spanish America is defined by the "revisionist" work on the Bourbon reforms published over the last fifty years, the image of the first half of the eighteenth century as an "age of impotence," and more general concerns about the meaning of patronage and of corruption in colonial times. David Brading's *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (1971) gifted us the notion of a "Revolution in Government" under Charles III; Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler's *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (1977) left us with the memorable image of a crown that had sold its birthright for a mess of pottage; and John Leddy Phelan's *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire* (1967) forced us to recognize how the influence of social networks could negate the power of nominally authoritarian government. Rosenmüller, for his part, shows how conflict between social networks could open the way for the exercise of sovereign authority, and my own *Reform and Politics in Bourbon Chile, 1755–1796* (1980) endeavored to demonstrate the continued importance of social networks within a "reformed" bureaucracy. Such conclusions, of course, are neither unique nor novel.

After a general discussion of the political and economic culture of Spain's early-eighteenth-century empire and a more particular examination of court and corruption in colonial Mexico, featuring an interesting discussion of viceregal living conditions, Rosenmüller's work embarks on a detailed study of Albuquerque's administration. This includes meticulous examinations of the duke's servants and clients and the patronage they enjoyed, careful consideration of the viceroy's clash with the Luis Sánchez de Tagle connection over control of the Spanish and Philippines trades, and discussion of the use that Albuquerque made of accusations of dynastic disloyalty at a time when the War of Spanish Succession had developed into an internal peninsular struggle. Predictably, his administration was punctuated by struggles with the *consulado*, *audiencia*, and clergy—in this case, the secular clergy. The story ends badly with the duke's fall from grace, return to Spain, and forced payment of a massive extrajudicial indemnity of 700,000 pesos.

What went wrong? Albuquerque was caught, on the one hand, between laws that regulated the Manila trade and privileged the commerce of the *consulados* of Seville and Mexico City, and, on the other hand, orders that allowed direct access to Indies markets by French vessels. Such ambiguities were inevitable consequences of the new Bourbon dynasty's circumstantial dependence on French support and simultaneous structural reliance on the privileged corporations which the monarchy had created over the years. These ambiguities, if carefully exploited, could bring great profit to the viceroy, but missteps during the ever-changing relationship between Spain and France in these years could also yield unfortunate results, as they did.

The author implies, however, that the problems were more than simply circumstantial. In time, Philip V attempted to tighten his grip on the treasury, trade, and the church, and Albuquerque resisted. Spain may have benefited from this approach. Rosenmüller accepts that the viceroy's policies suited his material interests and reduced opposition to his governance, but he also maintains that they kept the colony loyal to the Bourbons. In any event, a pro-privilege policy may well have come naturally to a grandee, and it is certainly true that Albuquerque's fall was related to an eclipse of the aristocratic faction at court.

Lastly, it is unfortunate that the book does not include systematic information on treasury receipts, expenditures, and exported funds. Such data might clarify the true impact of Albuquerque's administration on Mexican relations with Spain in this period, but available figures would have to be rigorously critiqued to be useful, and such a task is clearly beyond the ambit of this work. Similarly accurate figures on transatlantic, transpacific, and intercolonial trade would be most appreciated, but wishing for them is probably a descent into fantasy.

JACQUES A. BARBIER
University of Ottawa

YANNA YANNAKAKIS. *The Art of Being In-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity, and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xxi, 290. Paper \$22.95, cloth \$79.95.

Yanna Yannakakis's book describes state power and forms of local rule in the pluri-ethnic district of Villa Alta, in the Sierra Norte of Oaxaca, from 1660 to 1810. The author's intent is to show the relevance of William Roseberry's reading of Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony to that setting. Her goal is embedded in a major question that has occupied historians of Latin America: how to explain three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule given the inefficiency of its coercive apparatuses. Yannakakis addresses her task from the perspective of cultural history, focusing on language and representations, with a methodology using thick description and textual interpretation. The legal sources she uses come mainly from the Archivo del Poder Judicial and Archivo del Poder Ejecutivo in Oaxaca City, and the Archivo

General de la Nación in Mexico City. Yannakakis's central argument is that the space of negotiation produced and maintained by native intermediary figures made Villa Alta governable. Indigenous brokers, through their literacy, bicultural performance, and Spanish discourses of fealty and custom helped create a common symbolic horizon that both assured obedience and served as a field of battle over local autonomy. Nevertheless, that order began to deteriorate after the Cajonos rebellion of 1700, and finally ended in the late eighteenth century.

The book depicts three major chronological segments: 1660 to 1700, 1700 to 1770, and 1770 to 1810. In the first stage Yannakakis describes how native noblemen, called *caciques*, acted as negotiators in the context of *repartimientos* and wars against idolatry. In the early years, a local society built on a moral economy, semi-autonomous native elections, and clandestine ritual was put in jeopardy by an outburst of violence caused by the abuses of the *alcalde mayor*. To help control native resistance and sedition, the Real Audiencia abrogated the right to hold elections without the interference of district authorities and priests. The *caciques* fought to restore electoral autonomy and brought their case to the Audiencia. Through the use of Spanish discourses about *ladino* identity, fealty, criminality, and political conspiracy, native noblemen and legal mediators got a favorable resolution from the court. By the end of the period, Zapotec residents of the parish of San Francisco Cajonos and other surrounding pueblos rose up in a violent rebellion over accusations of idolatry held by their *fiscales de doctrina*, who then disappeared at the hands of the rebels. In the trial that followed, the *abogado defensor*, along with the *principales* of the Cajonos region who acted as witnesses, defeated the official story of an Indian world of idolatry, rebellion, and murder, replacing it with another marked by community rivalry, conflict over debt, the excesses of the crowd, and the good will of the leaders. Nevertheless, the Audiencia condemned the defendants to death.

The second period (1700–1770) is distinguished by the disciplinary measures that the Audiencia and the church put into practice in response to the Cajonos rebellion, and the importance of *alcaldes* and *gobernadores* in trying to preserve indigenous liberties. In 1702 the bishop of Oaxaca, Fray Angel Maldonado (1702–1728), launched administrative reforms and an extirpation campaign among the pueblos of Villa Alta. His most important achievement was to replace the horizontal and decentralized power relationships among the villages with a hierarchical structure composed of *cabeceras* and *sujetos*. *Caciques* were now replaced in their role as brokers by officers of the newly formed *cabildos*. This process also caused legal struggles between *cabeceras* and *sujetos*, where arguments against centralization rested on the principles of autonomy and egalitarianism embodied in the Spanish legal concept of *costumbre*. Nevertheless, the juridical norms prevailed and a legal culture began to spread among indigenous

people through the combined actions of native intermediaries and the royal authorities of the courts.

During the third chronological period (1770–1810), Bourbon mining initiatives and legislation on native language undermined local autonomy. Villa Alta's indigenous people resented demands on labor *repartimiento* by mining owners. Moreover, the Real Cédula of 1770 required that elected native officials speak Spanish. This meant that *alcaldes* and *gobernadores* were expected to represent Spanish law rather than mediate between rulers and native worlds. The royal order was useful for magistrates, since it let them choose loyal officers in troublesome villages, thus inhibiting complaints. With disempowered native agents, and without the mediating discourses of loyal vassals and *costumbre*, an intersubjective milieu that had lasted over centuries came to an end.

Beautifully written, Yannakakis's book provides valuable insight into the relationships between the governors and the governed in the Indies, and intermediaries' efforts in keeping them balanced. What is not made clear is how late-eighteenth-century Bourbon policies could extinguish the hegemonic configuration that, although altered, had endured until then in Indian Villa Alta. The plausibility of such a clean rupture is called into question by the multiple colonial inheritances emerging from the processes initiated by the monarchic crises in New Spain.

CLAUDIA GUARISCO
El Colegio Mexiquense A.C.

PATRICK J. McNAMARA. *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlan, Oaxaca, 1855–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 282. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Patrick J. McNamara has written an impressive book on the history of the Zapotec communities in the Sierra Norte (or Sierra Juárez) of Oaxaca between 1855 and 1920, a crucial period in the slow, painful, and often faltering construction of the state and the nation in nineteenth-century Mexico. Its great strength is its clear, detailed, thoughtful, and well-balanced analysis of the origins, character, and evolution of the political culture of *serrano* communities that, despite their physical distance and the apparent remoteness from the national centers of political authority, nevertheless came to constitute a crucible of popular identification with liberal projections of *historia patria*. The book is clearly the product of a doctoral thesis, but one which demonstrates a thorough grounding in both the theoretical literature of peasant consciousness, popular nationalism, and the relationship between regional and national history, as well as in the recent historiography of late nineteenth-century Mexico. Most importantly, it is also the product of detailed archival research which allows the author to test his assertions regarding the construction of subaltern history with empirical rigor and thus avoid the snares, distortions, and "imaginings" which have sometimes characterized the genre.

It must be said that the central protagonists in the story—the diverse Zapotec-speaking communities of the Sierra Norte—are hardly typical peasant communities, given their shared origins and intimate associations with Mexico's most influential nineteenth-century political leaders, Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz. But that, of course, is what makes them especially interesting. McNamara weaves a coherent narrative of the profound but shifting alliances and affiliations of communities which, during the Wars of the *Reforma* and French Intervention, and throughout most of the *Porfiriato*, were not simply marginal players in the grand narrative of national history but firmly located at its core.

The central thesis is a convincing one. The *serrano* Zapotec communities, by dint of their collective commitment to the Liberal and patriotic causes of the 1850s and 1860s and their enthusiastic enlistment in local units of the National Guard, were able to pressure both local and national elites to respect the political, civil, and economic rights of *serranos*. First, they were able to retain a high degree of political autonomy, preserve the right to carry arms, secure exemption from taxation, exercise influence over the choice of local and state officials, and maintain a direct line of communication to their former *serrano* compatriots who subsequently occupied the presidential chair. Second, they were able to protect their economic security by obtaining favorable adjudications of land and water rights as well as favorable labor contracts and concessions with investors and "modernizing" entrepreneurs from outside the region. Finally, they were able to ensure that both regional and national elites recognized the role of the *serranos* in the construction of the nation.

The book also effectively shows how the local and national context in which these rights were exercised changed over time. They functioned most effectively and favorably between 1855 and 1890 but were gradually eroded by the emergence of a new generation of *mestizo* elites between 1890 and 1906 who had not participated in the struggles of the mid-century and therefore failed to understand or respect *serrano* political culture. The rupture of this finely balanced equilibrium began in the 1890s and led to growing local, intra-Sierra conflict over access to land and resources, conflicts with outside entrepreneurs, and increasing external interference in local politics. The fragile consensus was finally broken after 1906 by the combination of economic crisis, the arrogance and greed of a new generation of local *caudillos*, and the apparent indifference of their erstwhile *caudillo* President Díaz. The Mexican Revolution only served to confirm that the "Sons of the Sierra" had been left out in the political cold as remnants of an earlier era as Oaxaca became transformed from a Porfirian "Land of Tomorrow" to a postrevolutionary "Land of Yesterday," now populated by premodern "Indians" living amid the ruins of ancient civilizations.

The narrative and analysis are handled intelligently and supported throughout by extensive archival research. As anyone who has worked in provincial ar-

chives can attest, this is by no means an easy task, and this achievement alone is formidable. At the same time, the book raises some persistent questions. The first is the book's claim to originality. It follows very closely and reaches similar conclusions to research over the last three decades on the fusion of liberalism and patriotism in *serrano* communities. In addition, although there is an effective discussion of the concept of "patriarchy," there is a curious reluctance to engage with the literature on *compadrazgo* or that on *caciquismo* and *caudillismo*, and yet the relationships among the *serranos* themselves, and between *serrano* communities and Juárez and Díaz, would seem ideal case studies through which to explore and to provide new insights on these phenomena. Finally, the author is reluctant to condemn the distorted historiography of the *Porfiriato*, which has for too long demonized the regime of Don Porfirio, despite presenting ample evidence here that his presidency was far from being the authoritarian dictatorship of popular legend.

These criticisms, however, do not and should not diminish the importance of this book for all scholars of the political, social, and cultural history of nineteenth-century Mexico, for whom it will be essential reading.

PAUL GARNER
University of Leeds

RENE REEVES. *Ladinos with Ladinos, Indians with Indians: Land, Labor, and Regional Ethnic Conflict in the Making of Guatemala*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 249. \$55.00.

René Reeves's study of nineteenth-century Guatemala is a major work of revision in our understanding of the three eras—Liberal, Conservative, and *Reformista* Liberal—that define that century. While Reeves does not challenge the periodization of the century per se, he does demand that we reexamine the tropes and tendencies that define all three eras. The traditional historiography holds that the nineteenth century unfolded like a triptych. The first decades after independence were defined by Liberal rule, followed by the so-called "Conservative Interregnum" during the long reign of caudillo Rafael Carrera in mid-century. In the 1870s, a few years after Carrera's death, Guatemala returned to Liberal rule under Justo Rufino Barrios—an era known as *La Reforma* and characterized not only by full-throttle, pro-capital Liberalism but also by new "sciences" such as positivism and eugenics.

In this traditional historiography, the early Liberal period witnessed a proliferation of violence, public demonstrations, and uprisings, particularly on the part of the Maya, who the newly formed Guatemalan state found to be resistant to the kinds of nation-building projects that Liberal leaders imposed on the populace. Liberal "modernizing" projects included such efforts as the regularization of land ownership; the introduction of the notorious Livingston Codes, a "modern" legal apparatus for the new state that both required heavy investments in the building of municipal structures and

that also interfered with traditional systems of justice; and even efforts to control the sale and distribution of alcohol. All these aspects of the Liberal agenda created enough ill-feeling and distrust among rural Maya people that they eventually came together in the large-scale uprising in western Guatemala that brought the Conservative Carrera to power. In the dominant historiography, Conservative rule—paternalistic, backward-looking, but benignly neglectful of Mayan bodies and communities—eventually fell, thanks to the rise of a commercially oriented (Liberal) elite who needed markets, roads, and cheap and docile labor to develop Guatemala's key agricultural commodity, coffee.

In challenging this historiography, Reeves poses two central questions. The first is, if the changes demanded by the late-nineteenth-century Liberal *Reforma* were so dramatically "revolutionary" in scope and scale, why did they not set off the series of rebellions (*motines*) and violence in the countryside that characterized Liberalism's first phase? The second follows directly from the first: was the Liberal *Reforma* a true milestone, a revolutionary break with the past, or did the changes associated with the *Reforma*—the movement of ladinos into indigenous regions, the divestment of indigenous lands for commercial cultivation, the criminalization of informal *aguardiente* production, thus making alcohol taxes and licensing an important source of revenue for the state—all actually begin during the Conservative period? Through a meticulous use of materials such as court cases, land dispute records, criminal complaints, and regulations, Reeves carefully proves that, at least within western Guatemala, and specifically in the Ostuncalco area that is the focus of his study, the answer to this second question is, resoundingly, yes.

This claim is not entirely original; as Reeves is careful to note, Lowell Gudmundson and Hector Lindo-Fuentes suggested as early as 1995 that "The Liberal reforms only formalized a situation long in the making." Reeves's work, moreover, draws heavily upon, and sometimes pushes against, David McCreery's monumental study *Rural Guatemala, 1760–1940* (1994). Against this backdrop, Reeves's originality lies in the sturdiness and thoroughness of his argument. He does not reject the Burns (1980)/Woodward (1993) interpretation of Carrera's rule as one under which the indigenous population enjoyed a certain geographic and economic distance from ladino advances, but he complicates this by proving that ladinos moved into western Guatemala during the period of Conservative "protection" in sufficiently large numbers to warrant the formation of their own *municipios*. It is also through this ladino migration into the western part of the country that we can begin to see more clearly how commercial coffee cultivation began to thrive many years before the Liberals and their pro-capitalist policies returned to power.

As to the issue broached by the title of this book, Reeves suggests that competition between indigenous people and ladinos over land, religion, labor, debt, and even conflicting moral economies took their "modern"

form in mid-century, not later. Such conflicts often played out in the legal system. There, despite indigenous municipal officials' adroit and eager use of the courts, contested land and labor disputes nearly always resulted in the loss of their power and land. Reeves argues that the overall effect of the incursions of ladinos and of the emerging state on indigenous power and identity took such a toll that by the time the Liberals again took control late in the century, "ladinos would be considered the only true citizens of Guatemala, and if the Maya desired citizenship of any kind, then they would have to separate themselves from indigenous society" (p. 156). This, then, was Guatemala's true Liberal Reform: the revolutionary normatization of the ladino state.

VIRGINIA GARRARD-BURNETT
University of Texas,
Austin

ALEJANDRA B. OSORIO. *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*. (The Americas in the Early Modern Atlantic World.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xvii, 254. \$84.95.

This study reveals how colonial elites made conscious efforts to establish Lima as the courtly and spiritual center of Spain's overseas possessions. Alejandra B. Osorio disputes national and postcolonial readings of baroque Lima as un-Peruvian and argues that the "City of the Kings" largely succeeded in being "more Peruvian than any other city" in the viceroyalty (p. 149). Such an argument relies on the author's scouring of the archives and libraries of Spain, Peru, Chile, and the United States, as well as on her use of a vast array of published primary sources, especially the chronicles and hagiographies of Lima's ostentation and self-indulgence.

This earthquake-prone, culturally and racially hybrid city was blessed with a fertile hinterland and prospered from trading with Europe and Asia. A powerful merchant class found a role to play in running Spain's empire and thereby helped to convert Lima into a modern, proto-"city on the hill." The *cabildo* (town council), probably dominated by merchants (this is only implied by the author), spared no expense for welcoming new viceroys as the king's alter-ego despite the crown's prescribed budget. These entry ceremonies involved the construction of elaborate grandstands, canopies, and arches, along with processions of soldiers, clergy, and elites. The spectators, ranging from dirt poor to high born, reflected the city's diversity, and the closest they came to the king was through his alter-ego. They were reminded further of that connection through the widespread distribution of objects or simulacra like the king's portraits, emblems, or insignia, and the mourning of the king's death and acknowledgment of his successor. According to Osorio, this transoceanic reach has gone surprisingly unexplored, for it helped sustain the legitimacy and power of the empire, and it was not so different from the "baroque technologies of the

church" (p. 83) that disseminated images of God and the saints. Such baroque simulacra circulated throughout the realm, which enhanced the city's fame.

Lima's reputation also rested on the rights and privileges it acquired, coupled with its spiritual credibility. For example, Lima's *cabildo* in the 1550s managed to get the post of *corregidor* (the chief magistrate in charge of a province) eliminated and instead had *alcaldes ordinarios* (city magistrates) administer local justice. It was one of the only cities in the New World that did so. Moreover, the designation as the "head city" of the viceroyalty, which it gained at the expense of Cuzco, paved the way for future greatness. Lima's piety and spirituality stemmed from concerted efforts to promote the sainthood of Isabel de Flores (Saint Rose), a creole, and Martín de Porres, a mulatto. Success at attaining sainthood and the publication of hagiographies connected Lima to the outside world, in particular Rome, and the Inquisition served to reinforce Lima as a defender of the faithful.

This "Catholic Republic" coexisted with a world of magic and sorcery. Records from the Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry campaigns revealed that mainly unmarried women and widows (as in Europe) practiced sorcery and appropriated urban spaces that evoked power, like the Plaza Mayor, and the streets that were used for official ceremonies and processions. Those accused, according to Osorio, defied or ignored "established gender roles" (p. 132), although their clients only wanted to stop adultery or marital violence just as much as the church and state, or they simply wanted to find a suitable marriage partner. Patriarchy seemed little shaken here.

The book's strength lies in shedding light on the city's historical invention, its courtly production, and its modern metropolitan flare, which made it hardly a peripheral creature of the world system. However, some of Osorio's own evidence suggests that Lima took its cues from Europe and subscribed to a hegemonic discourse; after all, the ceremonial calendar was not its own creation. As for the conscious involvement of the plebes in this process of invention, there remains a nagging question since they appear to be a side-show in this otherwise engaging and scholarly work. Undoubtedly, Osorio provides a new way of critiquing the relationship between core and periphery, which will provoke much debate.

PAUL CHARNEY
Frostburg State University

MAYA TALMON-CHVAICER. *The Hidden History of Capoeira: A Collision of Cultures in the Brazilian Battle Dance*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 237. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Enslaved Africans in Rio de Janeiro practiced a dynamic game called the *jogo de capoeira*, which combined kicks, acrobatics, and percussive music into a whirlwind of movement. In the nineteenth century, *capoeiras*—fully initiated members of sodalities dedicated

to the *jogo de capoeira* and affiliated social practices—transmitted the secrets of the art to neophytes despite strong police repression. As no initiated insiders have left surviving written documents, most historians have approached the subject from the viewpoint of the police records. While Maya Talmon-Chvaicer draws heavily on these sources, she also provides counter-perspectives, often utilizing Kongo and Yoruba cosmologies to bring to light new interpretations of what this social practice may have meant to *capoeiras* in the nineteenth century.

This book explores “the three major cultures that inspired *capoeira*—Kongolesse, Yoruban, and Catholic Portuguese” (p. 3)—in order to reveal “hidden” perspectives on the social practices of *capoeiras*. Given the author’s emphasis on regaining subaltern voices, it is not surprising that her investigation of the Catholic Portuguese legacy is the least developed. Despite repeated statements that the “Catholic Portuguese” exerted great influence on the *jogo de capoeira*, this is never documented or explained beyond an ill-defined attempt to equate Portuguese Catholicism with Rio’s social elites and agents of social control. Despite her troubling use of the terms tribes and tribesmen when discussing pre-colonial Africa, Talmon-Chvaicer’s analysis of Yoruba contributions is more developed and certainly applicable to nineteenth-century Salvador da Bahia, which was highly populated by people that identified as Nago (“Yoruba”). However, she supplies no evidence to support her contention that the Yoruba provided the central model for *capoeira* scarves, charms, and chants in Rio de Janeiro, where more than eighty percent of the enslaved population came from Central Africa and “Yoruba” peoples entered very late and comprised only a tiny fraction of the enslaved population. Conversely, despite the fact that the largest group of Africans hailed from the hinterland of Benguela where the kicking art most resembling the *jogo de capoeira* was practiced, the author bypasses this region’s central contributions to the artform. Her examination of Kongolesse inputs are much more satisfying, particularly when she uses the works of Robert Farris Thompson and Fu Kiao Bunseki to interpret the otherwise cryptic social and spiritual practices of Rio’s *capoeiras*. Yet had Talmon-Chvaicer engaged the rich historiography on the distinct Central African form of Catholicism that was widespread both in the Kongo and in the African diaspora, her analysis of Catholic as well as Kongolesse contributions could have been much more nuanced.

Talmon-Chvaicer utilizes a dual narrative structure that artfully integrates divergent perspectives on *capoeiras* and their social practices. The first section of each chapter provides the perspective of the Brazilian upper classes and their agents of social control during the empire. In these etic sections the author builds upon important Portuguese-language monographs by Carlos Eugênio Libano Soares. Her liberal quoting of police documents, travelers’ accounts, and newspaper articles brings the ostensibly villainous *capoeiras* to life for the

reader. The following section of each chapter then approaches the topic from the emic standpoint of enslaved Africans and other *capoeiras*. It is in these sections that Talmon-Chvaicer utilizes African frames of reference to provide an alternative to elite perspectives. A welcome contribution to the field is the author’s insistence that the common people of Rio admired the *capoeiras* and enjoyed their public displays, including their acrobatic performances during processions and parades that acted as a subtle critique of the authorities.

The last two chapters, dealing with the *jogo de capoeira* tradition of Salvador da Bahia from the late nineteenth century to the present, move away from the solid grounding in archival sources and blur the effective dual narrative structure. Based upon published sources, interviews with contemporary masters, and the author’s experience as a practitioner of the art, these chapters lack the rigor of the earlier sections. The “three inspiring cultures” approach seems particularly overstretched here as Talmon-Chvaicer attributes even twentieth-century transformations of the *jogo* into a “competitive sport, practiced by few, in bound spaces (*capoeira* schools, private studios, and halls), and at fixed times,” to an ongoing “Catholic Portuguese concept in dance” and the abandonment of “the original West and West Central African rituals” of *capoeira* (p. 173). Portuguese Catholicism cannot be uncritically equated with the political motivations of Getúlio Vargas, Mestre Bimba, and other key movers in these processes. Certainly, by the mid-twentieth century Kongolesse, Kongolesse Catholic, Portuguese Catholic, Yoruba, and other African legacies had long been, in various degrees, integrated within Brazilian religious and corporal traditions that were not entirely bound to particular “races” and classes. This last section neither reveals “hidden” histories nor adds much to the existing literature. Overall, this book provides a well-rounded and textually rooted analysis of nineteenth-century *capoeira*. Yet the lack of specificity in tracing Kongolesse, Yoruba, and Catholic Portuguese cultural influences across time, space, and social classes prevents the book from realizing its full potential contribution to Atlantic world and diaspora studies.

T. J. DESCH OBI
Baruch College

ANGELA VERGARA. *Copper Workers, International Business, and Domestic Politics in Cold War Chile*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 222. \$60.00.

Any treatment of contemporary Chilean history faces the challenge of depicting a country divided by local issues, ideology, and world alliances. An author either takes sides and writes an openly partisan work, or tries to somehow provide a balanced look at “what happened” and still, in all likelihood, does not satisfy everyone over central aspects of the period. In this sense Angela Vergara gives us a pioneering analysis of twentieth-century copper mining at Potrerillos and nearby

El Salvador, filtered by a sympathy for labor. At the same time she explains how the mine operations looked from the business angle, and in between she sets out the thorny Chilean political story.

Both mines are located some 500 miles north of Santiago, at 10,000 feet on the desert slope of the western Andes Mountains. This isolated landscape is an underlying theme in all of the chapters. Chapter one relates how Andes Copper, an Anaconda Copper Company subsidiary, acquired mining rights to the property in 1916 and over the next decade constructed a huge mining and metallurgical operation. Then in the next two chapters she shows how difficult it is to create a productive but remote human settlement. Workers were most concerned, after wages, with their working and living conditions. On the business side, workers and their families were but one of many production factors—secondary to solving technical problems central to the mine's metallurgical process.

Vergara opens her study with the 1971 nationalization of the major foreign-owned copper mines. The book is not about the politics of nationalization, but the narrative effectively conveys the centrality of copper to the country's economy and politics. Copper workers expected the Popular Unity government's "socialist revolution" to make their lives better and to resolve their grievances.

In this way Vergara contributes to the literature on the 1970 election of Dr. Salvador Allende to Chile's presidency and his short three years in office. In chapter after chapter national events unfold from the vantage point of workers and their unions at Potrerillos and Salvador. Chapters three to six show in detail how in the mines, the metallurgical plant, and on the rail system to the coast, the workers were among the best paid in Chile; yet they struggled in frustration to have other problems addressed either by the company itself or via state regulation. And once Andes Copper was nationalized, "the company" remained their chief antagonist despite initial efforts by the government to promote "participation." Most Andes Copper workers supported Allende's election yet opposed his subsequent call for "sacrifices," meaning pay cuts. In an epilogue, Vergara explores the demobilization of labor at the mine under the 1973–1990 military government. Workers knew they were seen as "privileged," but they possessed a sense of discrimination and at times experienced true repression when striking over working conditions.

The matter of how U.S.-based companies came to dominate Chilean copper production in the twentieth century frames the story. Prior to 1890, Chilean copper companies experienced decades of success working the veins and beds of coastal copper deposits, primarily in four districts. But despite efforts during the 1870s to begin exploiting low-grade ores by use of hydrometallurgy, a phase little recognized, Chilean companies never made the transition to the more remote and challenging low-grade deposits of the Andes. Vergara has a thin historiography to draw upon for this earlier pe-

riod, and most existing work suggests technological backwardness as the cause of decline. By 1906, once the value of massive low-grade ores was demonstrated by Daniel C. Jackling and his Utah Copper Company at Bingham Canyon, a worldwide search for such deposits ensued. Potrerillos possessed such ore—one of Chile's trio of "porphyry" mines along with Chuquibambilla and El Teniente. As at the other two prior to foreign investment, mining operations at Potrerillos were based on enriched surface veins—not the low-grade ore between the veins. The construction of large-scale plants, including an ore concentration process called "flotation," converted Potrerillos from a marginal to a valuable property once enough investment capital was committed. By the twentieth century such investment was beyond the means of the domestic Chilean copper mining industry.

Vergara writes a wonderful portrait of Potrerillos and Salvador, one that was lacking in either English or Spanish. Her primary research draws on the local press of the period and archives of Anaconda Copper Company, Chilean labor unions, Chilean ministries, and the U.S. State Department. The student of Chilean labor history will learn how the unions at this site interacted with political parties, the government, and the U.S. companies. This book is a must read for students of world copper history. It adds to our understanding of the least well-known of the major Chilean porphyries—where operations are scheduled to cease in 2011.

WILLIAM W. CULVER
State University of New York,
Plattsburgh

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

SARA ELISE PHANG. *Roman Military Service: Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Republic and Early Principate*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 336. \$90.00.

It was only a matter of time before critical theory finally attacked the walls of Roman military history, among the last bastions of empiricist dead-enders. Sara Elise Phang brings some big guns to bear in her study of military discipline during the late republican and imperial eras: Max Weber's typology of forms of authority, Louis Althusser's theory of ideology's role in social and cultural reproduction, and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and symbolic violence. After deploying her theoretical weaponry, Phang proceeds to examine discipline as it was applied in various aspects of military life. Combat training did not emphasize mass drill but rather individual weapons-handling skills and aggression, which meant that the social control later European armies imposed through parade-ground exercises had to come from elsewhere. In the Roman case, work and camp-building became the means by which discipline was imposed. Roman soldiers lacked a standardized uniform. Hence a military identity or *habitus* was formed both through the wearing of weapons and ar-

mor and from the inculcation of a masculine self-image. Punishment in theory was always quite severe but in practice less so. Shaming was preferable to execution since excessive rigor here could lead to mutiny. Money had to be given to soldiers in a rationalized, bureaucratic way, such as on the occasion of imperial accessions or the adoption of an heir, thus subordinating its recipients while at the same time avoiding corrupting discipline through the perception that the army's favor was being bought. Discipline demanded that the soldiers be kept constantly at work, and their performance of these tasks (rather than in actual combat, which was rare) came to be considered a measure of their military excellence (*virtus*). However, the work could not be demeaning in their eyes, which would have put them in the same category as slaves; the soldiers' propensity to acquire slaves to relieve them of much of their drudgery reveals the extent to which they resisted the dictates of work-discipline. Finally, discipline required eliminating luxury from the soldiers' lives and enforcing an austere regime when it came to food and drink, made palatable by the emperor or commander being seen occasionally sharing the soldiers' grub.

This all too brief summary cannot begin to do justice to the wealth of detail Phang brings to her study or the many edifying byways into which her discussion leads. Students of the Roman military will find much to value in this book. Phang has produced a very important study of military discipline, but it is a discipline that to a considerable extent may have existed mainly in the imagination of the imperial upper classes. For we have precious little in the way of primary documentation upon which to form an impression of how discipline operated in the army on a day-to-day level. Nor do we have the voices of the principal objects of that discipline, the soldiers themselves. Our information largely comes filtered through writings of the literary elite, many of whose experiences of military life were limited at best and who, in looking back at the *exempla* of the past, saw there the concerns of the present. We lack the ability to determine how far the idealized *disciplina militaris* of imperial authors squared with what the *milites* really experienced in camp. For among soldiers as with slaves, who as Phang rightly notes posed similar problems of motivation and discipline for the elite, resistance to discipline was inevitable. And just as the relationship between masters' theoretically absolute control over their chattel and the extent to which that control could be realized in practice was always subject to negotiation, so it is difficult to believe that military discipline in actuality was everything that upper-class ideology demanded. For example, as Phang rightly notes, a Roman soldier's diet was pretty good, particularly by ancient standards: about 3,400 calories per day, and it could be quite varied. Evidence for the consumption not simply of different meats and fowl but also of oysters, whelks, and cockles among other seafood has turned up in British forts far from the sea. So how much of the "discipline of austerity" the literary sources insist upon was really just a kind of Potemkin village of the mind, in-

tended to comfort the civilian elite while having little to do with discipline as Roman soldiers experienced it? Phang does not say, and indeed the lack of a summary chapter to confront the larger implications of her study is a serious shortcoming. Her application of theory is always judicious and very often enlightening on the ideology of discipline, but in the end, Phang leaves unanswered the big question of how far that ideology really mattered. She has given us certainly something more than half the story, but how much more must remain unclear.

NATHAN ROSENSTEIN
Ohio State University

CLIFFORD ANDO. *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 44.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 239. \$45.00.

Clifford Ando is a distinguished contributor to the study of Roman religion, a subject that has received much attention in recent years as scholars have built on Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price's seminal *Religions of Rome* (1998) and John Scheid's *La religion des romains* (1998). His book is not a systematic exposition of the data but a sequence of seven discursive essays, two of them previously unpublished, in which Ando reflects on what the evidence implies and how modern scholarship should best interpret it.

He starts from the premise that the Romans' knowledge of the gods was empirical and cumulative, a matter of noting which methods had been successful in achieving divine favor and which not, with the corollary that rituals were always subject to change and development if that was thought to be necessary. It was an essentially historical procedure, and one that served its practitioners well. In Marcus Tullius Cicero's *On Divination*, his brother Quintus exclaims that if the Romans don't believe the gods take an interest in them they might as well burn their annals. Four and a half centuries later, Symmachus asks from where they might better draw their knowledge of the divine than from memory and the evidence of past benefactions. It was not a view that could survive the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410.

Another of Ando's main themes, alluded to in his title, is the materiality of the gods. In 204 B.C.E., the Romans brought the Great Mother from Phrygia. The physical object that was ceremonially transported and installed in the new cult site on the Palatine was a black stone. In what sense was it the goddess herself? She was now present in Rome in all her power, but was she therefore no longer in Phrygia? It is hard to believe the Phrygians thought so, but perhaps the Romans did. Their custom of *evocatio*, asking the gods who protected their enemies to abandon them and come to Rome, must imply an assumption that a deity's power was somehow inherent in his or her physical presence. Ando cites Tertullian's contemptuous comment about *di decuriones*, "town-councillor gods" whose writ did not run

outside the walls (p. 123), and Libanius's admission that "the gods in Rome give greater blessings than those in the countryside and the other cities" (p. 138), and reasonably asks how such a religious system could cater for a world empire. But it evidently did, until the empire itself began to fail.

Ando rightly recognises the importance of Marcus Terentius Varro, "Rome's greatest cultural historian" (p. 83), and his lost masterpiece *Human and Divine Antiquities*. (The best reason for the re-excavation of the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum is that there might just be a copy of Varro's *Antiquities* lurking in that buried library.) However, he gives less prominence than he might to Varro's starting point, the three different theologies of the poets, the philosophers, and the priests in the city. Perhaps it was only the second of these who worried much about ontological and metaphysical dilemmas; most people probably believed *both* that Jupiter was physically present in his temple on the Capitol *and* that he stood on heaven's height and "looked down on the broad sea flecked with wings of sails, and the land masses, coasts and nations of the earth," as Virgil put it (*Aeneid* 1.224–225; Robert Fitzgerald's translation).

There were many ways of thinking about the gods. Writing about early Rome, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.61.1) politely disagreed with those who believed that there was no place for miracle stories in history; like Quintus Tullius Cicero, he took them as evidence for the gods' care for mankind, and the Romans in particular. Plutarch (*Life of Coriolanus* 38) reports the speaking statue of Fortuna in 489 B.C.E.: impossible, of course, but "nevertheless, for those who are passionate in their devotion and love for the divine, and incapable of rejecting or denying anything of this kind, the main argument for belief is the wonderful and transcendent nature of the divine power." In our understanding of the Romans and their gods, there ought to be room for that passionate piety as well.

The final chapter of this admirable book reflects on the historic talismans with which the gods guaranteed the rule of Rome. One of them was the stone of the Phrygian Great Mother; another was the Palladion, the statue of Pallas Athene rescued by Aeneas from the fall of Troy. Ando enjoys the irony of Malalas's story that in 330 Constantine I took the Palladion and buried it secretly in the forum of his Christian capital.

T. P. WISEMAN
University of Exeter

DAVID SHOTTER. *Nero Caesar Augustus: Emperor of Rome*. London: Pearson Education Limited. 2008. Pp. xiv, 257. £21.99.

There seems to be an insatiable demand for biographies of early Roman emperors, with Nero unquestionably heading the list. The last decade or so has seen Miriam T. Griffin's authoritative *Nero: the End of a Dynasty* (1985, reprinted 2001), Edward Champlin's individualistic and often inspired *Nero* (2003) and, for the general reader, Jürgen Malitz's *Nero* (2005) and David

Shotter's own *Nero* (1997, reprinted 2005) in the "Lancaster Pamphlets" series. Is there a case for yet another book on the same emperor? Shotter's new volume does indeed meet a clearly identifiable need. It is aimed at a non-specialist readership, but unlike Malitz's book and Shotter's own earlier biography, both in series that dictated summary treatments, this volume recognizes an essential truth about the classical world: that there are very few topics not vexed by scholarly disputes and that there are few undisputed "facts." This holds especially true for a colorful figure like Nero. Commendably, Shotter here provides non-specialist readers with proper notes and references, as well as with extensive bibliographical information, essential tools for the proper understanding of the contentious issues raised. While the label "popularizer" might be attached to him, it carries no stigma, since Shotter underpins this role with a raft of published scholarship on early imperial history.

Shotter states his aim as being to make Nero, if not lovable, "a more coherent and intelligible individual" (p. xiii), and he succeeds in showing that his reign was a far more complex phenomenon than is generally recognized. This is not a revisionist book. We are left in no doubt about the many horrors of living under Nero nor about the overwhelming evidence of his incompetence. But this is not the whole picture. Shotter reveals a man of contrasts, who could ruthlessly murder his mother and wife yet also be capable of clemency and generosity. Some of his ideas seem almost visionary. He had radical ideas for reforming taxation, including a plan to abolish indirect taxation across the empire, perhaps in an attempt to ease the flow of trade. This proved too complex to implement, but all the same the empire enjoyed considerable prosperity. Nero made some exceptional appointments, such as Gaius Suetonius Paulinus in Britain and Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo in Parthia, and the diplomatic settlement of the Parthian problem in particular was a considerable achievement. Moreover, among the ordinary people he enjoyed considerable popularity, which persisted after his death, with the appearance of Neronian impostors in the east.

The organization of the book is straightforward. Shotter begins with an excellent discussion of the main-line historical sources: Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio. It might also have been useful to have had an evaluation of sources that are not strictly historical but are all the same highly relevant, such as the philosophical works of Seneca or the intriguing historical drama, the *Octavia*. From here Shotter proceeds to a broadly diachronic analysis of the reign. Family plays an important role in this story, in particular because after Tiberius there was a sense that the imperial family was above the law. Ironically Nero gains special significance through his death, since the line of dynastic succession was thereby broken, and indeed his immediate successor Galba pointed out the evils of hereditary succession in a famous speech.

Shotter argues that the seeds of Nero's self-indulgence were planted early, and much of the responsi-

bility must lie with his formidable mother, Agrippina the Younger. The most perplexing question once Nero had gained the throne is why she was ousted in favor of his old tutor Seneca and Sextus Afranius Burrus, commander of the guard. Shotter makes the sound observation that Agrippina was the agent of her own downfall, because she had done her work so well and had placed Nero in such a strong position that he could dispense with her. We are then conducted through a clear exposition of the highlights of Nero's career, such as the rebellion of Boudicca and the Great Fire. There is an excellent chapter on Nero as imperial builder, where projects such as his Golden House are laid out with an admirable clarity that will especially benefit the non-archaeologist. Shotter ends with an interesting epilogue on Nero's later image and particularly on the Christian vision of him as the antichrist.

There are some minor quibbles. Some of the peripheral material could have been more precisely adapted. The map of the city of Rome in the imperial period, for instance, contains much post-Neronian data (p. 114). In the map of the empire (p. 88) there is no Cilicia. The book is nicely illustrated but the illustrations are not keyed to the text and some, especially of Pompeii, seem essentially decorative. But these are trivial reservations about a book that can be confidently recommended to students and intelligent general readers alike.

ANTHONY A. BARRETT

University of British Columbia and University of Heidelberg

JUDITH HERRIN. *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiii, 391. \$29.95.

This book is the second on Byzantium to appear in English in 2007. The other is *The Cambridge History of Byzantium*, edited by Jonathan Shepard. In 336 pages, Judith Herrin undertakes to summarize Byzantine history from Constantine I to Constantine XI (from the fourth to the fifteenth century). One reaches the eighth century by page 105 and the Crusades by page 255.

At its best, the text is skillfully written, judiciously crafted, and lively. The sections on icons (chapter nine), the imperial court (chapter sixteen), the imperial children, "born in the purple" (chapter seventeen), and the eleventh-century crisis (chapter twenty-one) are the best parts of the book; those on Greek Orthodoxy (chapter four), iconoclasm (chapter ten), Saints Cyril and Methodius (chapter twelve), and the Byzantine economy (chapter fourteen) are defensible, if not always persuasive. In a number of cases apparent contradictions are left for the reader to puzzle out: the systematic destruction of iconoclast theology by victorious iconodules explains why very little is known about what the icon-breakers were trying to achieve (p. 113); however, when condemning religious art the Protestant reformers "employed all the biblical and patristic texts collected by Byzantine iconoclasts of the eighth and ninth centuries" (p. xx). There are a few clear errors.

The city of Monemvasia was not founded in 584, and there was no "gradual infiltration" of the Slavs into the Balkan provinces of the empire (p. 93). Nor was there any "Slavonic principality of Macedonia" in the ninth century, in which Methodius held an official position (p. 131). There are no naphtha wells in Crimea (p. 141), and the frescoes in the Church of St. Clement in Rome do not "commemorate" St. Cyril's "adventurous life" (p. 134). Leo, the founder of the Church of the Virgin in Skripou (Orchomenos), was an imperial *protospatharios* and a member of the imperial household with a function connected to the emperor's private fortune, perhaps a steward of the imperial domain (*kourator*). But he was most certainly not a "local general" (p. 155). No one expects from this book an apology for Byzantium waging war on Islam, but it is a bit bizarre to read that "the Muslims' aim of capturing Constantinople . . . was more than legitimate" (p. xviii). Where is the evidence that St. Nikon refused to allow the Jews of Sparta "to return to their jobs as weavers and cloth finishers unless they converted" (p. 243)? Interpretations are frequently puzzling. Against most recent studies of the matter (especially by Walter Goffart), Herrin believes that the "Germanic tribes were ever anxious to invade and occupy Roman territory" (p. 23). She takes at face value stories in Procopius of Caesarea and John Skylitzes, without any apparent knowledge of Anthony Kaldellis and Paul Stephenson's studies warning against such an approach. Phocas is viewed as an incompetent rebel, although sixteen years ago David M. Olster showed that notion to be the product of Emperor Heraclius's propaganda machine. Herrin will persuade few that the "Roman policy of bread and circuses gradually evolved into a Christian one of soup and salvation" (p. 27).

The weakest part of this book deals with Greek Orthodoxy. Herrin explains that the relationship of the Son and the Holy Spirit to the Father was not the same, "since the Son is *generated* and Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father" (p. 46, emphasis added). She also writes about a certain Boris the Bogomil, otherwise not mentioned in any source, but whom she calls "a Bulgarian charismatic leader" (p. 49). Ulfila is said to have translated the Gospels into a new, Gothic script (p. 37). (Similarly, the alphabet called Glagolitic is said to have "later developed into Church Slavonic," p. 131.)

The typos are at a bare minimum (but see, for instance, "commerical," instead of "commercial" on p. 149; or "Presba" instead of "Prespa" on p. 217); the maps are helpful (though Durazzo mentioned on p. 207 is missing from the maps on which only Dyrrachion and Durrës appear, the latter misspelled once as Dürres). The reader will also find very helpful the list of emperors (with omissions, such as Justin II, 565–578) and the chronology at the end of the volume.

Michael Maas, quoted on the dust jacket of this book, observes that no other book attempts to approach the "millennium-long history of Byzantium" in Herrin's nonconventional fashion. That may well be true. However, a reader seriously interested in that history would

certainly be better served by choosing instead the *Cambridge History of Byzantium*.

FLORIN CURTA
University of Florida

HENRY MAYR-HARTING. *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 308. \$110.00.

Although Henry Mayr-Harting describes Cologne as "not in the highest flight of tenth-century learned centres," it is "an interesting place for [his] purposes," for it had a prominent cleric in Bruno I, who was heavily involved in the politics of his brother the Emperor Otto I's kingdom. Throughout the book, the contents of manuscripts housed in Cologne of works by Gregory the Great, Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, and Martianus Minneus Felix Capella are related to the life and career of the highly politicized bishop, in order to investigate the degree to which "intellectual activity might usefully be related to rule" and illuminate "an important segment of tenth-century politics placed in an intellectual context."

The Cologne manuscripts Mayr-Harting has chosen to concentrate on are all works of the fifth and sixth century in tenth and eleventh-century copies: Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*; Prudentius's *Psychomachia*; Boethius's treatise on arithmetic; and the extraordinary discussion of the organization of knowledge and the seven liberal arts (the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music) in Martianus Capella's *On the Marriage of Mercury and Philology*. These manuscripts contain glosses and annotations that have the potential to reveal the kinds of interest taken in these already ancient texts in Cologne, and thus, possibly, the "thought-world" of the monk Ruotger and Bruno himself.

The book discusses the *Life of Bruno* written by Ruotger; Ruotger and Bruno's possible responses to the work of the church fathers Gregory and Augustine (with special reference to Cologne MS 94); the content of Cologne's library in the tenth century; the liberal arts at Cologne; the study of arithmetic and Platonism, with particular reference to Cologne MS 186 (an edition of the glosses is provided at the end of the book); the study of Capella with close analysis of the glosses in Cologne MS 193; and some more general comments on the ethics of rulership. Mayr-Harting also provides an edition of the text of the principal glosses in Cologne MS 193. Erudite and important as the elucidations of these texts and their glosses are, they can only provide a partial indication of the texts available to anyone in Cologne—either the Cologne books themselves or those to which some may have had access elsewhere. It is a dangerous assumption that only those books that were annotated were studied; canon law books, for example, are characterized as "not working books so much as icons." The focus on topics within the liberal arts, moreover, rests on two premises. The first is that Cologne appears to

have made a serious effort to build up its coverage of texts on the liberal arts in the tenth century. The second is that Bruno's early schooling at Utrecht, an important center for study in the tenth century, left him with an abiding interest in liberal arts and learning. The latter does not emerge from the manuscript evidence discussed in this book. Instead, it is based on Ruotger's account of the education given to Bruno between the ages of four and about fourteen, when Bruno joined Otto's court. The learning attributed to Bruno the prodigy has overtones of Christ's disputation with the elders of the temple. Ruotger's biography also needs to be set beside the other extant accounts about bishops from the early middle ages (rather more numerous than Mayr-Harting acknowledges) in which the learning of the bishops is a standard attribute. Ruotger's praise of Bruno's learning should perhaps not have too much weight placed on it except as the expression of an ideal.

As a consequence of the evidential difficulties, Mayr-Harting's two themes never quite cohere in the course of the discussion. However, his elucidations of the texts of Gregory, Boethius, Prudentius, and Capella, and the glosses thereon, are invaluable. Mayr-Harting also demonstrates the Platonism of these glosses very convincingly, as well as the link made between arithmetic and a Platonist, universal order of creation—although with respect to Plato and the *Timaeus*, reference could also have been made to Anna Somfai's important work on this topic. Mayr-Harting's exposition is supported by a number of illustrations of sample pages from manuscripts in order to demonstrate the various types of glosses and annotations he discusses. The map unfortunately omits some of the other places of learning in the tenth century (such as St Gallen, Freising, and nearly every center in France), is inconsistent in its spelling (Nimwegen for Nijmegen), includes some places not mentioned in the text (such as Dortmund and Prague), and even has Cologne itself on the wrong side of the river Rhine (as does the text). The editions of the glosses, however, permit the reader to work in tandem with the tenth-century annotator, and as anyone consulting <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de> can discover (even if they are not always completely legible on screen), with reference to the digital reproduction of the manuscripts concerned.

ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK
University of Cambridge

NORA BEREND, editor. *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 444. \$99.00.

This volume is the product of a year-long series of workshops by an international team of scholars who set out to examine the intersection of Christianization and the consolidation of power in areas ancestral to the medieval kingdoms of Northern and Central Europe and Rus'. An introduction by Nora Berend describes the project and its tentative conclusions. It also alerts the

reader to the presence of additional information on the project's website, <http://christianization.hist.cam.ac.uk/menu.html>. The website provides an excellent introduction to the volume, and supplements it with a more extensive bibliography, concise summaries of primary sources and other types of evidence (coins, regalia, law codes, burials), and illustrations.

The volume provides a nuanced discussion of the primary and secondary literature as well as the problems entailed in studying the northern and eastern neighbors of the Carolingians, Ottonians, and Anglo-Saxons and their descendants. In attempting to recover the history of these peoples, and particularly the history of their ecclesiastical and political structures, it is necessary to balance the evidence provided by hostile and/or ignorant contemporaries, local compositions written centuries after the events they purport to describe, archaeological findings, and by the very institutions whose roots are under examination. Robert Bartlett's introductory chapter, "From Paganism to Christianity in Medieval Europe," provides an excellent discussion of the difficulties faced by the scholars who produced the remaining chapters: "The Kingdom of Denmark" by Michael H. Gelting; "The Kingdom of Norway" by Sverre Bagge and Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide; "The Kingdom of Sweden" by Nils Blomkvist, Stefan Brink, and Thomas Lindkvist; "Bohemia and Moravia" by Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík, and Josef Žemlička (with additional material on art by Zoë Opačič); "The Kingdom of Poland, with an Appendix on Polabia and Pomerania between Paganism and Christianity" by Stanisław Rosik and Przemysław Urbańczyk; "The Kingdom of Hungary" by Berend, József Laszlovsky, and Béla Zsolt Szakács; and "Rus'" by Jonathan Shepard.

This is an extremely valuable work that analyzes the early history (and its sources) of areas often considered marginal by scholars of Western Europe and Britain. Great care has been taken to address the same questions in each chapter, and to provide a balanced evaluation of "how we know what we know"—including what little we know about pre-Christian religion in the different territories. In many cases the chapters are the first presentation of this kind in English. The volume and website will be indispensable for any future work in the areas covered; the following quibbles are meant as suggestions for directions such work (most obviously in the form of expansion of the website) might take. Here my first desideratum would be an indication of the academic fields of the contributors, who are otherwise identified only by name and institution. The interdisciplinary approach is one of the strengths of the volume; it would be useful to the reader to know the authors' precise areas of expertise.

Berend states that "the only way to produce a comparative analysis was to rely on a framework based on modern nation-states" (p. 10). This is unfortunately the case, as the languages in which scholarship is published serve to reinforce boundaries that this study is trying to overcome. In the present case, the maps provided in the various chapters for the most part assume that readers

are already familiar with the territories under discussion. Here the website could come to the reader's aid: it would be easy enough to create a series of maps representing the entire area covered at different dates, with pagan as well as Christian peoples and polities, to which existing maps (or improved versions thereof) could be linked. For example, map seven, "Nidaros church organization and its neighbors" does not indicate which are the "neighbors," mislocates the two Icelandic sees, one of them quite badly (map two is better) and does not include Icelandic monasteries.

In a comparative work like this, a good index is essential. The general topics—coinage, runes, burial—are all represented. One heading that would have been useful is "saints." Its absence is surprising since hagiography is one of the sources discussed in detail (and as such does receive an entry), and the sanctification of royal figures is common to many of the territories studied. Such individuals are of course listed by name, and there are entries for "saints' cults" and for "churches dedicated to" saints from Adalbert to Vitus; an entry listing all individuals with a reputation for sanctity (with English, as well as native, forms of their names) would have provided a helpful overview. Marriage alliances, an important indicator of relations between polities, are also hard to locate: to identify rulers who received Christian princesses as brides it is necessary consult the website for the appropriate region, choose "Christian contacts" and scroll through section four. The question of the religious and political conditions that had to be met before such alliances could take place would be a good topic for further comparative study.

This volume reveals the variety of ways in which Christianization and political consolidation could take place. A ruler's conversion to Christianity might bring him power or allies, but did not invariably do so; it might instead lead to his overthrow and the destruction of new ecclesiastical foundations. As is pointed out in the introduction, conversion did not guarantee either power or independence: many proto-Christian states ended up being absorbed by larger neighbors. Lithuania, on the other hand, developed into a strong pagan kingdom that did not formally convert (in association with a royal marriage) until the fourteenth century. Christianity often contributed significantly to royal power only after such power was established—a reminder that religious legitimization (or power consolidation) can only take place with respect to existing religious communities (or polities). Berend's authors are to be congratulated for providing a sound basis for future study of the areas covered, which may even lead to a rethinking of the history of areas Christianized at an earlier date.

MARGARET CORMACK
College of Charleston

MARIA ELENA CORTESE. *Signori, castelli, città: L'aristocrazia del territorio fiorentino tra X e XII secolo*. (Biblioteca Storica Toscana, number 53.) Florence: Olshki. 2007. Pp. xxvii, 426. €45.00.

The subject of this book is the lay aristocracy in the dioceses of Florence and Fiesole from the late tenth through the mid-twelfth century. Although there is a significant body of scholarship on the major ecclesiastical lords and comital families, there has not been, until now, any comparable study of the aristocracy for the region as a whole. The author focuses especially on its middle ranks (the *aristocrazia intermedia*). This masterful study therefore fills a significant gap in Florentine historiography. Relying on over 3,500 charters, Maria Elena Cortese argues two major points: the lower and mid-level aristocracy (*la media e piccola aristocrazia*) played a more significant role in Florentine history than has hitherto been recognized, and the rural aristocracy confronted a major crisis in the early twelfth century that also constituted a major turning point in Florentine history.

From the end of the tenth century, the lower and middle ranks of the aristocracy held extensive (and usually dispersed) rural and urban holdings. They established enduring social and economic connections with the primary wielders of regional power: the marquis, the great comital families (the Guidi, the Cadolingi, and the Alberti), and the bishopric of Florence. However, following the extinction of the house of Canossa in 1115, and reeling from the effects of the accelerating fragmentation of their properties, many of these families simply disappeared. Those who managed to survive increasingly distanced themselves from the city and their urban patrons (like the bishopric), finding little in Florence to protect and promote their interests. Instead, they gravitated more and more into the circles of the major rural houses of the countryside. The implications of these developments for Florentine history are significant, as they help explain why, unlike other Tuscan cities at the same time, the separation of city and countryside in the twelfth century was so stark and dramatic. As a result of this disconnection, conquest of the countryside, once it began, was confrontational and violent.

Cortese develops her themes in five chapters, framed by an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter one describes the earliest history of lordship in the territory around Florence. Beginning with the emergence of major comital families following the break-up of the Italian kingdom around 1000, she proceeds to profile the principal ecclesiastical lords and the middle ranks of the aristocracy (the Attingi, Figineldi, Firidolfi, Gotizi, among others). Chapter two covers family structure, inheritance rules that contributed to the massive fragmentation of property, the position of women as managers and heirs of estates, the initial role of family monasteries as generators of family solidarity and property preservation, and reasons for aristocratic support for church reform. Chapter three examines the social ties both among and within all ranks of the aristocracy. Having found scant evidence of fiefs and vassals, Cortese confirms the prevailing view that feudalization in the Florentine and Siennese territories before 1150 was insignificant. Chapter four, which focuses on castles (*castelli*), argues that the minor and mid-level aristoc-

racy was crucial to the process of castle-building (*incastellamento*) until at least the early twelfth century. In chapter five the author contends that in the early twelfth century the middle and lower ranks of the aristocracy lost their connection to the city as they grappled with the growing fragmentation of their properties, the loss of two of their principal patrons (the Countess Matilda in 1115 and the last Cadolingi in 1113), and the declining importance of another (the bishopric of Florence). The appendix offers profiles and genealogical tables of fourteen lineages.

The strengths of this study are many. We now have a carefully documented study of the middle and lower ranks of the aristocracy that supplements our understanding of the great houses and principal ecclesiastical lords. The maps and histories of individual lineages are impressive for their comprehensiveness and detail. That the early twelfth century constituted a crucial turning point for the Florentine aristocracy and territory is a convincing argument. Nevertheless, Cortese's claim that by 1150 the bishopric was no longer a center of attention for rural lords seems exaggerated. After all, just a century later, many of the powerful rural and urban lineages identified as magnate continued to have close associations with the principal ecclesiastical institutions in the city. There can be no doubt that some members of the aristocracy became even more separated from the city as a result of the crises of the early twelfth century. However, the significance of that separation (*distacco*) for later relations between city and country also seems overstated. A better explanation for the disconnect between city and country may simply be that at any time before 1150 there was a paltry number of urban residents with any rural property (other than the bishopric and chapter), while, at the same time, there were few rural residents with any urban property. As Cortese herself observes, based on recent archaeological excavations, Florence before 1150 appears to have been a severely impoverished and shabby city. For historians of medieval Florence, therefore, it is still a mystery how this poverty-stricken and unimpressive town of 1150, so uninteresting to the rural lords living nearby, became the wealthy and burgeoning metropolis of Dante just over a century later.

GEORGE DAMERON
Saint Michael's College

DANIELLE WESTERHOF. *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 190. \$95.00.

Danielle Westerhof examines the proposition that nobility in the Middle Ages was expressed through what is nowadays called the "social body": that is, the human body as a representative object rather than an individual organism. Death naturally enough was a challenge to the idea of nobility. Ritual, preservation, division, and burial had to affirm the nobility of the deceased body. For nobles who challenged the social order and were convicted of treason, the mutilation and humili-

ation of the body at the noble's execution was a potent revenge; the man's nobility was undermined and his status denied. None of these views is exactly new. A succinct review of them was presented by Paul Binski in *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (1996), and they may be traced back further to the pioneering work of Caroline Walker Bynum. But what Westerhof offers is a coherent study of the origins and implications of this overarching idea of body theory as applied to nobles. She does so through a very extensive trawl of four centuries of sources and much published scholarship on the subjects of the body and nobility. She focuses particularly on two areas: the division of noble bodies by evisceration for appropriate burial and the parallel evisceration during the course of public executions by hanging and quartering. One offered opportunities for noble patronage and assisted the respectability of funeral rituals. The other degraded and shamed the noble body by exposing it naked and treating it as common meat. It was, after all, to butchers that the noble Flemish malefactor Walter de Fontaines (an example outside Westerhof's concern) was delivered for his torment before execution, supposedly being hung head down in a sewer until he asphyxiated. The resulting study is a very useful and well-written synthesis in terms of both historiography and the historical question itself. Its most telling contribution is perhaps to ideas of what nobility meant and how the body must express it. Nobility was an ideal, but the author points out that a man's nobility was—like his sanctity—supposed to be manifested in his physical appearance. Westerhof finds plenty of evidence to support her view that “aristocrats were thought to embody nobility” (p. 116) in the treatment of their physical form. One might go further, however, and reach different conclusions. The physical perfection of Alan of Lille's “New Man” in his *Anticlaudianus* might be taken as additional proof of her point, but this example also introduces a note of caution. The New Man, being a creation of the Virtues, could be argued to have had no lineage. His nobility was not innate, it was acquired. So Westerhof's insistence that nobility of birth became a *sine qua non* for nobility of character in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth century is rendered debatable. The noble poet Raimon Vidal de Besalú (ca. 1213) praised the nobility of the low-born mercenary captain Mercadier and the pirate Margarit. Geoffrey de Charny (ca. 1351) likewise accepted that nobility could be acquired without the benefit of noble birth. Juvenal's tag that “true nobility is virtue” rang throughout the Middle Ages and was particularly beloved of the “new men” created by the patronage of princes. One source of Westerhof's notion appears to lie in a phrase of Raoul de Houdenc about knights’ “possessing” courtesy, which she twice chooses to translate as knights “are” courtesy (*Le Roman des Eles*, lines 12–15), although the verb is *avoir*, not *estre* (pp. 44, 52). This is pushing the evidence. The fact is that medieval people had contradictory beliefs about the nature of nobility, and although some evidence supports Westerhof's paradigm, there is other evidence

and there are other paradigms. The author prefers metaphors for nobility that relate to the body over those—rather more common—that relate to the blood that animates it. This may have been necessary for the purposes of the book, but it is only half the story.

DAVID CROUCH
University of Hull

MAYA SHATZMILLER. *Her Day in Court: Women's Property Rights in Fifteenth-Century Granada*. (Harvard Series in Islamic Law.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, with the Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School. 2007. Pp. viii, 277. \$28.95.

Maya Shatzmiller's study of women's legal rights in fifteenth-century Granada is a welcome addition to much recent work on women in the Iberian peninsula, most of which demonstrates that women had more rights in custom and law than had been thought previously. It is also the fourth book in recent years on the fascinating city of Granada just before and after its fall to Isabella and Ferdinand in 1492. As is well-known, Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived together for centuries on the Iberian peninsula. It is therefore crucial to understand their separate traditions, customs, and languages, and how they affected one another. Shatzmiller's evidence primarily comes from property litigation, legal decisions, and law codes, mainly involving wealthy families in the kingdom of Granada.

Shatzmiller begins by detailing the many customary property exchanges involved in Islamic marriages in medieval Granada. Perhaps due to legal divorce and polygamy, such marriages demanded a more intricate and detailed documentation than Christian or Jewish traditions. Much of the property transfers involved gift-giving and substantial bride price payments along with the dowry and inheritance. Shatzmiller's interpretation of these traditions is sensitive to the many affective possibilities involved in exchanges of wealth. For instance, she shows that a wife could forgive a second bride price payment, due after the marriage, in exchange for a husband's good behavior or for not marrying a second wife. The possibility of second and third wives would have obviously complicated the laws regarding inheritance and property, but Shatzmiller does not address this point in detail due to the infrequency of polygamous marriages in Granada.

The second section of the book examines women's bodies and souls. Although not concerned exclusively with Granada, Shatzmiller's review of Islamic law regarding women's bodies is fascinating. The author unites many of the topics Muslim jurists covered regarding women's bodies and property, from *coitus interruptus* to virginity to breastfeeding. The same can be said of Shatzmiller's discussion of women's wages and labor in the book's third section; although, here again, much of the author's evidence comes from North African and Egyptian sources. Shatzmiller makes a convincing case that women in Granada were integral to the economic life of the city. More surprisingly, the au-

thor shows that, because of the property protections women enjoyed within marriage, wives had considerable rights to make loans and even investments. This contrasts sharply with the general experience of women in Christian Europe.

Shatzmiller's study, however, falls short in a couple of respects. The first problem involves the important comparisons she makes between Granadan Muslim women and Christian women, especially regarding property rights and transfer during marriage. Inexplicably, her comparisons are mainly to Italian studies on marriage or to Roman law. Shatzmiller makes no mention of the Christian women who lived, literally, next door to the Granadan Muslim women she studies. This cannot be excused because of a lack of literature about women and marriage in medieval Spain; several standard works on women in medieval Castile are not mentioned in her discussion, or even in the bibliography. Instead, Shatzmiller uses works on women and marriage in early modern England, by Lawrence Stone and Edward Shorter, to make Christian comparisons with fifteenth-century Islamic Granada. Even the main legal code that regulated medieval women and everyone else in Christian Castile, Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, is never mentioned. Considering Shatzmiller's penchant for using law codes as evidence, these are surprising omissions.

A second difficulty is the density of the text itself. The main thesis is compelling and potentially exciting: Muslim women enjoyed a great deal of legal protection and rights in the medieval kingdom of Granada. But the author's pedantic descriptions of legal institutions, situations, and customs obscure the more substantial questions and debates that she initially poses.

That said, this book will be of use to scholars interested in the intricacies of female property holding and legal rights in fifteenth-century Granada, as well as in the medieval Islamic world. Despite its low price, the book will not be useful in an undergraduate setting, but could serve as a reference for graduate and scholarly research on women in the Islamic world. Shatzmiller's study is clearly directed toward comparative Islamists; Iberianists may be disappointed.

EDWARD BEHREND-MARTÍNEZ
Appalachian State University

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ADAM SHEAR. *The Kuzari and the Shaping of Jewish Identity, 1167–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 384. \$90.00.

Adam Shear is to be commended for this superb reception history of *Sefer ha-Kuzari* (the *Book of the Khazar*) by the Jewish physician-poet, Judah Halevi (ca. 1075–1141) of Andalusia. Written in Judeo-Arabic around the 1130s, the book was translated into Hebrew in Provence by Judah ben Saul ibn Tibbon in 1167. Although there was a second Hebrew translation (no longer extant) by a thirteenth-century scholar in north-

ern France, Judah ben Cardinal, the reception history delineated in Shear's masterful study pertains to the Hebrew translation by ibn Tibbon.

The *Kuzari* was first printed in Fano, Italy, in 1506, commissioned and subsidized by the Portuguese ibn Yahya family for dissemination in the Sephardic diaspora of the Ottoman Empire. A second edition was published in 1547 in Venice by Meir ben Jacob Parenzo, and it "functioned as an *edition princeps* in the later sixteenth century" (p. 47). A third edition of the *Kuzari* was published by the Christian printer Giovanni di Gara in Venice, with a commentary by Judah Moscato. The three printed editions and the full-length commentary, in addition to a good number of copied manuscripts, indicate the popularity of the *Kuzari* in Renaissance Italy. Two new editions appeared in Western Europe during the seventeenth century: a Spanish translation by Jacob Abendana in 1663 was aimed at the new Spanish and Portuguese communities of the Iberian diaspora, and a Latin translation by Johannes Buxtorf in 1660 was intended for a Christian reading public. Christian Hebraists found the book a mine of information about the history of the Hebrew language as well as about Jewish history and theology of relevance to their agenda. In the late eighteenth century, a new edition of the *Kuzari* appeared in Berlin in 1795 and again in Vienna in late 1795 or early 1796. These new editions, with commentaries by Isaac Satanow and by Israel of Zamosc, reflected the interest of the Berlin maskilim (followers of the Jewish Enlightenment, the Haskalah), who used the book in their effort to modernize Jews in order to facilitate integration into European society. From the eighteenth century to World War I there were some thirty editions of the *Kuzari* all over Europe. Most were of the medieval Hebrew translation of ibn Tibbon, but there were also a reprinting of the seventeenth-century Spanish translation, a new critical edition of the Arabic text, and new translations in German, English, and Italian.

Shear persuasively documents his claims that "the *Kuzari* became a classic statement of Jewish identity in a dialectic process which involved both inherited 'images' of the work from previous generations and conscious reframing of the work to make it speak to new generations of Jewish readers. . . . Jewish intellectuals in different cultural circumstances found the *Kuzari* to be a useful vehicle for constructing, articulating, and disseminating their own conception of Jewish identity" (p. xiii). Although this is a "biography" of one text, so to speak, Shear amply demonstrates that in the ongoing process of reinterpretation several books have emerged that reflect the intellectual agenda of the readers and the intellectual climate of the time. With excellent interpretative skills and subtle readings of numerous primary and secondary texts, Shear delineates the uneven reception of the *Kuzari* in various Jewish communities in Spain and Provence from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries; the popularity of the "Renaissance *Kuzari*" in sixteenth-century Italy; the emergence of the "Enlightenment *Kuzari*" in the second half of the eighteenth

century; and the function that the *Kuzari* played in the various self-conscious Jewish intellectual movements during the nineteenth century. Although the story technically ends in 1912, when the *Kuzari* was translated once again into Hebrew by Abraham Zifronowitz (Zifroni) (pp. 272–273) and when Harry Austryn Wolfson (pp. 3–5) wrote his seminal study on Halevi and Maimonides, the book in fact surveys scholarship about the *Kuzari* during the entire twentieth century. The result is a thorough, erudite, nuanced, and detailed survey that reflects on key issues of Jewish identity—the dialectics of universalism and particularism, the interplay of human reason and divine revelation, and the relationship between philosophy and history—while providing an overview of major trends in Jewish intellectual history from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries—philosophy, kabbalah, Hasidism, Haskalah, Wissenschaft des Judentums, and Zionism. To this study of Jewish intellectual history Shear brings knowledge of literary theories of reception that enable him to raise new questions about the interplay of text and context, of authorship and authority.

Why did the *Kuzari* become a canonic text for Jews? The answer is to be found in its unique literary framework: namely, the story about the conversion of a pagan king of the Khazars to Judaism after studying and rejecting other religions (Christianity and Islam) as well as the rationalist philosophy prevalent at the time. Through this literary device the book offers a poignant but flexible schema for reflections about the meaning of Judaism vis-à-vis other monotheistic religions as well as vis-à-vis philosophy. Any attempt to reflect systematically about Judaism has to engage the issues explored by Halevi: the uniqueness of the Jewish people, the primacy of the Land of Israel, the spiritual superiority of Jews over non-Jews, the nature of prophecy and the meaning of revelation, the authority of the oral tradition, the divinity of the Hebrew language and its peculiar features, and the link between the Hebrew language and the natural world. While these themes can be read to express Jewish particularism, Halevi's argumentation was philosophically informed, even though he argued for the limits of human reason and recognized the inadequacy of the reigning philosophy of his day, Neo-Platonic Aristotelianism. By engaging the content of the book, Jewish readers over the centuries reflected not only on Jewish cultural identity in relation to non-Jews but also on the place of philosophy and science in traditional Jewish society.

Although this study makes an important contribution to Jewish intellectual history, a few important questions are left unanswered, especially in regard to Halevi's theory of language and its relation to his understanding of nature. More work is needed to explain why Halevi composed a commentary to *Sefer Yetzirah* (included in *Kuzari* 4:25) and how he understood this text that played such an essential role in Jewish intellectual history during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including the emergence of kabbalah. For example, what is the connection between Halevi's theory of language

and the popularity of Isma'ilism among Jewish thinkers of the twelfth century? What was the theoretical ground shared among kabbalists in thirteenth-century Catalonia, Jewish Neo-Platonic philosophers in fifteenth-century Provence, and Jewish natural historians in sixteenth-century Italy that recommended the *Kuzari* to them? How did Halevi's theory of language and his conception of nature fit into the Renaissance discourse on natural and divine languages? And why did that aspect of the book become marginal in the modern period while other aspects remain compelling? In other words, even though Shear has produced an excellent study of changing perceptions of the *Kuzari*, more can be said about the philosophical aspect of its reception history.

HAVA TIROSH-SAMUELSON
Arizona State University

DAVID SORKIN. *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World, number 16.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 339. \$35.00.

"The middle way constitutes the true religion," wrote Jacob Vernet in Geneva in the 1750s, espousing moderation in religion and an accommodation between religious faith and enlightened thought (p. 76). That middle way, according to David Sorkin, was characteristic of a transnational and multiconfessional eighteenth-century movement, summed up in the title of his new book. Sorkin argues for a significant revision in our historical sense of what the Enlightenment actually was: "Contrary to the secular master narrative, the Enlightenment was not only compatible with religious belief but conducive to it" (p. 3). He explores this thesis through six related studies of eighteenth-century religious figures: William Warburton in England, Vernet in Geneva, Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten and Moses Mendelssohn in the German lands, Joseph Eybel in the Habsburg monarchy, and Adrien Lamourette in France. Warburton, Vernet, and Baumgarten were Protestants of different denominations, Eybel and Lamourette were Roman Catholics, while Mendelssohn was a Jew, and Sorkin demonstrates that all six, from their confessionally different perspectives, were similarly preoccupied in their religious writings with closely related intellectual problems posed by the Enlightenment. All six invested an enormous amount of intellectual effort in pursuit of the "middle way" that lay in between the traditional orthodoxies that the *philosophes* had blasphemously assaulted and the extreme philosophical alternatives ranging from theism to atheism.

Enlightened religious thinkers sought to connect religious thought to the philosophical values of the century, Warburton reading John Locke and Isaac Newton; Vernet editing Montesquieu; Baumgarten, Mendelssohn, and Eybel deeply inspired by the mathematical-logical methods of Christian Wolff; Lamourette intrigued by the sentimental piety of Jean-Jacques

Rousseau. The religious Enlightenment generally looked to the "natural religion" underlying contemporary theological orthodoxies: like Warburton, who believed that the biblical Hebrews restored the natural religion that had lapsed with the expulsion from Eden, or Vernet, who doubted whether the mystery of the Eucharist was consistent with the laws of nature, or Baumgarten, who affirmed that "the infinite wisdom of God reveals itself more in the works of nature and its variations, which follow the course of nature, than in miracles which are brought forth by the use of omnipotence" (p. 135). Baumgarten believed in the possibility of miracles, but they were not emphasized within his enlightened Lutheranism.

Politics was a central issue and political circumstance an important conditioning factor for the religious Enlightenment. Sorkin argues that enlightened religious thinkers "gained the sponsorship of states seeking political stability," and that those thinkers also sought "to promote the irenicism and toleration that allowed politics and state building to replace theological controversies and the ideal of the confessional state" (p. 18). The political meaning of enlightened religion varied according to the political context, with Warburton reformulating the established religion of Anglicanism, Vernet favoring the patrician domination of the Genevan Republic, and Baumgarten endorsing toleration in Prussia. Yet, the religious Enlightenment, in spite of its affinity for the middle way, could also take radical stands: when Mendelssohn affirmed the civic rights of Jews, when Eybel endorsed the radical religious reforms of Joseph II, and when Lamourette became a revolutionary bishop in Lyon, carrying out the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Eybel's Josephine pamphlet "What is the Pope?" offered scant regard for the prerogatives of Pius VI, while Lamourette argued that Jesus Christ was a prophet of liberty and equality, in the spirit of the French Revolution. The "middle way" was not necessarily a broad domain of moderation but could also be the narrow ridge created by assaults and erosions from either of the extremes. Sorkin invokes the importance of the public sphere in the eighteenth century, but in focusing on a handful of penetrating religious thinkers he still leaves unanswered the problematic question of whether their strategic intellectual compromises successfully struck home and shaped the pieties of their respective publics.

Sorkin comes to his subject from the field of Jewish history, after writing major works on Mendelssohn and on the Berlin Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment. In this new book Sorkin applies his analytical perspective to both enlightened Christian and Jewish religious thought, and he makes very interesting discoveries about the parallel developments within different religions in the eighteenth century. He cites the important precedent of J. G. A. Pocock's volumes on Edward Gibbon for appreciating the religious forces that shaped enlightened thought. Sorkin might also have looked to the pathbreaking studies of Paschalis M. Kitromilides on the Orthodox Enlightenment in southeastern Eu-

rope, and the fascinating recent book by Rolando Minuti on ideas about toleration in the eighteenth century with reference to Islam and the Orient. Sorkin alludes to, but does not have time to analyze, the legacy of the religious Enlightenment for liberal forms of religion in the centuries that follow. Indeed, one might find considerable matter for reflection in turning from Sorkin's study of eighteenth-century religious thought to James Carroll's very contemporary religious reflections in his new book, *Practicing Catholic* (2009).

LARRY WOLFF
New York University

LISA JARDINE. *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory*. New York: HarperCollins. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 406. \$35.00.

Lisa Jardine begins this work on Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century with a paradox. Recent historiography (particularly the work of Jonathan I. Israel) has shown that England's Glorious Revolution in 1688–1689 was, to a large extent, a Dutch invasion. A foreign force (far larger than that assembled by the Spanish for their Armada exactly a century before) landed in Devon, and then marched on the English capital with a military professionalism that destroyed the resistance of James II. Yet this event has not been remembered as an alien occupation. Within weeks of its occurrence, it was being rewritten as a calm and bloodless return of the English constitution to its proper paths. Jardine explains this remarkable refashioning by pointing to decades of contact between England and the Netherlands, a series of interactions that dated back to at least the start of the Stuart age. As she states toward the end of her ninth chapter: "Mutual recognition cushioned the impact of the invasion. Retrospectively, it blurred and diffused the national memory. Here was no conquest: here was an affinity—a meeting of minds and sensibilities." The rest of the book illustrates the international exchange which created this shared culture in a wealth of vivid example. Readers are therefore taken through the entanglements of the Orange and Stuart families that led to two dynastic alliances in 1641 and 1677. Jardine also focuses on the multifaceted Anglo-Dutch careers of two Constantijn Huygens (father and son) and their transnational influences in political thought, propaganda, art, architecture, gardening, natural science, and marriage. Again, she argues that English advances in the organization and financing of a large military state, and in the encouragement of an extensive overseas commercial empire (the advances which propelled eighteenth-century Britain to its global predominance in the eighteenth century), were in fact copied from Holland as people travelled to the United Provinces and marvelled at their innovative systems of public credit and their dynamic joint stock companies. All of this matches recent academic stress on analyzing seventeenth-century England in a European context, and Jardine's volume does great service spreading this message. Through its competitive retail price, its engaging

prose and attractive pictures, and its generous acknowledgement of other scholars' work, this book will bring Anglo-Dutch transnationalism to a large popular audience and for this, as well as for its interesting reflections on the distorted memory of 1688, Jardine deserves praise.

Yet this reviewer has a few doubts. First, the work too often gets sidetracked by aspects of the Huygens' lives, which while fascinating in themselves do not closely illustrate Anglo-Dutch relations. In consequence, one feels there is a family biography struggling to get out here, but which keeps getting shoved back into a box as the author remembers the main thrust of her argument. Second, interactions between England and the Netherlands may need to be set more consistently in the context of other international exchanges. Without this it is hard to judge if contacts between the English and the Dutch were particularly intense or more significant than those with other countries; and here one could note that many of the scientific exchanges that Jardine narrates took place in Paris and through the medium of French periodicals, and that much of the flow of artistic influence between London and Amsterdam was routed through Antwerp—which of course was technically a Spanish, not a Dutch, city at this time. Both facts do receive brief comment, but not the sort of deeper and more sustained thought they probably deserve. Finally, and most importantly, the considerable tension between the English and Dutch in the seventeenth century is downplayed. Naturally Jardine mentions the three Anglo-Dutch wars of the mid-seventeenth century, and the global commercial rivalries that shaped contacts between the two nations at least as much as the much-vaunted trade in artwork or political writing. But these tensions are no more than mentioned, and the Ambona massacre of 1623, which caused generations of deep—if sporadic—English loathing of the Dutch, gets no coverage at all. Here the bitter race for overseas empire is retold as a friendly competition to find exotic plants for a shared love of gardening; the wars are treated as annoying disruptions which a republic of letters easily transcended or ignored; and the Stuart military occupation of the Netherlands' settlement at Manhattan in 1664 is seen as an opportunity for both English and Dutch colonists to merge into the admirably liberal culture of America. I am exaggerating slightly here, but not by much. Jardine advances an interesting and cogent answer to a question about 1688–1689 which is not posed often enough. However, she tells only part of the story: Anglo-Dutch interaction was more complex, paradoxical, and subtle than even this rich work admits.

TONY CLAYDON
Bangor University

JUTTA SCHICKORE. *The Microscope and the Eye: A History of Reflections, 1740–1870*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 317. \$40.00.

In this elegant, fine-grained study, Jutta Schickore makes a significant contribution to the history and phi-

losophy of science and raises some historiographical issues that are likely to be of interest to more general historians. Informed by the work of Larry Laudan, Schickore looks for philosophical insights in unusual places. Rather than probing the works of renowned philosophers like John Locke and David Hume as they pertain to science or focusing on the ideas of the few natural scientists like Isaac Newton, Charles Darwin, and Albert Einstein who made significant contributions to the philosophy of science, this book delves into the texts of working scientists whose names are not nearly so well known. They include Alexander Monro, Felice Fontana, Johannes Müller, and Ernst Weber. Schickore seeks statements of their “second-order concerns” about the methods and tools of research. She finds substantial epistemological reflections in illustrated microscopy books and texts on anatomy and physiology whose titles, like Fontana's *Treatise on the Venom of the Viper*, suggest an entirely different purpose.

Epistemology is a fascinating subject to philosophers, but historians may well ask how it matters to the advancement of science. Schickore notes that historians date the beginnings of modern microscopy from 1830 with Joseph Jackson Lister's production of a compound instrument whose arrangement of lenses minimized aberrations. But technological fixes were not the only challenges to be surmounted if the microscope were to gain a reputation for trustworthiness. Schickore makes a convincing case that the advances of the 1830s were the cumulative result of a century's worth of practitioners probing second-order concerns and improving their techniques accordingly. Attention to epistemology led to an emphasis on detail and meticulousness that advanced anatomical understanding of nerve fibers and the retina even as it turned the microscope into a tool for improving the accuracy of instruments in a number of fields including barometry, surveying, astronomy, and weights and measures.

Much of Schickore's text traces the history of the articulation of second-order concerns. At stake was how one could be sure that what one saw clearly and distinctly was in fact true. The fear of optical deception was well-founded. In 1779 Monro astonished other scientists with his announcement that convoluted fibers could be found everywhere in both organic and inorganic bodies, only to reveal in 1783 that his great discovery was an optical deception. Because his original finding was so sensational, Monro had sought out additional eyewitnesses: distinguished gentlemen whose moral and social status enhanced their aura as truth tellers. But lest these gentlemen not see distinctly enough, Monro also turned to an expert witness in optics. Fontana took even more precautions. He advocated multiplying experiments to identify the impact of circumstances on experimental outcome. He also recognized the importance of the deportment and attitude of the observer, advocating humility and mistrust. Fontana concluded that Monro had committed an error of interpretation, not observation. This theme appears repeatedly in subsequent second-order reflections. Per-

ceptual errors came to be seen as errors of judgment rather than of the senses, even as Ernst Weber's investigations into the nature of light in the 1830s revealed that Monro and Fontana had combined too-strong magnification with too-strong illumination.

A dominant theme in Schickore's presentation is that nineteenth-century anatomists and physiologists exaggerated Monro's failure, characterizing it as indicative of the generally dismal state of eighteenth-century microscopy in order to highlight their own achievements. Schickore warns historians of the hazards of seeing eighteenth-century microscopy through the eyes of nineteenth-century protagonists even as she demonstrates the continuity of second-order concerns and optimism among practitioners in both centuries regarding their ability to account for sources of optical deceptions.

While Schickore's caveat is well-taken in general, it is problematic with regard to her depiction of Catherine Wilson's argument in *The Invisible World: Early Modern Philosophy and the Invention of the Microscope* (1995). Schickore's thesis is presented as a counter-argument to Wilson's notion that microscopy stagnated in the eighteenth century and that the initial confidence of practitioners gave way to extremes of disillusion. Disillusion is an emotive word that seems out of keeping with the tone of the authors whom Schickore cites and out of context with efforts to improve microscopy. But a study of Wilson's text explains the discrepancy. Wilson is describing philosophers like Locke, Francis Bacon, and George Berkeley and philosophical scientists like Robert Hooke rather than working scientists like Monro and Fontana. The disillusion of the philosophers was not over optical deception but over the inability to understand what the structures seen through the microscope were for, much less realize the Baconian dream of becoming masters and possessors of nature. Because Schickore and Wilson are discussing writers in different genres with divergent aims and audiences, they are not contradicting each other. Their apparent disagreement heightens our awareness of the various levels of epistemological discourse in science. Juxtaposing the two enriches our understanding of this important subject and period.

LINDSAY WILSON
Northern Arizona University

E. P. HENNOCK. *The Origin of the Welfare State in England and Germany, 1850–1914: Social Policies Compared*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvii, 381. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$35.99.

E. P. Hennock has a long and distinguished record as a historian of British and German social policy and public administration. Hitherto he has used comparison to gain perspective and explore connections. This comparative study focuses on social security and medical treatment. Apart from his earlier research, Hennock draws upon secondary literature and printed sources.

There is no systematic quantitative comparison. Hen-

nock avoids theoretical debates about the origins of the welfare state. Instead he begins with contrasting historiographies. German historians privilege the 1880s, with compulsory insurance against industrial accidents, sickness, disability, and old age. British historiography focuses on the 1834 Poor Law and subsequent reform. The reason seems straightforward: it reflects two different histories. German social policy appears distanced from poor relief, concentrating upon problems specific to industrial society (factory accidents, integrating workers). The emphasis is on compulsory and graduated insurance contributions and benefits. In the English case the focus is on general taxation, flat rate contributions, and minimal benefits. Hennock qualifies this contrast by close analysis of policy making, suggesting alternative time frames, and critically considering possible explanations.

The book is divided into four sections: poor relief; industrial injury; sickness, disability, and old age; and unemployment. Hennock alters perspective by starting his comparison in the 1830s for both cases. In Prussia poor relief was as central as in England. However, while the 1834 Law sought to protect the taxpayer by eliminating poor relief, which subsidized wages, in Prussia the laws of 1842 aimed to promote labor mobility by reducing local government power to refuse relief to recent arrivals. Local government in Prussia continued to administer a poor relief system, while in England a separate and centralized set of institutions was established. In England protection of the taxpayer involved encouragement of voluntary saving; in Prussia the state gave local government the power to compel saving, a stated alternative to the guild system. Thus while issues of poor relief and protection of the tax payer were central in both cases, in England the concern was to remove the state from the labor market and social insurance while in Prussia it was to stimulate a national labor market and compel insurance. These differences shaped subsequent policy. Underpinning the author's detailed analyses are two general arguments about class relations and the state that I think Hennock could make more explicit, systematic, and bolder.

English factory legislation originated with pressure from organized labor. There is nothing comparable in Germany. Otto von Bismarck's accident insurance—a no-fault scheme—was devised as an alternative to factory legislation or litigation over employer liability, both of which entailed class conflict. Trade union agitation and influence in the Liberal Party led to reform of the law on employer liability. A remarkable feature of accident legislation in Germany is how little employers or workers were consulted. Sickness, old age, and disability provision in Germany were conditioned by accident insurance. The policies acquired new rationales (real or rhetorical) such as encouraging worker association or reconciling workers to the state, but central was the paternalist role of the state and its capacity to create a model that shaped future expectations. Hennock persuasively argues that separate provision of white collar insurance in Germany was due less to dif-

ferent status concerns or labor market conditions than to how graduated insurance contributions and benefits became the model. The English emphasis on voluntary insurance relates to the power of friendly societies, trade unions, and commercial insurance. In a very informative chapter Hennock argues that limited moves in some German cities toward unemployment insurance linked to labor exchanges can be explained in terms of left liberal and socialist cooperation on town councils, a municipal equivalent to the Lib-Lab politics of late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain. All these points suggest that organized labor was crucial to social policy in England but not in Germany.

The taxing capacity of the German state was weak compared to Britain, as the federal states blocked Bismarck's pursuit of fiscal independence. That forced him toward compulsory insurance. However, once that route was taken, it led to more generous and creative provision by the corporate associations that ran the various schemes. By contrast, the central state in England was principal paymaster, and taxpayer pressure ensured restrictive provision. Paradoxically, the stronger state is the less visible state, a point one could generalize to many aspects of British and German comparison.

Hennock finishes by pointing out that the routes that led to an emphasis in Germany on compulsory insurance, corporate arrangements, and graduated provision, and in England on tax funding, flat-rate contributions, bureaucratic control, and minimal benefits, modified by a larger role for voluntary arrangements, continued to influence twentieth-century social policy and even shape present policies. The tight focus on the nineteenth century provides a firm foundation for this more general conclusion.

JOHN BREUILLY

London School of Economics and Political Science

JAY WINTER and JEAN-LOUIS ROBERT, editors. *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919*, Volume 2, *A Cultural History*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 545. \$110.00.

This second volume of a multi-authored comparative history of London, Paris, and Berlin during World War I focuses on the cultural practices, sites, and institutions of metropolitan life. Underwriting this enterprise are two claims: that one can best understand the nature of the war through comparative, transnational analysis; and that the experiences of capital cities, informed by the unique cultural opportunities and sites of social interaction afforded there, were sufficiently like one another as to render a comparative analysis of metropolitan cities especially insightful. In the opinion of Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, the editors of this ambitious enterprise, "Parisians and Londoners had at least as much in common with each other as did Parisians and farmers from Provence, or Londoners and Durham coal miners" (p. 468).

Inviting readers to participate in an imaginary walk through the wartime capitals, this book pauses at eleven loci of metropolitan life: railway stations, the street, and public squares; venues of popular entertainment and public art; schools, universities, and hospitals; the home, sites of worship, and, finally, the cities' cemeteries. Among the most original essays in the volume are the ones that examine how railway stations (not usually thought of as hives of cultural enterprise) and prominent public spaces—Trafalgar Square, the Place de la Concorde, and the Tiergarten—functioned during the war as sites where wartime identities were both displayed and publicly constructed. For it was in these mundane gathering spaces, as well as the schools, universities, concert-halls, and cabarets that one automatically identifies with the cultural life of major cities, that metropolitan citizens defined themselves as civilians or soldiers, longtime residents or displaced refugees, pacifists or jingoistic patriots, doctors or patients, students or teachers, men or women.

The most effective essays succeed on two counts: they allow us to understand what made Paris, London, and Berlin resemble one another by virtue of their *metropolitan* identities, and they do so by giving equal attention to each city. "Religious Sites and Practices," "Entertainments," and "Public Space, Political Space" manage this balancing act with aplomb. The essay on metropolitan religiosity, for example, examines the varieties of religious experience in London, Paris, and Berlin and stresses how these practices, while not unique to capital cities or, indeed, urban life, were nonetheless marked by the metropolitan identity of the cities in which they were practiced. Thus the churches of London, Paris, and Berlin acquired an importance in the spiritual lives of their citizens not duplicated outside the nations' capitals: Saint Martin in the Fields, for example, served as England's de facto parish for men on leave. As importantly, the demographic heterogeneity of the capital cities, in which men and women of many faiths sought spiritual solace, made these cities unlike Leeds, Lyon, or Leipzig.

However attentive this and many of the other essays in this volume are to the ways in which the metropolitan experiences of war played out in a similar key in London, Paris, and Berlin, they are not deaf to important variations on a dominant theme. We learn, for example, about the particular vibrancy of religious practice in working-class London and the unparalleled openness of London's public spaces to antiwar protest.

Several of the essays in this volume are so informative that one wishes their source base had allowed them to offer equal time to all three capital cities. The essay on railway stations, which makes the case that metropolitan railway stations were qualitatively different than those in the provinces, concentrates almost entirely on London and Paris, where railway stations were the logistical hub of mobilization and the most obvious point of intersection for military and civilian populations. One suspects, however, that the crowds that thronged the railway stations of London and Paris had their coun-

terparts in Berlin, even if the city lacked the central strategic significance of the Allied capitals. Yet this remains a piece of the comparative picture only minimally sketched. So, too, with the analysis of visual culture offered in the chapter on "Exhibitions." Paris might not have had the grand exhibitions that had distinguished it in the Belle Époque—and it certainly did not have an "Iron Hindenburg" or a peripatetic tank parked temporarily in Trafalgar Square to elicit patriotic donations—but its exhibitions of poster art, at the very least, suggest that an analysis of visual culture equally attentive to each of the three capital cities would have been worthwhile.

Other chapters leave one wondering what was distinctively metropolitan about the experiences documented here with such empathy. "The Home and Family Life," distinctive for its excellent use of an extensive collection of unpublished German sources, provides poignant accounts of families determined to stay in touch with men at the front and of children growing up in fatherless homes; the chapter on cemeteries (which is more accurately an essay on the practices of mourning) explores how parents and wives struggled with the pain of bereavement. But city dwellers were not alone in the energy they devoted to provisioning their menfolk at the front; nor was the pain of wartime bereavement felt only by families in capital cities. If it is indisputable that urban cemeteries failed to fulfill their long-established role as a site of consolation because the war dead were only occasionally brought home to rest there, this disruption of comforting rituals of bereavement was evident in towns and villages, too. Thus the specificity of the metropolitan experience is not, one suspects, to be found in the function assigned to or denied cemeteries during the war years themselves. Rather, as the chapter suggests in closing, the capital city became distinctive as a place of frustrated mourning only after the war, when national commemorative sites so dominated the cultural space of London and Paris (but not Berlin) as to deny local communities the opportunity to commemorate their own departed sons.

The major objective of this and the preceding volume of *Capital Cities at War* is to establish the foundations for a truly comparative history of the war by starting with the narrower (and more manageable) analysis of the capital cities of Britain, France, and Germany. The collaborative approach embraced in these works, according to which teams of scholars with complementary fields of expertise worked together to produce each chapter, makes a comparative analysis both feasible and, in many instances, richly insightful. Yet the contingencies of scholarly inquiry—some archives are richer than others, some topics more fully explored in the secondary literature—make for a certain unevenness as well: some of the chapters are more attentive than others to the particularities of the metropolitan experience; some are more comprehensive in their comparisons. This in itself suggests how daunting the task of comparative history remains and how difficult it will be to construct a fully comparative, panoramic his-

tory of World War I in Europe, as attentive to the experiences of Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire as to those of Britain, France, and Germany.

MARTHA HANNA
University of Colorado,
Boulder

JERZY BORZECKI. *The Soviet-Polish Peace of 1921 and the Creation of Interwar Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 401. \$55.00.

Reading Jerzy Borzęcki's excellent book made this reviewer realize that he, probably like many other European historians, has always misunderstood the Polish-Soviet War and the resulting peace treaty of 1921. Historians of Russia usually see this conflict as a puzzling footnote to the Russian Civil War, with Poland leading the last Entente-sponsored attempt at foreign intervention in the Bolshevik Revolution. East Europeanists are more likely to picture the war as one in which the heroic Poles were stopping the Bolsheviks' drive to bring world revolution to Europe on their bayonets. In a book filled with archival detail and interpretive insight, Borzęcki shows that both of these traditional interpretations get some aspects of the conflict right but miss the main reason for the war: namely, that the two emerging powers in Eastern Europe were forcibly dividing the multiethnic lands of the former Russian Empire. The Riga Peace of 1921 did not simply establish the Polish-Soviet border; it also established a new concept of the Polish nation and cemented the federal structure of the Soviet Union, which would be formally created one year later. With the Soviet republics of Ukraine and Belarus being parties to the peace settlement, both of the Eastern European powers also acknowledged the existence of the Ukrainian and Belarusian nations.

The Polish-Soviet War developed gradually from local skirmishes in the aftermath of the Russian Empire's collapse. The newly reestablished Polish state claimed the territories that had been included in its 1772 borders, while the Bolsheviks tried to reclaim as much of the Russian imperial lands as they could, even as they acted in the name of the world proletariat. Since the contested regions were populated to a large degree by Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants, both sides also promised the local population some kind of federative arrangement. The Bolsheviks actually went further than the Poles by creating the Soviet republics of Ukraine and Belarus, although these republics did not acquire any degree of autonomy until much later. Poland established an alliance with the Ukrainian nationalists of the Ukrainian People's Republic, who only agreed to this arrangement after their utter defeat at the hands of the Bolsheviks, but Poland never acknowledged any form of a Belarusian polity. Border conflicts between the nationalistic Poles and pro-Bolshevik units began in the fall of 1918. A large-scale war involving regular armies, however, began only in April 1920, with a massive Polish offensive in what is now Ukraine. Con-

trary to the traditional Soviet and Russian interpretations, the Entente was actually "irked by the Polish of-fensive against Kiev, which it saw as a reckless imperialistic adventure" (p. 77). However, by July 1920, as the Red Army was pushing the Poles back, Great Britain issued the famous "Curzon note," warning the Bolsheviks not to cross into Poland proper. This memorandum outlined that a reasonable eastern border of Poland would be based on ethnolinguistic criteria—a frontier line that Joseph Stalin would use, with some changes, when he was dividing Eastern Europe in 1939 and again in 1945. At the time, however, the Poles were shocked by the British proposal, which denied their claim to most of their historical eastern borderlands.

The Curzon note did not stop the Red cavalry, but the Poles managed to rout it near Warsaw. The Polish-Soviet peace negotiations thus began when the initiative in the war returned to the Polish army, but the Entente's disapproval of Polish imperialism in the east did not allow Polish diplomats to press their advantage. Borzęcki's exceptionally detailed analysis of the difficult negotiations in Minsk (today's capital of Belarus) shows how the two sides used their respective puppet Ukrainian governments to blackmail each other and also how both were reluctant to give any degree of self-rule to the Ukrainians and Belarusians. There was extraordinary confusion on both sides. The heads of the delegations, Adolf Ioffe and Jan Dąbski, spent as much time in tough talks with their own governments in Moscow and Warsaw, respectively, as they did with each other. The understanding on the border, which was to lie some 200 kilometers east of the Curzon Line, was reached in October 1920. Yet, complex negotiations on other issues dragged on, especially on the exchange of POWs, return of Polish historical treasures, and calculation of the Polish share of the Russian Empire's gold reserves. In the end, the Poles managed to obtain some significant national treasures and two large payments in precious gems as Poland's share of imperial Russian railway equipment. The Polish claim for 30 million gold rubles, already down from the original figure of over 300 million, was quietly abandoned by the mid-1920s.

As a result of the peace treaty, which was signed with great fanfare in the Latvian capital of Riga in March 1921, Poland established its new border in the east with the Soviet republics of Ukraine and Belarus. The Bolsheviks had great difficulties finding reliable comrades who could translate the treaty into Ukrainian and read it at the signing ceremony (pp. 145 and 221). No Belarusian translation was ever made; the Soviet Russian delegation claimed to represent Belarus as well. In the long run, the new border proved to be a poisoned gift for Poland, because Soviet Ukraine and Belarus bordered on Polish territories that were populated by a majority of Ukrainians and Belarusians, who did not have even puppet polities provided on the Soviet side. Stalin, of course, would "reunite" the Ukrainians, as well as the Belarusians, in 1939.

Yale University Press is to be commended on publishing this fine book, but not on the nondescript cover

design or the low-quality paper that was used for the dust jacket.

SERHY YEKELCHYK

University of Victoria

STANLEY G. PAYNE. *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 328. \$30.00.

Fervent Germanophilia spread through the Spanish right during the Spanish Civil War and continued to flourish during World War II. Although the Nationalists did their best to foment the idea that Republican Spain was at risk of becoming a Soviet satellite, during the Civil War and until the end of World War II the country in fact seemed much closer to becoming a German colony. According to Stanley Payne, by 1941, German intelligence had spread throughout Spain and the *Kriegsorganisationen* (War Organizations) were larger than in any other country. The German embassy in Madrid was the largest in the world, and there were thirty consulates with over two thousand agents and collaborators. Many followers of Franco were enthusiastic supporters of Nazi Germany, and as studies of the relationship between the two regimes show, their alliance was deeply rooted and as symbiotic as it was cagey.

What common goals did Francisco Franco and Adolf Hitler have? How long were they allies and what did Spain and Germany, respectively, gain from this alliance? What were the political and cultural repercussions of their collaboration? Why didn't Franco enter World War II?

Payne sets out to answer these questions in his new, comprehensive study of the Franco-Hitler relationship. This is perhaps not as familiar a topic to European historians generally as it is to those who specialize in the Spanish Civil War. The political alliance between the dictators was both fruitful and dysfunctional and generally conducted through intermediaries. This was a more productive route for their relations, because the one time they met in person, at Hendaye, Hitler was not favorably impressed by the Spanish general. His conclusion was that he would rather have a few teeth pulled than ever sit through another conversation with Franco, whom he viewed as a small-minded provincial bore. The feelings were not mutual. Franco found Hitler extraordinary.

Historians of Spain will not find much new material in this book; indeed it synthesizes many existing Spanish studies. One of the virtues of Payne's work may be just this: that it makes available in English an in-depth study of the subject using many sources that until now were only available in Spanish. In this sense, it is a useful primer on international relations between Spain and Germany before and during World War II. This said, anyone with a serious interest in the subject should complement her reading with other studies that are more nuanced on many of the topics Payne covers. These include the origins and nature of the Spanish Civil War itself, Franco's policies toward Jewish refu-

gees, the Spaniards who volunteered to fight for Germany in the unit known as the "Blue Division," and the extent of Franco's program of repression both during and after the Civil War. Hitler and Benito Mussolini both aided the Nationalists during the Civil War, and their favors were returned. The Nazis exploited Spain for what they could: economic collaboration, raw materials, submarine refuelling privileges and facilities, and logistical support for expanding German intelligence operations in Gibraltar.

Despite Payne's damning and well-documented portrait of Franco's ambitions and collusion with Nazi Germany, the author downplays the intensity of the Nationalist agenda. While he accuses the "revolutionary Republic" of being "much more repressive than the first phases of Fascist and Nazi rule," he claims that the Franco repression was the opposite of the "cumulative radicalization" of the Armenian Genocide or the Holocaust (p. 18). Nonetheless he admits, vaguely: "The Republicans executed approximately 55,000 people and the Nationalists rather more than that." (p. 19) He also argues that the Nationalists were the underdogs in terms of arms and equipment and that the Republican government "received in *toto* a somewhat larger volume of military supplies and support and, in the final analysis, more comprehensive and decisive assistance" (p. 35). As for the bombing of Guernica, he says that the widely accepted idea that Spain was a testing ground for strategic bombing is a "military myth." German air raids in Spain were small in scale and not systematic; thus there is "not the slightest comparison with the hecatombs of World War II" (p. 36) For many historians, undoubtedly, the links between the nature of the air raids in Spain and those in World War II and the nationality and politics of the perpetrators far outweigh the difference in scale.

Ideally, Payne's study should be read in conjunction with other recent studies for nuanced views on Spain and the Holocaust and work that debunks with great clarity the idea, promoted by Franco himself, that Franco was a clever turncoat who pretended to collude with Hitler during the Civil War and then had the last laugh by refusing to enter World War II. Quite to the contrary, Franco would have proudly entered the war, and he remained a straggling Axis fan in 1945. Pike compares Franco's strategy of hedging his bets to Blaise Pascal's wager: "If I wager on Hitler's victory and he loses, I will be at the mercy of his democratic enemies, whose ideology I despise but whose concept of compassion and hatred of Communism will work in my favour" (p. xiii). In the end, of course, Franco outdid the leader who had said of him: "With me such a man would not even have become a *Kreistleiter* [local leader]" (p. 99).

SOLEDAD FOX
Williams College

ANDY WOOD. *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early

Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 291. \$99.00.

Andy Wood's fascinating new book is social history at its very best. Impeccably researched (based on an exhaustive examination of the relevant archival and printed sources) and deeply contextualized (through Wood's extensive reading in a wide range of secondary literature, both historical and theoretical), it is passionate and committed while at the same time judicious and balanced. The 1549 rebellions were the largest and most important risings in Tudor England, engulfing East Anglia, the East Riding of Yorkshire, south-eastern and southern England, the Midlands, and the western counties. They were also at the end of a long tradition of medieval popular revolt. For a long time they have been relatively neglected, even misunderstood. They now have their historian.

Wood's book has three parts: the first examines the rebellions themselves and how they were put down; the second the political language of the rebels; and the third the aftermath (the decline of rebellion in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and how the uprisings of 1549 came to be remembered and represented over time). The broader context for the rebellions is the crisis of legitimacy for the Tudor state caused by the early Reformation, at a time of increasing social tensions generated by the uneven development of early agrarian capitalism, which pitched the landed elite against the working peoples of large areas of southern and eastern England. Class conflict was particularly acute in East Anglia, the site of Kett's rebellion, where there was even an attempt to reimpose serfdom. The immediate triggers for the unrest were the imposition of the first Edwardian Prayer Book of 1549, which sparked the risings in Cornwall and Devon, and Protector Somerset's declaration against enclosures, which stimulated widespread collective agitation across the south and east as the commons came to believe that the state was their ally in their struggle against the aggressive seigneurialism of the nobility and gentry. Wood believes, however, that the contrast between the religious causes of the western rebellion and the economic motivation of the East Anglian (where the rebels professed support for the government's religious program) has been overdrawn. Religion and economics were inextricably intertwined; the Reformation was often understood in socioeconomic terms, as part of a gentry plot to destroy the commons, and there is evidence to call into question the supposed evangelical loyalties of those who supported Robert Kett.

Wood offers a penetrating analysis of both the motives and actions of the rebels and the government's response, shedding much light in the process on Somerset's supposed populism and the phenomenon of plebeian monarchism (not as naïve as it is usually represented). He is particularly ingenious at handling seemingly unpromising sources. For example, although Kett speaks almost constantly in Tudor narrative accounts of the rebellion, his voice is silent in the archival

record, forcing us to question the factual accuracy of the former. Undeterred, Wood shows how it is possible to retrieve some aspects of rebel ideology from hostile accounts, since such sources by definition have to evoke the very actions they seek to condemn and present their readers with a credible reconstruction of popular complaints, the genuineness of which can be confirmed by what the archive tells us more generally about plebeian discontent at this time. Throughout Wood remains sensitive to divisions within the commons and power relations within village communities, showing that the richer men often came forward to lead the rebellions in order to control the actions and contain the violence of the poorer sort. (Kett himself was a prosperous yeoman and small businessman who in the past had been in trouble for enclosing the commons.) Yet 1549 was the last time this happened. As the yeomanry benefitted from socioeconomic change in the later Tudor period and also became key agents of local government in the expanding state, they began to identify more with the gentry and to distance themselves from their poorer neighbors. Whereas in the mid-sixteenth century seditious conversation tended to identify the gentry as the enemies of the commons, by the later Elizabethan period the enemies of the poor were the rather more vague social group "the rich."

This is an extraordinary book, imaginative in its conceptualization and wide ranging in its implications. It will appeal to medievalists and early modernists, historians and literary scholars alike. There are times when Wood's quest for theory leads him to overcomplicate the obvious. For example, when discussing the fascinating and lengthy diatribes of Robert Burnham of Norwich (an erstwhile Kett rebel) against the Norfolk gentry, Wood invokes Michel Foucault's borrowing of the ancient Greek concept of *parrhesia*, or the practice of speaking one's mind, to conclude that "we might understand Robert Burnham as a parrhesiast!" (p. 129). This is a somewhat rare overindulgence, however. As a parrhesiast myself, I have nothing but admiration for Wood's study.

TIM HARRIS
Brown University

JAMES KELLY. *Poyning's Law and the Making of Law in Ireland, 1660–1800*. (The Irish Legal History Society.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 401. \$75.00.

Poyning's Law, passed in 1494, was designed to restrict significantly the legislative independence of the Dublin Parliament, providing the main framework for the legislative history of Ireland until it was significantly amended in 1782. There followed eighteen years of relative freedom for Ireland's Parliament, until Union in 1801 focused all legislative creativity for the island at Westminster. It has been known for some time, however, that by the late seventeenth century ways had been found to circumvent some of the restrictions of Poyning's Law. By preparing "heads of bills," both Houses

of the Irish Parliament were able to draft legislation, although those drafts might be rejected or amended by the Privy Council in London. James Kelly's very valuable and richly researched book explores the operation of Poyning's Law in this era, particularly administratively, emphasizing subtle yet profound changes that have important consequences for our view of Irish history and the nature of the British polity, both domestic and imperial.

The book is divided into three unequal parts. In the first, Kelly contrasts the legislative processes of the Dublin Parliament in 1661–1666 with those of 1692–1699, showing how the "heads of bills" procedure emerged. But the heart of the book lies in its second part, where close consideration is paid to legislative activity between Anne's first Parliament in 1703 and the beginning of legislative "independence" in 1782. Here Kelly particularly focuses upon the experiences of "heads of bills" as they crossed the Irish Sea. His approach is mainly chronological and procedural, looking at the fortunes of particular measures to shed light on the more general nature of the operation of Poyning's Law. He is especially concerned to look at the work of the Privy Council in London and of the activities of leading politicians (spiritual as well as secular). He has less to say, therefore, about why particular measures were being sought and whether the acts that did eventually pass met those initial objectives. But Kelly makes many important observations about the flexible nature of the operation of Poyning's Law. Strikingly, he also shows how often the Privy Council in England paid close and broadly sympathetic attention to the measures under its consideration. In the final part of the book he looks at the period of legislative independence.

Kelly has undertaken a huge amount of original research in preparing this book, especially amongst the papers of the main individuals caught up in the system under Poyning's Law. This emphasis upon "high politics" is largely unavoidable because so many other types of sources have been destroyed, at least centrally. Kelly handles these often intricately interwoven sources with care and subtlety. Even-handedness is his watchword, and he is strikingly empathetic to the difficulties faced by those handling legislation at the time. Yet Kelly is also keen to see medium and longer-term developments. But here his touch is a little less assured. The very valuable statistics that he has compiled of the origins and fortunes of all legislative proposals for each parliament after 1703 are presented in such a way as to make it difficult for the reader to view trends. It would certainly have been easier if they had all been brought together as appendixes at the end of the book, rather than their somewhat scattered distribution through the text. It would also have been helpful to have had some figures and summary tables using relative, not absolute, weights.

In conclusion, Kelly considers whether his findings support the view that Ireland was effectively an English/British colony in this period. As ever, his answer is subtle and careful, full of qualifications. He opens up

some interesting comparisons with legislative activity in the Thirteen Colonies, though it is interesting that he does not engage with Jack P. Greene's work. But perhaps Kelly might have addressed a different agenda, the nature of the composite state as brilliantly explicated by J. H. Elliott and Conrad Russell? For example, the legislation passed at Dublin was much more often general in scope than that passed at Westminster, or at Edinburgh before 1707. Why this was the case is difficult to see from Kelly's marvellous study. Differing patterns of legislation within Britain and Ireland hint at the different nature of non-legislative authorities available in the three kingdoms, but also at differences in the composition of interests groups. Kelly does not address such matters. But this should not be read as a carping criticism. Rather, like the best of books, this one not only establishes many matters definitively, it also opens up many other questions. Kelly has enlightened us and challenged us.

JULIAN HOPPIT
University College London

EMMET LARKIN. *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750–1850*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 298. \$69.96.

Since the publication in 1975 of the first volume of his ambitious multivolume history of the Roman Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland, Emmet Larkin has ushered into print seven books dealing in great detail with the period 1850–1891. Conceived in the first instance as a study of the high politics of that church, Larkin's belated recognition that "though they are certainly the necessary preliminary to grasping the basis frame of reference of what was fundamentally a hierarchical institution, they are not sufficient in themselves to understanding the social and pastoral role of the Irish Church during the same period" (p. x) has prompted him to undertake two volumes of "bottom up" history in an attempt to redress this deficiency. The book under review is the first of these, and while it certainly addresses issues that are central to an understanding of the emergence and consolidation by the Catholic Church of its position in nineteenth-century Ireland, it is still fixated on the church as an institution and on its personnel rather than as a communion of believers and cannot, for that reason, be deemed a real attempt at "bottom up" history as it is conventionally perceived.

This is not to deny the book's usefulness. Comprising four substantial chapters or essays, as they can largely be read independent of one another, it seeks to relate "the story of the pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland." To this end, Larkin commences with a quantitative analysis of the Catholic clergy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, since the disadvantageous and deteriorating priest-to-people ratio that obtained between 1750 and 1850 was a major obstacle in the way of the church's effective

ministry. The importance of this issue has been well established by previous historians in the field, and much of what Larkin relates is familiar, but he does provide a more detailed and integrated national picture than is available elsewhere and breaks new ground in the manner in which he engages with the impact of the closure of the network of Irish Catholic seminaries in France in the 1790s and the return of some 375 Irish priests resident there. He argues that the disruption of the established pattern of Catholic clerical education attributable to the French Revolution, combined with the refusal in the early nineteenth century of the Catholic laity (led by Daniel O'Connell) to accede to a suggestion that the British government be allowed to exercise a "veto" on those bishops nominated to Irish dioceses, contributed to the factionalism that severely diminished the capacity of the church in ten of the island's twenty-six dioceses in the early nineteenth century. This is another familiar theme, which Larkin addresses in chapter two. What is new is the account provided of the manner in which the clerical authorities, hesitantly and falteringly, had by 1830 established a process of appointing bishops that accommodated the wish of the clergy and bishops to have a say in choosing new bishops consistent with the determination of the papacy to retain its absolute power of appointment. It was an important moment in the establishment of the rigidly hierarchical and largely authoritarian modern Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and guided by a generation of disciplined, able bishops, the church accelerated the program of church construction that was already underway. This too is well known, but the description (while by no means complete with respect to several northern and western dioceses) provided in chapter three is more comprehensive than is available elsewhere. It was also essential to the emphatically church-centered system that the bishops and clergy sought to create, and to the Tridentine model they were determined to impose. This demanded that they eradicated traditional religious customs such as the pattern, visits to holy wells, and other customary practices. It also necessitated reduced recourse to the "station," a peculiarly Irish practice whereby priests visited parishioners houses twice annually to administer the sacraments, to catechize, and to collect their dues. Larkin's analysis of the origin and decline of station is where he is at his most original. It is his contention that the station was crucial to the church's capacity to continue to minister when clerical numbers were low and the church infrastructure inadequate. He does, perhaps, understate its financial attraction to successive generations of priests, who were, as he well demonstrates, acutely conscious of the importance of money as they sought, as an entity, to establish themselves as the leaders of the people and to build a church infrastructure that mirrored this ambition.

Readers familiar with Larkin's seminal thesis that the Catholic Church in Ireland spearheaded a "devotional revolution" in the second half of the nineteenth century will search in vain for any engagement with that subject

in this volume. Nonetheless, it is an informative and significant work. It is overwritten and repetitive in places, but it demonstrates once more the strengths (as well as some of the limitations) of Larkin's approach to the history of modern Irish Catholicism.

JAMES KELLY
Dublin City University

JAMES LOUGHLIN. *The British Monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xv, 398. \$99.00.

This is a wide-ranging and generally well-written work, surveying the history of the relationship between the British monarchy and Ireland over a 200-year span. James Loughlin emphasizes that, although there were some fundamental determinants of this often fraught relationship (particularly religion and location), it was often a highly malleable or contingent affair. He is undoubtedly correct in arguing that the British state's royal "project" in Ireland was not, certainly before the third quarter of the nineteenth century, doomed to failure, though he is surely right to emphasize the increasing difficulties posed by an emergent nationalist movement (pp. 76, 127). He is also correct in recognizing the overriding importance of Daniel O'Connell to the definition of the ambiguous relationship between constitutional nationalism and the British monarchy, not only for the early nineteenth century but for the entire period preceding the Irish revolution (p. 54). Indeed, it would have been useful to have had Loughlin's take on the wider service of the O'Connell family to the British state.

If there are certain recurrent concerns and motifs within the volume (anti-Catholicism, the Britishness of Irish Unionism), Loughlin also emphasizes biography, and the fluidity of thought within individual lives. He traces the development of Queen Victoria's outlook through the course of her reign, identifying as turning points the death of her Catholic aunt Louise, the consort of King Leopold, as well as her own retreat from the public arena after the death of Prince Albert in 1861. Loughlin agrees with James H. Murphy (*Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria* [2001]) in identifying the importance of the Prince of Wales's failed visit to Ireland in 1871, and the highly politicized quality of the visit of 1885 (pp. 146, 192). In contradistinction to Murphy, however, he posits a date of c.1880 as the effective starting point for the development of the critical "Famine Queen" mythology—the popular nationalist, particularly separatist, notion that Victoria had been complicit in the "murderous" policies of the British government during the Irish Famine of 1845–1851 (p. 192). In characterizing the attitudes of King George V, Loughlin rightly emphasizes the complex sympathies of this ever-cautious monarch and sheds interesting new light on the king's relationship with John Redmond, and on Redmond's decision to support the British war effort in 1914. He also has some striking thoughts about the evolution of

Queen Elizabeth II from a relatively untrammelled Unionism, forged during World War II, toward somewhat more ecumenical perspectives by the new millennium.

Loughlin is well read on the Gladstonian era, and has an eye for contemporary historiography and polemic. As in his first study (*Gladstone, Home Rule and the Ulster Question: 1882–93* [1986]), he is able to weave intellectual and bibliographical history into his political analysis: he presents, for example, a strong discussion of the importance of W. S. Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* (1868) in terms of the formation of contemporary attitudes (p. 118). Loughlin's footnotes are characterized by a wide range of reference to other contemporary polemical literature. Following on from the pioneering work of Yvonne Whelan (*Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, Iconography and the Politics of Identity* [2003]), Loughlin also addresses the politics and iconography of public space: his sensitive discussion of royal statuary and royal building such as Dublin Castle and Viceregal Lodge is a particular strength of the volume.

Loughlin has an eye for the analogies binding (sometimes separating) the parallel Irish and Scottish relationships with monarchy. The distinctions of outlook became most obvious with Victoria, for whom Balmoral and the Highlands became a home, whereas Ireland offered no lasting attractions. But the Scottish, still less the Welsh, analogies are not pursued by Loughlin with the same vigor for Victoria's successors. This illustrates one of the wider problems with the work. Loughlin has chosen to concentrate his scholarship on the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century: in a work of around 385 pages, excluding the conclusion, around 267 pages are devoted to the years between 1800 and 1905. However, this is exactly the period about which our existing knowledge of the British monarchy's relationship with Ireland is already extensive as a result of the fine work of Murphy.

There are other missed opportunities. Loughlin deals with some aspects of the cultural history of monarchy in Ireland but chooses not to pursue others. For example, British use of the honors system is an important theme, which Irish historians tend to deal with only in terms of the Act of Union or in terms of the elite Order of Saint Patrick. But one further aspect of the way in which the monarchy was suborned for political purposes was through the wider award of honors; and it would have been useful if Loughlin had pursued this theme—particularly in terms of his discussion of Northern Ireland, where the relatively accessible Order of the British Empire has been selectively used by government (and crown) to reward public service and support.

Loughlin also tends toward overly confident or assertive judgments where greater caution or qualification might serve his arguments more efficiently. For example, he tackles Murphy on the key question of crowd membership during royal visits to Dublin in the late nineteenth century, asserting that the numbers reflected not local Nationalist interest but rather the

more predictable enthusiasm of Dublin Unionists, or of Ulster Unionists shipped in from the North by train (p. 244). This is an interesting suggestion; but the point is not clinched or proved by reference to any indisputable source, nor is it framed speculatively.

Loughlin's work, then, will not be the last word on this theme, but given the breadth and complexity of the subject this should not come as any great surprise. To his credit he avoids overly historicist reading of nineteenth-century Irish history. Moreover, he treats his royals as individual human beings, and in a broadly empathic and just manner. He has produced a combative and sometimes insightful volume, which lucidly reasserts the centrality of the monarchy within British strategies for governing Ireland.

ALVIN JACKSON
University of Edinburgh

JAN GOLINSKI. *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 284. \$35.00.

The cover of Jan Golinski's book depicts a dour, heavy-set gentleman, likely full of mutton, turnips, and bread pudding, facing a stiff wind and perhaps breaking some of his own. Is this the image of enlightenment? Perhaps the fellow had just been the recipient of "philosophical gas" (p. 167), and the treatment had yet to take effect. More likely his attitude, expression, and posture had something to do with his accounts, or perhaps indigestion. Golinski has written a number of significant essays on the Enlightenment, on weather diarists, and barometers; this entertaining and informative book continues that tradition through a number of intertwined chapters exploring "how attitudes to weather and climate reflected experiences of the Enlightenment in Britain and its colonies" (p. 203). This sets the book's tone and tensions. Is it about British weather?—not really; climate?—sort of; historiography?—absolutely; but, as the author acknowledges, the Enlightenment was complex, it was bigger than Great Britain, and thirteen of its significant colonies had revolted well before 1790.

The book is essentially about a constellation of weather and climate-related attitudes, beliefs, and practices that contributed to the fabric of a nation's character and convinced its citizens, for a moment in history at least, that they were indeed healthier and more civilized than the less fortunate denizens of other countries or their too hot or too cold colonies (p. 59). The range of British weather experiences, from the extremes of northern Scotland to the balmy Channel Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, was largely inscribed and normalized, with notable exceptions, through the sensibilities and assumptions of literate physicians and philosophers of central England. These savants also placed themselves in charge of explaining weather anomalies and extremes as well as climatic and historical changes across the vast expanse of the far-flung colonies.

Weather and climate apprehensions are grounded in culture. In the opening decades of the eighteenth cen-

tury British weather was quintessentially local, but its import was cosmic. This is illustrated in the observations and feelings of a Worcestershire diarist in 1703 who gauged his moods and passions as reflected in and influenced by aerial phenomena, which he perceived as usually aesthetically pleasing and always portentous. The journalist adopted an Aristotelian stance, supposing that the sky's vapors originated from hellish underground exhalations while praising God for his magnificent cosmic design. His "exquisite atmography," always private, at times banal, counterpoising popular and learned opinion, is offered to the reader in all its complexity and ambiguity as a corrective to the passionless public practice of recording the weather scientifically.

The devastation of the Great Storm of 1703, which filled the news and was popularized by Daniel Defoe, echoed widespread apprehensions that the prodigious event was likely divine judgment. About the same time, as English barometers made their way from philosophical salons to private homes and public saloons, they conveyed an inherently mixed message. Was the barometer an instrument of scientific precision that would ultimately rationalize the weather, or perhaps health, or was the body the barometer of the passions of the soul? While some attempted to naturalize extreme events and routinize the practice of weather observation and prognostication, public discourse on weather remained a mixed bag of natural philosophy, astro-meteorology, and popular proverbs.

The author's views on climate and civilization interest me since I have published on the subject (*Historical Perspectives on Climate Change* [1998]). Ancient and medieval notions regarding the influence of airs, waters, and places on culture, society, and even individuals had been developed into full-fledged theories of climatic determinism by the mid-eighteenth century by Jean-Baptiste Du Bos and his famous disciples. Du Bos believed that the climate of Europe had moderated since Roman times due to the gradual clearing of the forests and the spread of cultivation and that vast cultural displacements had resulted. The American climate was thought by some to be undergoing similar but much more rapid and dramatic changes. The notion that human efforts might improve the climate of the New World fueled a significant debate in colonial and early America. Colonists and patriots hoped that by pushing back the wilderness and displacing "primitive" native cultures, a flourishing civilization might take root on American soil. In the face of "enlightened" European disdain for the New World, expectations that the American climate was becoming warmer, less variable, and healthier swelled the national pride and swayed the practical decisions of yeoman farmers. This vision was an integral component of an emerging Republican national ideal. Early Americans, hoping to document such climatic changes, faithfully kept weather diaries and dutifully compiled observations over large expanses of the country.

For the British and the American colonists, climate

served as a magic mirror for their narcissistic cultural reflections; and if their “ideals of enlightenment were only incompletely realized” in the eighteenth century (p. 76), the same might be said for subsequent eras, including our own, in which the literate still invoke weather lore, the urbane yearn for a simpler life, and technoscience still vies with religion and magic. In “our incompletely enlightened age” (p. 215) both rational and irrational weather and climate anxieties abound. Perhaps Bruno Latour was right: “We have never been modern.”

JAMES RODGER FLEMING
Colby College

CHRISTINE MACLEOD. *Heroes of Invention: Technology, Liberalism and British Identity, 1750–1914*. (Cambridge Studies in Economic History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 458. \$105.00.

Unlike Christine MacLeod’s first book, this one is not about technology, patents, and inventors. It is about collective memory and cultural history. MacLeod recognizes that in a specific period, roughly between the Napoleonic Wars and the Great War, British inventors became national heroes, usually in their lifetimes. Inventors in earlier or later periods rarely acquired this status.

The book is organized chronologically: the first chapters deal with the pre-hero period; chapters four through six with the turning point, with James Watt and the Liberal-Tory government of the 1820s as key features; chapters seven through ten depict the *Pax Britannica* heyday; and chapters eleven and twelve treat the inventors’ demise around World War I.

The book examines the formation of historical narratives and individual biographies. It analyzes forms of commemoration including naming ceremonies, Great Exhibitions and centenaries, and the construction of buildings, museums, and monuments. Aptly, the book has more than fifty illustrations, depicting monuments, engravings, paintings, and the like. It is well researched and fluently written.

As inventors’ ascents began with the advent of industrialization, their immediate competitors for national glory were military and naval heroes. The shift of attention from Admiral Horatio Nelson of Trafalgar and the Duke of Wellington of Waterloo to Marc Brunel of the Thames Tunnel and George Stephenson of the locomotives typifies the transition. Europe after 1815 was definitely more peaceful, insofar as major wars were concerned, than the previous century or the following century. A space was created, MacLeod concludes, for the worship of civic idols.

Yet peace only partly explains the attitude toward inventors. Watt was already active and successful by the 1770s. His public image developed during the American and French Revolutionary wars. Indeed, MacLeod asserts that his public image postdated his inventions, but he was not totally unappreciated during his active years. For example, he was elected to the Royal Society as

early as 1785 and became a member of the French Academy of Science in 1808. Monuments did come after his death, the epitome being the erection of Watt’s statue in Westminster Abbey in 1834.

At the other end of the period, after the claimed decline, twentieth century inventors-turned-heroes include Barnes Wallis, developer of the dam buster; Frank Whittle, jet engine constructor; and Alan Turing, the mathematician who broke the Enigma code. It seems that modern war could create technological heroes, not only military ones. I do not wish to dispute MacLeod’s assertions as to the challenges posed by war to the status of inventors as heroes, but only to demonstrate the complexity of attributing causes and clear timing to commemoration.

The decline of the independent inventor as an idol is attributed by the author to at least three compelling causes beyond the return of war. The first is competition from organized professions. Engineers are the prime example. Another is competition from science, pure and applied. The third is the rise of a new hero, the entrepreneur.

Competition from engineers demonstrates two issues. First, independent and dispersed heroes often cannot last very long. More powerful, organized, and long-lasting agents of memory will replace them. Second, the advent of industrialization and of big corporations turned innovation into an institutionalized process. Big business could not rely only on individual genius, hard work and luck. Research and development were internalized from markets into firms, from small labs into bureaucratic units, shifted from independent inventors to salaried employees.

Scientists were backed by strong institutions, universities, and yet were, or at least were perceived to be, sufficiently individualist to deserve recognition and honor. The inauguration of the Nobel Prize in 1905 corresponds to MacLeod’s periodization. Scientists could claim to offer society a purer contribution. While inventors were tainted by the mid-nineteenth-century patent controversy and were seen as profit seekers, scientists maintained an image of pureness and altruism and achieved fame in return.

Entrepreneurs became—more so in the United States but also in Britain—the rising heroes of the late nineteenth century. They raised capital, assumed risks, employed engineers and even scientists as anonymous technological developers, and gathered enormous profits, which provided them with lavish lifestyles, self-built monuments, and the status of heroes in their lifetimes and beyond.

Engineers, scientists, and entrepreneurs posed different and even conflicting types of challenges to the status of inventors. It is at times difficult to determine whether a given development should be viewed as strengthening the status of inventors, because it does so in one realm, say vis-à-vis engineers, while weakening them in another, say vis-à-vis entrepreneurs. As with issues of timing, here too the intangibility of memory and non-quantifiable nature of commemoration make

the study of their history complex. This renders MacLeod's evidence subject to competing interpretations and her conclusions debatable and inspiring at the same time.

MacLeod's shift of interest from the inventors and inventions themselves and their economic consequences to the representation of inventors provides fascinating insights into British identity. This justifies the subtitle of her book, which might seem pretentious to the potential reader. It is a book that should be read not only by those interested in technology or memory but also by those who want to better understand the professions, civic society, academia, industrial capitalism, and British politics and society, throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

RON HARRIS
Tel Aviv University

RICHARD W. DAVIS. *A Political History of the House of Lords, 1811–1846: From the Regency to Corn Law Repeal*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 382. \$60.00.

Richard W. Davis has written much over many years on British parliamentary politics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This book provides an authoritative and detailed chronological narrative of the major debates that took place in the House of Lords during 1811–1846 including the Regency Crisis, Peterloo, the Queen Caroline affair, Catholic emancipation, the Reform Bill, the Maynooth Grant, the Corn Law repeal struggle, and more besides.

In his introduction Davis laments the lack of studies of the House of Lords in recent historiography. He abhors the history from below approach that has either portrayed the Upper House negatively or ignored it altogether. There is a “lack of reality” in the bottom-up approach that suggests the House of Lords was “a great monolith” whose members acted as one when in fact in the first half of the nineteenth century it was made up of two “great parties,” which obviously meant competition and disagreement. Davis has a point perhaps, but it would be helpful if he went on here to discuss the historiography. In fact he rarely engages with historiography in this book. Davis proclaims his aim is to take a broader approach that does not ignore the “top” and will do justice to this “great institution,” which was a significant force in government. Indeed, four of the five prime ministers during this period were members of the House of Lords.

Davis focuses first on the Whigs led by Lord Grenville and Earl Grey, which for a decade from 1807 formed a more “unified and coherent” new Whig party in Lords than existed in the Commons. This party, in opposition, pressed determinedly forward with issues such as Catholic emancipation against a majority in the House of Lords that tended to side with the king. Davis notes the Whigs’ tenacity and honorable determination to get their proposals through against the odds. George IV was a difficult regent and king who consistently ham-

pered their progress. The Whigs also displayed considerable debating skills; they were well informed, and the majority remained loyal to Whiggery. They consistently fought over small issues that affected ordinary people, such as the increase in leather taxes and the abolition of the death penalty for shoplifting. Due to disagreement between Grey and Grenville the new Whigs disintegrated during 1815–1817. But Grey rallied the Whigs again over Peterloo and in support of Queen Caroline, recognizing the strength of public opinion. Here Grey showed himself to be “a lion in debate” and a “superb tactician.”

From the 1820s party lines began to blur but debates in the House of Lords continue to suggest genuine engagement with the issues in hand. In their bid for reform leading up to 1832, Davis identifies the Whigs as “defenders of the people’s rights, champions of the poor and weak, but never, as they saw it, pandering to the violent and irrational tendencies of the masses.” They never thought of leading a radical movement to achieve their aims, and in 1830–1832 their concern was to broaden political participation only so far as the responsible middle classes. Davis also plots carefully the complexities of the Duke of Wellington’s long career in politics; he was appointed leader of the House of Lords in 1828 and remained so for eighteen years. Davis describes Wellington as an Ultra but a pragmatist, committed to the public good, duty, and patriotism, who generally believed in following the dictates of necessity. He may have remained stolidly opposed to reform of Parliament, but he supported Catholic emancipation and religious toleration in the end. Wellington was instrumental in carrying through much important legislation such as the Municipal Corporations Bill in 1835 and Corn Law Repeal in 1846.

Davis concludes that the Lords, whether Whig or Conservative, can be seen through the debates, voting patterns and legislation consistently to have instigated and supported measures to protect ordinary people by means of religious, political, and social reform. While the House of Lords was “not characteristically a progressive body,” neither was it “dangerously intransigent,” and Davis puts this down to the high caliber of its leaders. In particular Grenville, Grey, Wellington, and Lord Liverpool were influential leaders who carried the major legislation of the day.

In the introduction, Davis claims that this book “demonstrates how the House of Lords was able to connect with the rest of society, to make itself acceptable and sometimes even popular.” I am not sure he ever quite does this. There are few references to the changing world outside Parliament, or the Lords’ reception within that world, and the increasing importance of the power of the people in politics is largely ignored. Davis suggests that “when all is said and done, in this period it is leaders that we are most likely to remember.” Ultimately then, this is a history of great men.

AMANDA GOODRICH
Royal Holloway, University of London

JONATHAN PARRY. *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1886*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 424. \$90.00.

Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox were not the only British politicians from the same political camp to be divided over developments in continental Europe and the appropriate British response to them. Victorian Liberals were no less agitated by Europe. Jonathan Parry shows that the ways in which they responded to major developments on the continent were *constitutive* of the very identity of English liberalism as a political coalition, and of its conceptualizations of English national identity itself.

The book gives emphasis to the role of ideas and concepts, departing explicitly from the “high politics” school of political history of earlier decades. And it is concerned with parliamentary and elite politics rather than with electoral politics. After two chapters analyzing the general characteristics of the British Liberal parliamentary coalition (what is called “the Liberal Party” was not more than a coalition in the nineteenth century), Parry sets out to examine the impact of continental European events on the British Liberals of the time. To that purpose he dedicates chapters to the period 1830–1847, to the 1848 Revolutions and their aftermath, to the major British liberal involvement with the whole question of Italian unification, to the Franco-Prussian War and developments following it, and to the Eastern Question and its consequences between 1875 and 1886.

All chapters are meticulously researched and footnoted. Issues are thoroughly examined and comparisons with similar situations or different reactions in earlier periods are invariably offered. English Liberalism emerges as a complex and broad movement that cannot be characterized either as free-trade libertarian or as state-interventionist, as both tendencies were included in it, but none prevailed completely for very long. The long and varied squabbles between Whigs and Radicals, the ideas, careers and arguments of politicians such as Viscount Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Richard Cobden, John Bright, William Gladstone, William Edward Forster, Joseph Chamberlain, Charles Dilke, and many other less well-known Liberals are discussed and the battles for supremacy in the Liberal coalition and the role played by attitudes toward European politics are analyzed. The themes of patriotism and nationality are shown to have been central in all these debates and struggles. All sides endeavored to project themselves as more patriotic than their rivals (both within the coalition and outside it, in the Conservative camp), and to portray their rivals as “un-English” (an almost common-place and portmanteau accusation, as the book shows). One of Parry’s most persistent arguments is that the concerns of the Liberal politicians he discusses were introspective, England-oriented (rather than about the foreign countries *per se*), and that they were very keen to project a certain idea of the values Britain

stood for in the world. That was the battleground, both within Liberalism and between Liberalism and Conservatism.

It is virtually impossible not to find small points of detail to take some issue with in a book of this scale and density. Frederic Harrison is referred to a couple of times as a Radical or as a Liberal. On at least one of those occasions it would help explain his position better if Parry had mentioned that Harrison was a leading (arguably the most interesting and influential) British Comtist (this would be relevant on page 332, where Harrison’s anti-Russian stance was the issue—Comte and the Comtists had a strong fear and dislike of Russia, which, they insisted, was *not* “Western”). John Morley is mentioned as one of “Francophile intellectuals” (p. 280). Francophile can mean a couple of things of course, but Morley would not qualify (unless being knowledgeable about French letters and having written extensively on eighteenth-century French authors makes one a Francophile). As far as political attitudes to European countries are concerned, lumping him together with “the positive circle around E. S. Beesly and Frederic Harrison,” who—literally—thought the French could do no wrong (and with whom Morley often remonstrated that the main problem with their Positivism was its Frenchness) is not that felicitous. But these are really minor quibbles on a work on a major scale.

Parry’s work is densely written. Perhaps more cross-referencing with works on liberal political thinkers of the time might have made it even more rewarding. But given the size of the book as it is, and the scale of the task, that may have been too much of a tall order. Cramming so much information, so much evidence, and so many developed and cogent arguments in four hundred pages is no simple task. Parry has offered us a book that deserves to become one of the major classics of nineteenth-century British history for a long time to come. It should be an indispensable work for anyone interested in Victorian political, intellectual, or diplomatic history, given how convincingly it highlights the importance of the interplay between the subjects of each of these subdisciplines.

GEORGIOS VAROUXAKIS
Queen Mary, University of London

MARY ANN GILLIES. *The Professional Literary Agent in Britain, 1880–1920*. (Studies in Book and Print Culture.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2007. Pp. xi, 247. \$65.00.

The advent of the literary agent in Britain was controversial. Publishers were used to having their own way with authors, though they might fawn and tumble over each other to acquire the famous for their lists. Understandably, many took fright at the intervention of a professional middleman, who threatened to tip the balance further towards the best-seller and to take his cut of the overall action at a time when it was uncertain what profits the market for books would yield, with a

trend underway from the three-decker novel to the cheaper single volume. In 1893 William Heinemann—a relatively new publisher—went public, denounced the literary agent as “a parasite,” and invoked the Society of Authors “to lend its powerful aid to kill the canker that is eating itself into the very heart of our mutual interests.” This was largely nonsense. For one, the Society of Authors was no muscular trade union, capable of dictating terms; if it had been, literary agents would have been mostly superfluous. Heinemann’s vituperation was wide of the mark in other respects. Literary agents contributed to the greater good by regularizing and diffusing sound business practice. A case may even be advanced for some of their activity as literary patronage rather than parasitism.

It was over forty years ago that James Hepburn inaugurated the scholarly study of this subject, in *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent* (1968). More evidence has become available meanwhile, through numerous biographies, multivolume editions of correspondence, and individual collections. Mary Anne Gillies benefits from this, exploiting in particular the archives of A. P. Watt—commonly accepted as the first professional literary agent—and J. B. Pinker, the best-known of the second wave of agents whose representation of the upcoming and unproven as well as the established author redefined the role. Perhaps Gillies could have done more to tap the wider literature, also to broaden her coverage of literary agents, so as to compare methods and to evaluate performances, especially for authors who switched agencies. Regarding these others, Curtis Brown is an exceptionally interesting figure, being an American who set up in 1899 after coming to London as a newspaperman. He is mentioned briefly (pp. 87–88), where an endnote leads to the blithe declaration, “Among the more prominent agents I will not be discussing are William Morris Colles, who began the Authors’ Syndicate in about 1899, J. Eveleigh Nash, who became an agent in 1898, and Elisabeth Marbury, the first female agent, who was an American specializing in drama” (p. 202). No justification is given for this abstention. There is a strange lack of curiosity too about the finances of the two firms Gillies does pursue in detail. For instance, how was Pinker flush enough in 1907 to agree to bankroll Joseph Conrad to the tune of £600 per annum (c. £50,000 in today’s money)? Was he drawing on working capital or on his rich wife? Likewise, we are told too little about many names who flit across these pages, with the unfortunate consequence that few readers will be able to assess the true worth of what is said. For example, various persons are mentioned who were associated with Violet Martin (the second half of the writing team of Somerville and Ross). Most go unidentified, including the actor and co-founder of the Abbey Theatre, Frank Fay, and the novelist Beatrice Harraden—here (and in the index) called “Harriden” (pp. 132–133). The exception is Sir Frederick Jeeves, styled the king’s doctor. This will tickle Wodehouse devotees everywhere, because Jeeves

should be Treves, physician to the “Elephant Man” as well as royalty.

Within her confined compass, Gillies makes useful contributions to our perception of Watt’s and Pinker’s representations. New ground is traversed by examining Watt’s (and son’s) management of the affairs of “Lucas Malet,” novelist daughter of Charles Kingsley, which in places resembles mismanagement. Yet, as Gillies amply demonstrates, in several variations on the theme, many authors were exceedingly difficult to represent, being prickly personalities, devious and deluded, with mistaken (usually grossly exaggerated) views of their own importance, seeking at the same time to secure reputations as literary artists and to rack up enormous earnings. It is a story generally worth reading, although Gillies’s style can test the reader’s patience, beginning with her cover announcement that she “starts from the central premise that the business of authorship is inextricably linked with the aesthetics of literary praxis.” Pinker, who once told Conrad that he “did not speak English,” might have queried this.

PHILIP J. WALLER
Merton College,
University of Oxford

J. P. HARRIS. *Douglas Haig and the First World War*. (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 652. \$39.00.

British casualties in World War I, the majority of which occurred in the deadlocked conflict on the western front, greatly exceeded those of any previous British conflict. A British soldier’s chance of surviving the war in France and Flanders without becoming a casualty was roughly one in two. Popular perceptions of these unprecedented casualties are reflected in A. J. P. Taylor’s famous comment: “brave, helpless soldiers; blundering, obstinate generals; nothing achieved.” It has been the fate of Sir Douglas Haig, who commanded the largest British force ever sent abroad, to become the British scapegoat in popular culture for the appalling casualties.

Positive reassessments of Haig, at least among military historians, began to emerge as early as 1963 with the publication of John Terraine’s *Douglas Haig: The Educated Soldier*. Other sympathetic evaluations followed, including several very recent ones: *Douglas Haig: War Diaries and Letters 1914–1918* (2006), edited by Gary Sheffield and John Bourne, and three biographies written by Walter Reid, Gary Mead, and Andrew A. Wiest, respectively. Haig’s command is placed in the context of a great war in which mass forces, armed with unprecedented firepower, engaged each other in siege warfare. A quick victory proved illusory. If the Anglo-French alliance were to be preserved and if Germany were to be defeated, there was no realistic alternative to committing a large British army to the western front, where casualties were certain to be enormous. The book under review, however, begs to disagree with current scholarship that portrays Haig in a generally

sympathetic light. J. P. Harris does not find Haig a great general. He does not even view him as a good general and expresses amazement that he survived the war as commander-in-chief.

According to Harris, Haig, initially a battle-shy commander, emerged as a resolute corps commander. This earned him command of the First Army. Haig's belief in himself and his boundless optimism led him to favor a swift and decisive breaking of the German front, an approach which contributed to a flawed deployment of his artillery and unnecessary casualties. His First Army suffered 281,006 casualties prior to his becoming commander-in-chief of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF). Under his command, the BEF in 1916–1917 launched three lengthy and costly offensives: during the Somme Offensive, Haig overreached, misusing his artillery in an attempt to achieve a quick breakthrough and distant advance; at Vimy Ridge (Battle of Arras) he made more prudent use of his artillery, but he continued his offensive long after it was obvious that little could be gained; and at Third Ypres, Haig, expecting the Germans to crack at any moment, recklessly pursued the offensive into November, endangering the Allied cause and leading to the demoralization of his own army. Although Harris criticizes Haig's leadership in 1916–1917, he takes a generally positive view of the BEF's technical, tactical, and operational evolution, especially on the Somme and at Third Ypres. Not only did the continuation of the Battle of the Somme after July 1 force the Germans to suspend their offensive at Verdun, it probably brought the Germans closer to the breaking point than at any time prior to the closing battles of the war. At Third Ypres, if not for the dreadful weather in August, which Harris argues that Haig should have anticipated, "the Germans would have faced an immense crisis" (p. 367).

In late 1917 and early 1918 Haig reached the low point of his command. At Cambrai his underestimation of a German counterattack led to an embarrassing British setback. Prior to March 21, 1918, Haig exposed his Fifth Army to great risk. When the German offensive began, British troops on the southern section of the Fifth Army may have been outnumbered by as many as eight to one. Harris suggests that the Fifth Army's subsequent destruction brought Haig close to the breaking point and that he had to be rescued by his civilian leadership and fellow generals Ferdinand Foch and Sir Henry Wilson.

Harris is not unrelentingly critical of Haig. He emphasizes that Haig, who constantly visited his units and moved his headquarters close to the front when a major offensive was underway, was no "chateau" general. He also praises Haig's resolute leadership during the war-winning "One Hundred Days" campaign. But he concludes that Haig's excessive optimism, overreaching, and failure to foster frank and open debate at General Headquarters on such vital questions as plans and operational methods increased the human cost of victory.

This work of meticulous scholarship is certain to re-energize the debate over Haig's command. It also in

many important ways expands our understanding of military operations in France and Flanders and the BEF's evolution into a formidable offensive machine. It is highly recommended to both academics and general readers.

DAVID R. WOODWARD,
Emeritus
Marshall University

DANIEL A. CREWS. *Twilight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan de Valdés*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 282. \$70.00.

Juan de Valdés (ca. 1500–1541) is a famous and yet shadowy presence in sixteenth-century history. He is known primarily for his theological tracts, which the church condemned as heretical after his death, and for being the spiritual guide to a group of reform-minded Italian aristocrats at a time when reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants still seemed possible. Valdés's ideas influenced a wide range of religious and political figures of his time, but we know little about the man himself. Historians disagree, for example, about Valdés's religious beliefs: was he an Erasmian, a quasi-Protestant, or a cult leader? In this book, Daniel A. Crews attempts to expand our knowledge of Valdés, particularly his diplomatic career, arguing that in order to understand Valdés's religious thought we must take into account his championing of Charles V's imperial agenda. Given the scarcity of hard evidence, Crews does a fine piece of historical detective work, but in the end there are still more questions than answers.

The book is structured as a traditional biography. After a brief introduction, Crews describes Valdés's life and times in seven chapters, from birth to death. Unfortunately, we get relatively little information on Valdés's actual life, so each chapter is padded with descriptions of the times he lived in. The first chapter, for example, covers Valdés's childhood and adolescence in Spain. We learn that Valdés came from a family of converted Jews and that as a young man he became involved with the Spanish mystics known as *alumbrados*. Both of these facts undoubtedly shaped Valdés's life and thought, but we get few details, presumably because few have survived. More concretely we learn that Valdés's family supported the king during the Comunero Revolt of 1520–1521, which brought Juan and his older brother Alfonso to Charles's attention. Both would benefit greatly from the king's patronage and dedicated their careers to advancing Charles's agenda.

Chapter two, "Reform School," finds the brothers at the University of Alcalá, a center of Spanish humanism, as well as what Crews describes as an "imperial propaganda machine" (p. 27). Alfonso was more directly involved in politics than Juan in the 1520s, but Crews claims that Juan's first book, *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* (1529), complemented his brother's overt propaganda. This complex work represents an amalgamation of Erasmus and *alumbrado* theology, but according to Crews its real challenge to Catholic orthodoxy was its

call for the immediate reform of the church's hierarchy. Soon after the book appeared the Spanish Inquisition put on trial several *alumbrados* connected to Juan, and he fled to Italy. Crews argues that Valdés was not in as much danger from the Inquisition as most historians believe, but in any case Juan would remain in Italy for the rest of his life.

In Italy, Crews suggests, Valdés found his true calling as a courtier. Chapters three and four describe Valdés's successful career in Rome (1531–1535), where he served as a papal chamberlain and counselor to several powerful cardinals. He was also apparently a spy for Charles V. Here again the scarcity of evidence is a problem. Charles ordered Juan's letters to be kept secret and anonymous; Crews has found a number of intelligence reports which Valdés "most likely" authored. His reasoning is usually persuasive, but not conclusive. Similarly Crews argues for Valdés's involvement in various Italian political intrigues, but the connections are frustratingly vague. Still, it is clear that Valdés made many important contacts in Rome and pleased Charles, which helped secure him a job in Naples, where he spent the rest of his life.

The final three chapters describe the zenith of Valdés's career, as the leader of a sodality (lay religious society) in Naples. While many historians have discussed this particular group's importance for sixteenth-century Italian religious thought, Crews instead describes it as a "unique example of the cultural and political dialectic between Italy and Spain in the development of the Spanish global empire" (p. 91). Valdés preached in Spanish and sought to promote Spanish interests among his elite Italian disciples. Valdés also aided the career of the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, and helped establish a Toledo dynasty in Italy. Finally, Crews argues that the theological works Valdés wrote in these years were intended to support Charles's religious policies by seeking common ground between Catholics and Protestants. Valdés's stance on justification by faith, which came perilously close to the Protestant position, can perhaps be explained by Valdés's desire to help heal the religious schism that so worried the emperor.

In his conclusion, Crews admits that he too is unsure about what Valdés really believed, but ultimately "his heterodoxy was inextricably linked to his political service" (p. 167). This may or may not be true. If nothing else, Crews has proved that Valdés was a slippery character who still defies explanation.

MICHAEL J. LEVIN
University of Akron

FRANCISCO J. ROMERO SALVADÓ. *The Foundations of Civil War: Revolution, Social Conflict and Reaction in Liberal Spain, 1916–1923*. (Routledge/Cañada Blanch Studies on Contemporary Spain, number 14.) London: Cañada Blanch Centre for Contemporary Spanish Studies. New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. xviii, 410. \$120.00.

This is an impressively researched study of a critical period in Spain's contemporary history, when the liberal parliamentary regime established in 1875 plunged into a crisis of political authority that culminated in 1923 with the *pronunciamiento* of General Miguel Primo de Rivera and his appointment as the head of an authoritarian military dictatorship by King Alfonso XIII. Raymond Carr was the first to argue, in his magisterial survey, *Spain 1808–1939* (1966), that the king and the army together had destroyed the Restoration political system precisely at the moment when it was beginning to show signs of genuine democratization. His verdict has generated considerable historiographical debate in the intervening years but remains widely influential. Joining those who challenge Carr's conclusion, Francisco J. Romero Salvadó contends that the parliamentary regime was already comatose and incapable of resuscitation when Primo de Rivera delivered the *coup de grace*.

For specialists in the field, the scrupulously detailed narrative and extensive citations in this book will be a gold mine. Romero Salvadó documents his account with references to nearly all the relevant official and private archives and a broad spectrum of the periodical press, eyewitness accounts, and memoirs. Romero also uses the notes to enter into dialogue with scholars who have taken advantage of the greater possibilities for research in modern Spanish history since the end of the Franquist dictatorship. Romero synthesizes contemporary sources, the recent scholarly literature, and the results of his own archival research into a thematically organized account that provides a comprehensive overview of an extraordinarily complex period. As the subtitle of the book indicates, he places special emphasis on the spiral of interclass violence in Barcelona, where the intransigence of the employers and the revolutionary maximalism of the action groups in the anarcho-syndicalist CNT increased the appeal of extremist solutions, with dire consequences for the rule of law and the principle of civil supremacy.

For non-specialist readers the book's level of detail may be overwhelming. Since in many cases it does not lead to the reassessment of conclusions already arrived at by other scholars, it might have been useful to sacrifice some of the less important material in order to devote more space in the main body of the text to analysis and explicit comparison with other cases of liberal breakdown in Europe during the interwar period. Also, the inclusion of a greater number of direct quotations from contemporary sources, as opposed to the author's extensive paraphrasing of them, would have enlivened the narrative while enhancing its scholarly value.

Romero describes how economic dislocation, labor and employer violence, colonial misadventure, military interventionism, and the antidemocratic tendencies of the crown exhausted and delegitimized the traditional party system of the Restoration monarchy after 1917. But in this reviewer's opinion, he does not successfully refute Carr's contention that the intervention of the king and the army in 1923 interrupted the gradual democratization of the political system instead of killing

off a hopelessly moribund patient. As Romero implicitly acknowledges in citing so extensively from the contemporary press, the upheavals of the war and the post-war period resulted in the mobilization of groups who had previously been excluded from oligarchic politics and who now demanded to be taken into account. Dismissing the response of the dynastic parties as mere political maneuvering, Romero discounts their attempts to satisfy their critics with policies intended to restore the rule of law, ameliorate social conditions, and reduce military influence on political life in both Morocco and the peninsula. His interpretation minimizes the fact that those efforts, timid or opportunistic though they may have been, were also unavoidable if the parliamentary regime were to survive; the conditions that had allowed the dynastic parties to disregard popular opinion had vanished, at least in the urban areas. The more astute members of the traditional political class recognized this, even if they did not welcome it; to reduce the dizzying changes of government and reversals of policy to cynical maneuvering among rivals, as Romero does, is to overlook their awareness of the need to carve out positions that were responsive to their altered circumstances. The author himself admits in his conclusion that "[the ruling order] having proven to possess amazing resilience, it could have survived for many years and perhaps eventually recovered a more democratic shape" (p. 294). Given the difficulties of devising broadly acceptable solutions to highly divisive issues, particularly when any change in the status quo threatened the interests of the crown, the officer corps, and Catalan industrialists, the path to democratization of the political system would certainly be neither linear nor easy. But authoritarian dictatorship was not the inevitable alternative to the political disarray and social conflict that accompanied the breakdown of oligarchic liberalism; it was the deliberate choice of the king and his military allies.

CAROLYN P. BOYD
University of California,
Irvine

MARGARET M. MCGOWAN. *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 330. \$45.00.

In this book on dance in sixteenth-century France, Margaret M. McGowan has produced a significant and valuable contribution to dance history and, more generally, to cultural history. Sixteenth-century France has too often been marginalized by dance scholars (however understandably) due to the scarcity of choreographic records and treatises from this period in the country's history. Here McGowan has redressed the balance, and she presents a fascinating and rich picture of sixteenth-century French dance, its various forms, the contemporary attitudes to dance, and the significance dancing had for both performers and spectators. McGowan circumvents the lacunae in choreographic records by drawing on a wide and diverse range of primary sources.

Ambassadors' reports, memoirs, letters, diaries, poems and novels, financial accounts, pictorial records of balls and court fêtes, costume designs, as well as movement treatises all combine to flesh out the bare documentary record of dances, masquerades, and ballets that occurred at court events from 1500 to 1600. (A listing of these events is given on pages 249–259.) McGowan does not hide the difficulties of interpreting such a diverse range of source material, nor the ambiguities inherent in any written account of physical movement, and her measured evaluation of these sources presents a compelling picture of why the French were so obsessed with dance, an obsession that started with the king and cascaded down throughout society. Even in the hundreds of satirical pamphlets published after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572 dance itself was hardly ever attacked (p. xv).

While the court of France is the principal focus of this study, McGowan's work places dance squarely in its social, intellectual, and literary contexts, which include French dance's relationship with other contemporary European dance practices, particularly Italian dance practice, and with dancing at all levels of society. McGowan's argument for the centrality of dancing in French society encompasses both practical concerns and theoretical issues and principles. Chapter one discusses the key role dance played in court activities, the connection to Italian dance practice, and the growing importance of dance in a courtier's self-projection and self-advancement, attitudes that lay at the "very core of a culture of display which defined the magnificence of the French court" (p. 17). Chapter two examines contemporary attempts across Europe to describe the nature and desired qualities of a dancer's movements, and how the beneficial effects of dance could be increased by combining music, movement, and poetry. From the philosophical considerations of the previous chapter, in chapter three McGowan moves onto the practicalities of mounting a danced spectacle: the construction of the dance space, the décor and props, the costumes, the preparation of the music, and what is known of the rehearsal procedures. Chapter four discusses the different forms of dancing in sixteenth-century France, while chapters five and six trace the increasing dominance of dance at the French court from the time of François I to Henri IV and show how dance was used by the monarchs as an instrument of public policy. Henri III was so enamoured of dancing that visiting ambassadors often were in despair as a major proportion of the king's time was taken up by balls, masquerades, and rehearsing for ballets. Chapters seven and eight focus on dance in literature: how writers saw dance as "a source of inspiration and creativity," and how they exploited it "as an expression of desire" and as "a mode of idealization" (p. 209). The final chapter explores the role of the professional dancer.

Dancing in early modern Europe was both a physical and intellectual exercise, and it is difficult to convey the physical vitality and beauty of past dance performances in a written, scholarly text. But this is exactly what

McGowan achieves through a synthesis of detailed archival work across a wide range of source materials allied to imaginative and sensitive readings of literary texts. Readers of this book do not have to be dance historians to benefit from it. McGowan's clear and elegant prose is a joy to read, and her text is full of intriguing details and pertinent questions that spark additional ideas and questions in the mind of the reader. The fifteen color plates and over eighty black-and-white illustrations enhance her written discussion of dance performances and provide a bridge to the more widely reproduced images of the seventeenth-century *ballets de cour*.

One might wish for further examination of the reciprocal influences between French and other European dance practices, and a more extended discussion on dance activities at the lowest levels of society, if the latter is possible. Such reservations are, however, only minor quibbles, and in no way do they detract from the major achievements of McGowan's work, which reveals for the first time the crucial importance of dance in French Renaissance society.

JENNIFER NEVILLE
University of New South Wales

J. B. SHANK. *The Newton Wars and the Beginning of the French Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 571. \$55.00.

Around 1700, when the learned crossed the English Channel in both directions, the scientific scene could appear quite confusing. While in both France and England mathematics and physics could be decoupled, the social and religious loci of the new science were markedly different in each place. In London one could hear about Isaac Newton's science from Anglican church pulpits, meetings of the Royal Society, or coffee shop demonstrations. In Paris, the story that J. B. Shank richly elaborates centers almost entirely on the royally sponsored Academy of Science and its leading academicians. Despite the author's invocation of "public science," most of what occurred in Paris, at least in this account, went on in academic circles amid no more than a dozen mathematically trained proponents. In the period after the publication of Newton's *Principia* (1687) they were immensely respectful of Newton's mathematics without for imagining that universal gravitation could actually act on bodies at a distance. By the time of Newton's death in 1727 all that had begun to change.

By the late 1720s, committed French physicists had turned increasingly away from analytical mathematics toward an empirical and experimental approach to nature. By the 1730s the brightest lights in the Parisian scientific scene, led by Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis, were aggressively Newtonian. This shift was hardly a foregone conclusion, predictable in 1700, and Shank is at pains to disabuse us of any teleological French account of the rise of Newtonian science. Its coupling with the first stirrings of the French Enlightenment owes much to the polemics that came to engulf

Newton's science. Leading the charge against it were some Cartesians and irrepressible Jesuits.

French and English chemists, like Étienne-François Geoffroy and John Friend, took the lead after 1715 in the turn away from Cartesian explanations (that demanded contact action between bodies) toward an embrace of Newtonian attraction at a distance. Newton could not have been more pleased, for he had long believed that René Descartes' system ultimately led to atheism. While the academicians could agree to disagree about the reality of universal gravitation and saw nothing atheistic in Descartes' system as explicated by Father Nicolas de Malebranche, the French refugee press in the Dutch Republic was spoiling for a fight. Francophone Dutch journals and publishers turned into "widely influential" organs of thought and criticism after 1710 (p. 122). They pushed for the recognition of Newtonian science just when the priority dispute between Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz over the invention of the calculus had turned nasty. Leibniz accused Newtonian science of encouraging pantheistic materialism; Samuel Clarke (with help from Newton himself) jumped to his mentor's defense, and by 1720 a full-fledged philosophical and religious war had erupted in the Republic of Letters, much of it conducted in French. The scholastically minded Jesuits helped to fan the flames by also seeing pantheism in Newton's conception of universal gravitation. By 1740 they had rendered "commonplace" the association of Newtonian science with anti-Christian heresy (p. 381).

Cartesians joined the fray and (now unknown) academicians like Joseph Privat de Molières and Étienne-Simon de Gamaches led the charge against the actual existence of universal gravitation while still accepting Newton's mathematical law. They had help from both the Jesuits and the followers of Leibniz. None was a match for the ideological vigor brought to the dispute in the 1730s by Maupertuis and Voltaire. Maupertuis used a genteel skepticism to avoid the issue of pantheism, and mathematics to validate the *Principia*, while Voltaire became satirical and openly anti-church, a deist. He turned Newtonianism into "a creed or an intellectual identity . . . more than a scientific or philosophical position" (p. 294). The *philosophe*, "a new kind of critical, libertarian intellectual" (p. 31) was born in the French version of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (1734, and far more controversial than its English version, *Letters concerning the English Nation*, 1733). The Enlightenment had escaped the heretical confines of French books published anonymously in Amsterdam, or clandestine manuscripts widely circulated, and the French authorities were horrified. They ordered Voltaire's book burned and he fled into exile for the remainder of the decade. He had identified "his intellectual positions with the new and more stridently critical" English and Dutch Newtonianism (p. 304).

This book offers a highly detailed account of the culture war between Cartesians and Newtonians that only after 1745 solidified into the Newtonian Enlightenment in France. Voltaire fought for credibility both for him-

self and the science that he championed and was assisted, indeed educated, by Madame du Châtelet as well as by the Italian *philosophe* Francesco Algarotti. Anonymous attacks or expositions, censorship, character assassination, nationalist bravado, sexual libertinism, even, in the case of du Châtelet, backsliding into an embrace of aspects of Leibniz's thought, must have riveted a public about which we still know far too little. It will be a long time before anyone seeks to replace the thoroughness of Shank's scholarship. He manages to allow the polemics around Newton's science to unfold until we begin to see that it was the polemic itself that generated enlightened thought. This was not what Newton's opponents had in mind, but as Shank brilliantly demonstrates, it is exactly what they got.

MARGARET C. JACOB
University of California,
Los Angeles

LESLEY H. WALKER. *A Mother's Love: Crafting Feminine Virtue in Enlightenment France*. (The Bucknell Studies in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture.) Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press. 2008. Pp. 251. \$52.50.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the language of virtue in eighteenth-century France, and the central part that it played in political, cultural, and social life. Historians and literature specialists have begun to pay attention to women's particularly complex relationship with the rhetoric of virtue: it could empower women but also cause them to embrace suffering. Lesley H. Walker's study of mothers in Enlightenment literature and art is a timely contribution to this field. She has taken as her subject the role of eighteenth-century mothers in fashioning virtue, above all, the ways in which they instilled virtue in their daughters. Walker explores this intriguing theme through the fiction and literature of the period. She draws on psychoanalytical writings to inform her investigations into the power of maternal love and its relationship to virtue and self-sacrifice. A central theme of the book is the way in which mothers in Enlightenment literature offered powerful models of virtue; but it was a power that was often achieved through the self-sacrifice and/or death of the mother. Typically the daughter expressed her grief at the loss of her mother by deciding to emulate her and become, in her turn, a model of virtue. Walker looks at mother-daughter relationships in the works of a number of novelists and artists, including Madame de Lafayette, François Fénelon, Madame de Lambert, Madame de Genlis, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Madame Roland, Madame de Staël, Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marguerite Gérard, and Jeanne-Marie Le Prince de Beaumont. In her analysis of artistic genres she charts the move away from rococo aristocratic styles to paintings that conveyed love and tenderness between mothers and their children—a genre at which women artists such as Vigée-Lebrun and Gérard were often more successful than their male counterparts such as

Jean-Baptiste Greuze, who tended (perhaps unconsciously) to eroticize such paintings. Walker's readings are both sensitive and authoritative. She thus brings a fresh eye even to such well-worn topics as Rousseau's attitude to women in *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and enables us to see this work anew. She does not shy away from controversy and is particularly critical of Joan Landes and her interpretation of Rousseau's role in excluding women from the public sphere. Walker asserts that "the time has come to demystify Rousseau as the primary target of feminist critique and cause of women's disenfranchisement from the public sphere" (p. 71). Whereas other literary analysts have seen Julie's capitulation and agreement to marry Wolmar as a sign of the victory of paternal authority, Walker argues persuasively that it is the death of her mother, and Julie's desire to become a virtuous mother—literally by taking her mother's place—that leads to her willing self-sacrifice. Walker follows this up with a thoughtful account of how Madame Roland self-consciously echoed Julie's sacrifice in her own life when she dealt with her own mother's loss by embracing virtue. There were limits, however, to the degree to which inspirational mothers, with their love and dedication to the education of their daughters, could offer a liberating or empowering experience. Virtue could not play the same role for women as it did for men. Maternal virtue was fundamentally about the sacrifice of individual desires and ambitions. Moreover, eighteenth-century society remained very limited in the actual social opportunities granted to women. Walker concludes that "the daughter's enlightenment is not her liberation. She will remain enmeshed in a world of great social obligation and considerable constraints; her life will, however, be better than it might have been without such an education" (p. 27).

One perennial problem with a study based on fictional sources is their relationship to the reality of women's lives. Walker, to her credit, considers this problem. She concedes that maternal tenderness was a "potent social fantasy" that "may or may not have corresponded in any direct way with lived experience" (p. 23). She contends that her account of Madame Roland's life and work "offers ample testimony to literature's effects" (p. 23). It would have added strength to her case if she had widened her net to include more readers of these fictions than this one eloquent—but hardly typical—individual. But that should not detract from the important contribution that Walker has made to our understanding of the centrality of the mother in eighteenth-century literature and art. She concludes with an admirable statement of the approach that she has taken to her subject: "whenever in history women have managed to leave a significant oeuvre to posterity, the feminist critic's job is to read carefully and report back as faithfully as possible her findings, without insisting that their works are somehow about us" (p. 195). It is one

of the many merits of this book that Walker largely succeeds in this objective.

MARISA LINTON
Kingston University,
United Kingdom

ANTOINE FOLLAIN. *Le village sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Fayard. 2008. Pp. iii, 609. €27.00.

What is a village? Is it different from a community or a parish? Anyone who has visited different parts of the French countryside has observed that rural habitat is not everywhere organized in the same way. Antoine Follain examines this question from seemingly every point of view possible. Follain appears to have written for professional historians rather than for a larger public, which indicates that the French publisher Fayard is willing to accept austere treatment of a subject—the village in Old Regime France—that other historians have approached with a lighter hand (see, for example, Hughes Neveux, Jean Jacquart, and Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie's *Histoire rurale de la France*, Volume 2. *L'âge classique des paysans, 1340 à 1789* [1975]).

Follain begins by reviewing the vast literature on French villages dating from the nineteenth century and shows how many authors have generalized to all of France characteristics found in their own local studies. Follain is a sure if sometimes ironic guide to this historiography. His knowledge of the French historical tradition is nearly complete; the same cannot be said for his treatment of studies of English villages by authors such as Peter Laslett and Alan MacFarlane, who are absent from his bibliography and discussions. More regrettable is the absence of work by Peter Jones, who has studied areas that Follain considers to be historiographical backwaters—e.g., the Southwest Massif Central—and the considerable problems in organizing rural space among parishes, seigneuries, and communities.

Follain's ambition is to study all of France from the end of the Middle Ages to the French Revolution. Having done enormous amounts of archival work in Normandy and, to a lesser extent, in Anjou, what he calls the "Norman example" serves as a model against which he compares other forms of village organization. Southern French villages serve as the most studied counter-model, in particular those in Provence and Languedoc. Briefly stated, the "Norman example" is founded on the parish around which village populations organize their collective activities: religious life, different forms of communal holdings and customs, village assemblies and, increasingly, tax collecting. Far to the south, village life was organized around a municipal community that primarily existed as a tax-collecting unit. Follain's thesis is that these two models do not necessarily indicate stronger or weaker community organization.

The demonstration is based on an analysis and comparison of village political life in Normandy and in the rest of France in light of available evidence. After a detailed presentation of the "Norman example," Follain examines the essential question of communal land

holdings and customary rights, long thought to be a binding link between village inhabitants. Follain shows that such holdings were often very marginal and that village identity existed even when such holdings and rights were absent or had disappeared. Village assemblies are also basic elements of collective life all over France, but their organization could be very different from one village to another according to the strength or weakness of seigneurial power. How often were they convened, by whom, who was present (officially noted in the *procès-verbal* or not), who decided and how were decisions reached? Follain concludes this section with the formula: he who pays decides. In other words, the principal tax payers in any community usually had the last say over decisions that concerned them more than their poorer neighbors.

Follain next turns his attention to village officers in Normandy and elsewhere. What were they called, what functions did they exercise, what recognition did they get from their neighbors and from higher authorities, what power did they really wield, who was chosen or elected? Were villages well governed, and how can one judge this several centuries after the fact? The complex relationship between the state and the thousands of French villages is explored, especially for the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the French Revolution. In reviewing all of these subjects, Follain shows how complicated things were and how comparisons are extremely difficult to establish. Nonetheless, there seems to be a convincing argument for a form of convergence toward a municipal model of village government to the detriment of parish or seigneurial forms. Follain argues that these different forms may be better understood as stages of evolution rather than as distinct ideal types.

Follain's villages are analyzed more in political terms than in social and economic ones. He recognizes that villages are not to be thought of as the organization of economic interests only (common lands and taxes, for instance). Communities of neighbors shared multiple interests, and social and political relationships need to be studied if we are to understand them. Now that Follain has thoroughly explored the political life of Old Regime French villages and has indicated new perspectives for research, it is time to take up the question of social relationships within the village and their links to the outside world, near and far.

JACK THOMAS
University of Toulouse

VINCENT DENIS. *Une histoire de l'identité: France, 1715–1815*. (Époques.) Seyssel: Champ Vallon. 2008. Pp. 462. €30.00.

Persons who have spent any time in France undoubtedly have been asked for their "papers" by police officials or state functionaries. This fascinating study by Vincent Denis traces the eighteenth-century origins of the official documentation of personal identity that is so foreign to anglophones of whatever origin, yet is one of

the most characteristic aspects of the modern, centralized French state. The author sees documentation, with its myriad, officially mandated categories of identity, as fundamental in the modern history of France because it formed both the basis of the state's treatment of its citizens and, to a large extent, the individual's own self-identity.

Denis finds his study on an impressive body of research, drawing not only on national government records and the administrative experience of Parisians but also from documentary evidence of the identification process in three provincial centers marked by particular intersections of official bureaucracy with persons whom the state sought to identify and track: the mid-sized military and judicial city of Besançon on France's eastern border; the great Atlantic port of Bordeaux; and the town of Clermont-Ferrand, the center of an area of considerable rural migration. Eschewing a rigid chronological treatment of his subject, Denis draws on these sources to survey signal aspects of the development of the French state's drive to document, observe, and thus regulate its citizens.

Most fundamentally, the state implemented surveillance of the mobile and rootless, and in the course of the century its agents imposed a system of passports on both foreign travelers and French citizens journeying in their own country that, for the latter, was the forerunner of the modern national identity card. The authorities employed a growing national police force to enforce this system of oversight with mandatory house numbering, records of lodgers in inns and rooming houses, and permits for nonresidents to stay in Paris and other cities that were the ancestors of the modern *carte de séjour*. Other persons also interested the authorities, who observed activities of the impoverished with records of admissions to institutions of poor relief and requirements that workers carry *livrets* to document their employment histories. Even the dead did not escape the attention of state bureaucrats, and Denis examines the development of the Paris morgue and its mission to assure that no citizen could leave this life without an official identity. The army did its part, too, seeking to apprehend deserters by maintaining duplicate registers of enlistees' personal data and descriptions, with the regiment retaining one copy and the other forwarded to the war ministry. The result of these innovations by the time of Joseph Fouché's tenure as minister of general police under Napoleon Bonaparte was a remarkably sophisticated documentary record of many citizens.

Denis finds this process of identification and regulation beginning after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, as new, reforming officials employed by the Regency struggled to control beggars, vagrants, and military deserters amid the economic dislocation at the end of the War of Spanish Succession. These reformers, most of whom knew each other and seem to have shared a vision of a rationalized, administrative state, included war minister Claude Le Blanc, and Guillaume-François Joly de Fleury, *procureur général* of the Parlement of Paris.

By mid-century, like-minded officials, including Jacques-Joseph Guillaudé, the author of a treatise on identification, even envisioned registering all of the subjects of Louis XV and issuing them identification documents. While they did not achieve this goal in Denis' period, agents of the monarchy, the revolutionary governments, and the Bonapartist regime pursued the goals of the Regency reformers with remarkable consistency.

Denis also provides a most interesting survey of the functional processes of identification in the eighteenth century. Devoid of our contemporary tools of human identification, including photography, fingerprinting, and genetic evidence like DNA, French officials sought to identify individuals definitively on state documents with increasingly meticulous physical descriptions and details of citizens' personal lives, such as their places of birth and current addresses. Needless to say, officials encountered resistance to this process by those whose illicit activities prompted them to elude state surveillance and by forgers who sought to frustrate the process of identification with false documents. The state's response was to employ the police to conduct increasingly thorough checks of identification paperwork and to verify personal data like that supplied by military enlistees. At the same time, thanks to developments in paper and ink and state agents' employment of special document stamps, identity fraud became increasingly difficult.

This rich work, the outgrowth of a *thèse* that received the Albert Mathiez Prize of the Société des Études Robespierristes, is a most welcome contribution to our understanding of the history of modern France.

JULIUS R. RUFF
Marquette University

VIVIAN R. GRUDER. *The Notables and the Nation: The Political Schooling of the French, 1787–1788*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 157.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 495. \$59.95.

It takes a certain boldness now to write a book on the origins of the French Revolution, one of the most thoroughly covered topics in history. Vivian R. Gruder approaches the subject by looking exclusively at the period from the convening of the first Assembly of Notables in February 1787 through the end of 1788 and the debates over how the Estates General should meet, but while tightly focused chronologically her book is remarkably broad in its approach to politics in that period. It succeeds admirably in describing the groundswell of political contestation that derailed the crown's efforts to solve its budget crisis, but it is perhaps less successful in the admittedly harder task of resolving the old debate between adherents of a "social interpretation" that privileges class struggle and revisionists who have portrayed the revolution as a more strictly political event. Gruder may also be correct to say that the revolution began by 1787, although it is probably impossible to remove the landmark date of 1789 from people's minds.

Although retelling a very familiar tale, Gruder does so thoroughly and clearly, showing how disgruntled elites gathering in an Assembly of Notables that was summoned to solve a budget crisis unintentionally started a revolution by making arguments that undermined not only absolutism but royal authority itself. The book traces the process by which opposition snowballed, as elites recently linked to the crown through patronage and traditional loyalties became emboldened in each other's company, posing universalist claims soon repeated and extended by their social inferiors. Gruder portrays the spread of contestation to the bourgeoisie and peasantry, describing in detail the pathways of communication, from French and foreign newspapers, handwritten newsheets, and pamphlets to expressions of dissent in everything from festivals, theater, and music to community assemblies held to address the crisis. By 1788, she shows, the commoners of the Third Estate were developing a sense of shared identity and resolve, threatening the whole concept of a society of orders and challenging the leadership of the opposition by nobles who claimed to speak for the nation.

Although largely a work of synthesis—almost inevitably given the voluminous existing literature on the topic—Gruder's book nonetheless rests on a truly impressive amount of research in primary sources, reflected in the 786 endnotes. This massive research effort involves some reinventing of the wheel, as its conclusions mostly restate what monographs on topics such as newsheets (Arlette Farge), scandal-mongering legal briefs (Sarah Maza), and festivals (Mona Ozouf) have told us without much discussion of their arguments, and the scholar most often contradicted is nineteenth-century writer Alexis de Tocqueville. The book's strength is thus its breadth rather than its depth or the novelty of its findings, but it offers a useful summary of the growing discontent of the period. And although familiar, the portrait of elites challenging royal absolutism only to lose control to others wielding ideas they had trumpeted certainly identifies a crucial dynamic of the revolution.

As a study of public opinion, the book does not so much challenge or develop as it ignores the methodological and theoretical insights of Jürgen Habermas and Keith Baker, who are mentioned only in passing. The result is a traditional approach to the study of public opinion that describes the content of political expression and the means of its expression adeptly but at times treats public opinion as an actor with a consciousness and will of its own; Gruder writes, for example, that "public opinion was surprised to learn" of findings about the Estates General of 1614 (p. 64). In stating her intention "to explore public opinion as a concrete political and social body," she in effect rejects Baker's notion of public opinion as a novel rhetorical and political construct (p. 6). If conventional, though, the description is skillful, thorough, and informative, and certainly serves as a fine introduction to the topic. Also, by linking political expression to speakers' material interests,

it addresses complaints that the revisionists' studies of political culture and public opinion have ignored socioeconomic realities.

Gruder's argument that the French Revolution began in 1787 is among the book's most noteworthy contributions, although particularly in the absence of any definition of a revolution, the book cannot quite establish whether France had already embarked on a revolutionary path by 1788 or simply a process of significant political reform. Moreover, some of the changes Gruder outlines, such as the rise of claims of national sovereignty, arose long before 1787, so perhaps a bit too much is made of this two-year period. The book does make the excellent and often underemphasized point that the return of peace and internal security to France undermined absolutism's reason for being by the late 1780s. Though the book may primarily serve those less familiar with the literature on Enlightenment France and the origins of the revolution, it remains a valuable depiction of the path France took to revolution.

JON COWANS
Rutgers University,
Newark

AMALIA D. KESSLER. *Revolution in Commerce: The Parisian Merchant Court and the Rise of Commercial Society in Eighteenth-Century France*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 391. \$55.00.

The scale and scope of the transformations produced by the French Revolution have long been a subject of debate. Amalia D. Kessler's book presents a new and fascinating approach to the subject by means of a history of the Parisian merchant court (*jurisdiction consulaire*) between roughly 1673, the date of Jean-Baptiste Colbert's commercial ordinance, and 1791, when the court itself was given the new name of commercial tribunal (*tribunal de commerce*). As this rather anodyne name change suggests, what made the history of this particular institution unusual was the fact that, unlike almost all the other judicial institutions of the old French monarchy, the court in question was not abolished during the revolution but remained in existence into the nineteenth century and beyond. And, as it had done in the eighteenth century, it continued to settle an impressively large number of commercial disputes by way of arbitration or summary ruling, routinely dealing with two or three hundred cases a day when it was in session.

Part of Kessler's brief is to explain why this continuity occurred. Two possible explanations can be suggested. According to one, the court's survival could be taken to be an indication of the limited importance of commercial subjects in French economic and institutional arrangements. Given, according to this view, the huge weight of anti-commercial prejudice bound up with France's feudal, Catholic, and royal pasts, it is not surprising that a court established to deal with such peripheral concerns should have escaped the broader process of transformation. Trade, and trade-related legal disputes, simply did not have a high enough profile in

France to matter. According to another explanation, however, something like the opposite might have been the case. Here, trade and trade-related legal disputes were so deeply entrenched within the old French monarchy that their existence could be taken almost entirely for granted. From this perspective, preserving the Parisian merchant court was no more than an acknowledgement of an established feature of economic and institutional arrangements.

The aim of Kessler's absorbing monograph is to bypass both these putative explanations. As she presents it, the survival of the Parisian merchant court was connected to a broader re-evaluation of commerce, specifically to an increasingly widespread eighteenth-century recognition of commerce as an economic, social, and political function in its own right, rather than the name used simply to refer to what merchants, bankers, and other types of traders actually did. In this sense, the survival of the institution had nothing to do with commercial or anti-commercial continuity but was, instead, the effect of a real discontinuity produced by the interaction between commerce and the law. As Kessler shows, this discontinuity was not simply a product of the theoretical or conceptual changes involved in distinguishing commerce from police. It also occurred because of real changes in eighteenth-century commercial practice, involving the emergence of more complex forms of business partnership, the growing use of negotiable commercial paper, and parallel changes in the forms and functions of these financial instruments as they came to be used in the more elaborate ways of buying and selling credit associated with insurance policies, traded options, or even short selling. Not the least of the merits of this book is the impressive amount of archival research involved in the detailed reconstructions of the arguments and rulings underlying these changes. They reveal the sharper analytical distinctions that came to be made either to justify the status, composition, or procedures of the merchant court, or to highlight the broader advantages of specialized courts with specialized jurisdictions over commercial activities, or, finally, to analyze commerce as a specific set of activities with arrangements, resources, and causal properties of its own. Kessler's reconstruction of the interplay between changes in commercial practice, in the workings of the Parisian merchant court, and in the various ways in which both mercantile and institutional behavior came to be written about in more abstractly theoretical terms is an exemplary blend of commercial, institutional, and intellectual history.

The combination of practical, legal, and theoretical differentiation that Kessler has described goes well with the recent historiographical emphasis on the more dynamic aspects of French trade and industry in the eighteenth century. It is less clear, however, whether the process had quite as much bearing on the French Revolution as Kessler (here aligning her work with that of David Bien and Gail Bossenga) is prepared to claim because the causes of the first could simply have unfolded independently of the causes of the second. In a

sense, the very qualities that make Kessler's book so interesting serve to illustrate this point.

MICHAEL SONENSCHER
King's College,
University of Cambridge

MICHAEL SONENSCHER. *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth-Century Emblem in the French Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 493. \$45.00.

What was a *sans-culotte*? Michael Sonenscher's book reminds us that, before the phrase was used to refer to the popular revolutionaries of Paris, it had been used to designate a writer without a patron. The coinage derived from ironic jokes about Madame de Tencin's custom of presenting the wits that attended her salon with velvet breeches on New Year's Day. Properly attired, literary men were fit to take part in civilized salon culture, and to feel superior to the rabble of ill-dressed hacks. By inversion, the writers who wore long trousers, or in some accounts the *bracca* of the free Gauls, became the virtuous *sans-culottes*, uncorrupted by the servile manners of the old regime, and not clad in its demeaning costume, or even livery. The old jokes about trousers illuminate why Jacques-Pierre Brissot and his friends formed the first *sans-culotte* ministry in 1792, although they were not aligned with the Parisian radicals. The complex joke illuminates the extent to which events of the French Revolution cannot be understood without being aware of the political debates of the preceding hundred years. The book develops Sonenscher's account of late eighteenth-century French political theory as a series of replies to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's pessimism about the compatibility of liberty and sophisticated civility. It is consequently also a revived political history of the revolution, articulated around the languages of politics.

Sonenscher argues that the context for this political speculation was the loss of the authority of Christian accounts of politics and morality and the subsequent search in the classical tradition for alternative and more compelling accounts of justice. The *sans-culotte* tradition was one such recovery. They were the modern version of the Cynics, followers of Diogenes, "using ridicule and satire to expose what they took to be vice in all its forms" (p. 108). Sonenscher is an unmatched guide to the complexities and nuances of late-eighteenth-century political writing out of which the figure of the *sans-culotte* emerged. Close attention to his text will be repaid with a deepened awareness of the variety and power of the political writing in circulation in the late monarchy. He succeeds completely in establishing that political life was in most respects richer and more full of nuance than we might imagine. Two sections are particularly interesting and original. Sonenscher illuminates the extent to which the origins of language were imagined as forms of dance and music, and how these ideas structured projects for the construction of new forms of society. Democratic sentimentalism relied on the somatic language of the dance as an image of direct,

common participation in the creation of public life. The debate between the followers of Christoph Willibald Gluck and Nicola Piccini took place on this terrain. Sonenscher also gives the fullest account yet of the diffusion of François Fénelon's thought. He uncovers a world of hybrids of Fénelonian sentimentalism with Rousseauian critique. These included a series of accounts of the origins of private property, the family, and law that deployed the passions and the imagination in ways that go beyond the canonical history of political economy. There are also some suggestive hints at how this work of speculation abutted onto the more well-known areas of natural philosophy, medical vitalism, and the life sciences. All of this work helps us to understand what was politically imaginable in late eighteenth-century France.

This book is most easily located in historiography through its silences. Robert Darnton's social history of the marginal political writer is mentioned twice and Albert Soboul's account of the social history of the *sans-culottes* passes without any comment. Questions of meaning and of the possibilities of the political imagination are at the center of this book. Ideas about agency or outcomes are less emphasised, although there are hints and indications at various points. The space given to Louis-Sébastien Mercier's musings on the possibilities of civil war as a political option if a "revolution," by which he meant a thorough-going reform at the behest of the monarch, did not occur is very important. Mercier articulated the common assumption that the impediment to such a revolution would be *rentiers*, the elite who might have to be driven to reform. This theme is picked up later in the book in the analysis of Antoine Joseph Gorsas's campaign to generalize the *sans-culotte* as the antithesis to the *aristocrate* in his literary attacks on the *Feuillants* in 1792. Just what to do with these fragments is not clear. The categories of explanation of "an assortment of nineteenth-century philosophies of history" (p. 362) are explicitly rejected, as is the concept of "culture"; however, the sufficiency of the categories of explanation found in eighteenth-century political theory is assumed rather than made.

JAMES LIVESEY
University of Sussex

LAURA LEVINE FRADER. *Breadwinners and Citizens: Gender in the Making of the French Social Model*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 347. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

The title and subtitle of Laura Levine Frader's latest book encapsulate its argument. First, and rather too briefly, Frader extends T. H. Marshall's influential definition of citizenship as having political, civil, and social rights by including economic rights "understood as the right to work at the occupation of one's choice and as the right to economic independence" (p. 6). She then reassesses, and rejects, the familiar notion that French labor, employers, and the state gave little support to the male breadwinner in the two decades after World War

I (and, in an epilogue, after World War II). Here the book draws upon historical studies of French and American social models but might have benefitted by comparisons to gender-sensitive studies of the making of the Scandinavian welfare states, where economic citizenship and alternatives to male breadwinner models are more fully and critically explored. Still, by systematically and persuasively analyzing the discourse about women workers in labor congresses, in the studies of important industrial hygienists, and in the labor, wage, and benefits provisions of major employers and the state, Frader demonstrates how postwar reconstruction, informed by anxieties about depopulation, refined rather than eradicated gender stratification in the labor force, even as the number of women workers remained high and women continued to move into new jobs. Equally originally, she indicates how ideas of race, which incorporated ideas of nationality, intersected with gender assumptions and informed inequalities in the French labor force and the French social model.

This book skillfully blends standard economic and labor history sources and methods (citing and parsing copious statistics about Frenchwomen's variable labor force participation by economic sector and about their wage levels during industrial restructuring following World War I) with a critical cultural studies approach to French assumptions about gender, family, and population. Such an approach gives meaning to the statistics and makes sense of the scores of policies for private and public employment and for wage enhancement that were introduced in the interwar decades. In the economic and statistical sections of the book, Frader relies heavily on secondary literature. Her own archival research is central to the sections of the book on industrial hygiene and recurring discussions in labor federations and labor congresses about the child and family benefits that cumulatively began to overshadow wages based on individual efforts.

The most original chapter introduces the work of industrial hygienists and demonstrates how their scientific studies reflected and legitimated racial and gender discrimination in the workplace. The infiltration of industrial hygiene into job descriptions, the proliferation of new fields of study such as the classification of physical and psychological characteristics required in many jobs, and the development of aptitude tests, as well as the spread of vocational guidance are causally linked to rationalizing—she does not but might have called it modernizing—gender and racial assignments to jobs. Frader's other contributions to the field consist of showing how large employers, moderate and radical labor federations, and governments of all political hues (including the left-wing Popular Front in the mid 1930s) perpetuated gender-specific jobs by defining new jobs created in the course of industrial rationalization along the lines of largely unexamined assumptions about women's and men's innate skills. These groups established new apprenticeship and training programs for new and old jobs based on the same gendered, racial, and ethnocentric shibboleths, and by wage supplements

that both directly and indirectly favored the male breadwinner over women workers.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of this book is how it connects well-known cultural anxieties about depopulation to employer and governmental interest in promoting not just motherhood but "generative masculinity" for labor stability and national security reasons. Frader demonstrates how this agenda led to private and public policies to encourage births, large families, more intensive mothering, and fathers as heads of families through a multitude of birth, child, and family bonuses. This line of argument offers a compellingly revisionist view of French labor and wage politics, despite the oft-cited facts that most employers continued to employ married women through the Great Depression, that the radical labor federation formally supported equal work and equal pay, and that some bonuses were paid to mothers—all of which has, until now, been interpreted as a more egalitarian approach to women's work in France. From now on, French gender, labor, and social historians will have to take Frader's subtle reading of the gendering of the labor market into account.

MARY LYNN STEWART
Simon Fraser University

MARY LYNN STEWART. *Dressing Modern Frenchwomen: Marketing Haute Couture, 1919–1939*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 305. \$55.00.

Earlier generations of historians largely ignored twentieth-century fashion, while journalists were all too ready to leap into the breach with glossy designer monographs. In the last two decades, however, a range of scholarly works on the subject have begun to appear, and it is to this body of work that Mary Lynn Stewart contributes with her book on fashion marketing in the interwar years. In ten clear, focused chapters, Stewart maps out all aspects of the interwar French haute couture trade, from its production to its marketing and dissemination to middle-class French women. Scholarly and deeply empirical, the book's detail is wonderful, particularly as regards business and the workplace. Its focus on the economics of couture, and its exposition of how these impacted image and identity through fashion marketing, should convince even the most die-hard cynic of the importance of fashion to economic and labor history, as well as to the histories of design, consumption, and identity.

The book thus makes a contribution to several histories, not least the history of fashion itself. It is most successful when it uses its micro-focus to undo received wisdom, such as the idea that female consumers were the passive dupes of fashion designers who simply imposed their will on them. In the final three chapters Stewart more directly addresses the questions of gender, identity, class, and modernity sketched in the introduction. Chapter nine provides an interesting response to, and extension of, Mary Louise Roberts's *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in*

Postwar France, 1917–1927 (Chicago, 1994). Where Roberts looked at the despairing responses of moralists and commentators to fashion change after the war, Stewart looks at the attitudes of the producers and consumers of fashion, and its journalistic discourse, to understand what the new styles meant to the middle-class Frenchwomen who wore them. The result is a more complex and contradictory picture than fashion's detractors would have had it.

Elsewhere in the book, Stewart proposes her own, useful concept of "hybrid modernity," borrowing the term hybridity from postcolonial theorists to modify iterations of Baudelairean modernity, in particular David Frisby (see his *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin* [1986]). Stewart argues that fashion itself is a "hybrid subject" in which production, consumption, and marketing overlap, just as haute couture overlapped with the ready-to-wear and textiles industries in the period she studies. Sometimes "hybrid modernity" simply signifies the visual style of a kind of pared down modernism; at other times it serves as a metaphor for the contingency and complexity of everyday life. The concept allows Stewart to show how the nuances of bourgeois women's life in interwar France undercut any simple characterisations or classifications of the New Woman.

The sources Stewart draws on are printed ones. She systematically trawls through twenty years of twelve illustrated magazines that addressed a range of fashion consumers from the elite to the middle market, as well as looking at fiction and department store catalogues. She limits her coverage to day dresses and suits, and their underwear and accessories. There is no object-based research, and one can only speculate as to whether some hands-on archival research into the material culture of fashion in this period, in the form of surviving dress, would have produced a different analysis, or suggested different research questions or interpretations. The research method depends on a great deal of counting, in the form of statistical analysis, a simple but effective tool that more fashion historians could benefit from using. The result of this methodical approach is that a huge amount of data is adduced, and chapters can sometimes seem survey-like: full of useful information for the fashion historian, the detail can sometimes eclipse the central themes of gender, class, and identity that are the subject matter of the book. Neither is it always clear how the theoretical underpinnings, sketched in the introduction but not all referred to again in the chapters, are actually applied. Stewart cites a range: Pierre Bourdieu's notions of field and distinction; Gilles Lipovetsky on nineteenth-century bourgeois individualism and fashion; Roland Barthes on the fashion magazine and its captions; and Judith Butler's writing on gender and performativity.

Yet the meticulous detail and referencing of all aspects of the Paris haute couture trade is also the book's great virtue. Strangely, for a work so well-grounded in research, there is no bibliography, which would have

rearranged the multifarious citations in the many footnotes into a more accessible alphabetical format. The book is minimally illustrated with fourteen black and white plates—a shame since much of Stewart's analysis is of printed images, especially magazine covers. Publishers please take note that books about fashion can be both brainy and beautiful. Stewart has unearthed much important material in this thorough book while bringing fashion one step closer to the center of the study of history.

CAROLINE EVANS
*University of the Arts London and
 Central Saint Martins College of Art and Design*

STEVEN ZDATNY. *Fashion, Work, and Politics in Modern France*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pp. xv, 325. \$69.95.

This history of hairdressing offers both fascinating anecdotes and a serious rethinking of culture, labor, business, and politics in modern France. Steven Zdatny has culled from several series in the French National Archives in Paris, along with labor, police, business, and professional archives in France and innumerable periodicals, to reconstruct the fortunes and failures of French hairdressers from the late nineteenth century through the 1960s. The chapters alternate among changes in fashion, developments in the labor movement and professional associations, and interactions between the state and representative organizations of hairdressers.

Perhaps the most significant and enduring change in hairdressing occurred at the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century when cutting and styling women's hair became more important than barbering. Hitherto, shaving the faces and cutting the hair of men had been the mainstay of hairdressers, but with the onset of mass consumerism, new technologies and products in hair-styling (the Marcel wave, shampoo), and increased availability of hot water for washing, women began gradually to seek the services of hairdressers in salons rather than tending to their hair in the home (or having a maid dress her mistress's hair).

Hairdressing enjoyed a boost with the "bob" of the World War I era, despite hairdressers' fears that short hair for women would decrease demand for professional styling. To the contrary, the desire to be fashionable and modern drew more women into the "public sphere" of salons. Zdatny emphasizes that the Depression and other periods of scarce disposable income were far more detrimental to hairdressing than were style changes.

While the customer base, (feminine) hair styles, and technologies of hairdressing fluctuated throughout the twentieth century, basic working conditions were remarkably, and often depressingly, consistent. Zdatny makes clear that hairdressing was typical of petty entrepreneurship, a mainstay of the French economy and society. Shop or salon owners worked as hard as and earned little more than their employees, if they even

had employees. In general, hairdressing entailed long hours and low pay, and throughout the twentieth century, professional associations and labor unions tried to address these problems in a variety of ways but with limited success. Zdatny notes a persistent irony that the owners of large salons (usually in Paris) who vilified labor activists and their demands for shorter hours and better wages were in fact the first to accommodate them, in contrast to the vast majority of small proprietors who could not afford to do so.

The Popular Front tried to improve the condition of workers, including those in hairdressing, but was unable to intervene effectively on behalf of small proprietors and therefore only marginally able to change the situation for the majority in the trade. While World War II prompted ingenuity on the part of hairdressers—for example, generating electricity with two bicyclists or seating customers in the sun to dry their hair during power outages—the trade did not substantially change. The Vichy government was, according to Zdatny, no more successful than the Third Republic in addressing economic problems generally and the hardships of hairdressers in particular. Nonetheless, Zdatny challenges assertions that Vichy was anti-labor. He also shows that despite laws to Aryanize the profession and other Pétainist efforts, hairdressers of all political persuasions more or less accommodated the new regime, and vice versa. The immediate postwar years were difficult, as demand for hairdressing was low and unemployment among hairdressers was high, but with recovery came increased demand, cultivated by women's magazines, emphasis on personal hygiene, and, in the 1960s, youth culture. In response to competition from home permanents and hair coloring, salons offered more beauty services and products, including manicures, pedicures, and facials, achieving stable and decent working conditions that had eluded hairdressers for much of the twentieth century.

This brief summary does not do justice to Zdatny's carefully researched and engaging account of hairdressers in their various guises of style impresarios, technological innovators, enterprising businessmen (and most were men), and labor advocates. An occasional comparison or contrast with other petty enterprises and trades—cafés, dry cleaners, bakers—might help contextualize both the uniqueness and the representativeness of the hairdressers' trajectory and lend support to Zdatny's alternative interpretations of labor, business, and political histories. Zdatny also raises questions about the importance of fashion as a marker of women's liberation in the modern era, and he asserts that changing hairstyles, which generated much public attention and a lot of ink in the hairdressing press, did not increase or diminish customer demand. For Zdatny the history of hairdressing is best understood through the evolution and vagaries of mass consumption. The reason hairdressers' conditions gradually improved over the past century was due less to repeated efforts by owners' associations and labor unions to regulate hours and

wages and more to women's ability and willingness to buy hair salon products and services.

WHITNEY WALTON
Purdue University

STEVEN L. KAPLAN. *Le pain maudit: Retour sur la France des années oubliées 1945–1958*. Paris: Fayard. 2008. Pp. 1129. €39.00.

On August 17, 1951, doctors in Pont-Saint-Esprit, a Provençal town of some 4,000 inhabitants, received an unusually large number of patients complaining of stomach disorders. A week later, dozens of townspeople reported hallucinogenic experiences. Altogether, some 200 to 300 people were affected, over thirty hospitalized, and five deaths recorded in what was traced to *le pain maudit* (cursed or damned bread) sold in at least one of the local bakeries. No definitive explanation was ever produced.

Steven L. Kaplan, the author of several important books on the history of bread in France, sets out to explore all aspects of the 1951 Pont-Saint-Esprit incident. He succeeds in a magisterial work that situates the event in French history and in the larger evolution of bread as symbolic food. Virtually all involved—from state officials and appointed medical experts with their laboratories and universities, millers' and bakers' organizations, down to the individual baker who sold the contaminated bread—had political or personal interests to promote. Long viewed as dishonest and, in literature from Geoffrey Chaucer to J. M. W. von Goethe, oversexed (p. 101), millers struggled to maintain state marketplace protections that dated from Vichy *dirigisme* and professional corporatism against a growing clamor for liberalization that put them on the defensive (pp. 117, 921, 958). At a time of increasing affluence and a decreasing demand for bread, millers and bakers were caught between wanting more liberty to set prices and trade in the marketplace while also remaining protected by the state (pp. 278–279, 980). Doctors and other researchers struggled over the virtues of white as opposed to brown bread and disagreed about the causes of the Pont-Saint-Esprit outbreak and how to treat its victims (pp. 160, 1014, 1057).

Several explanations were offered as court cases and investigations followed one another over the years. The first suspect was ergot, a fungus that grows on the rye that was often mixed with wheat flour to bake bread in France. Because LSD is made from alkaloids in ergot, some in the press later sensationalized the Pont-Saint-Esprit event (pp. 428, 443–444, 530, 579, 695). A second suggested cause was accidental contamination by an alkyl mercury fungicide used to protect seed grain, although this, too, was never established (pp. 619, 651, 671). Agents used to whiten bread to meet the growing French taste for white as opposed to brown bread were blamed (pp. 719–720, 792–793), as was gasoline from nearby industries said to have leaked into the Pont-Saint-Esprit water supply (p. 759), and a variety of conspiracy theories emerged, some connected to the Cold

War fears of the early 1950s, as people tried to make sense of an episode that many wished to keep under wraps (pp. 770, 794–795, 1052). Kaplan refers to a government decision not to investigate the possible role of whitening agents as “scandalous” (p. 1062).

The Pont-Saint-Esprit event occurred as France, emerging from the privations of defeat and occupation in World War II, was on the verge of a sustained economic modernization, later known as *les trente glorieuses* (the thirty-year period from the 1944 Liberation through the 1973–1974 Middle Eastern oil embargo). Pont-Saint-Esprit, however, was a relatively poor town, reminiscent of Laurence Wylie's *Village in the Vaucluse* (1957). As in the era of Louis XIV, bread's centrality to daily life meant that it was too important to be left to the market. State regulation of the trade, however, aroused protest from the eighteenth century on. The conundrum was to maintain expensive wheat but cheap bread (pp. 57, 1039): as Kaplan writes, “The state owes its formation and legitimacy to its ability to take over control (relatively) of grains. It tries hard to moderate the tyranny that grains exert on society. This is in fact the meaning of the social contract that ties the bountiful prince to his subjects” (p. 88 [my translation], see also pp. 1009, 1076).

To provide bread for all in France, an elaborate system of state regulation governed the transfer of bread from regions that produced extra to those in need, such as the Pont-Saint-Esprit area. Bread sent to the deficit areas was often of inferior quality, creating interregional tension (pp. 74–75, 85, 462), an aspect of modern French history Kaplan sees as too infrequently studied (pp. 512–513). The period from the Liberation to General Charles de Gaulle's return to power in 1958 has been too little studied as well, according to Kaplan (p. 1072).

More a study of the millers and bakers than the farmers who grew the grain, this book is informed by extensive research in Parisian and provincial archives, the millers' and bakers' association records, trial accounts, and the press. Many participants and their descendants were interviewed. Historians interested in food culture, as well as political lobbying, beyond the Hexagon may read this book with profit. Hopefully, there will be an English translation, perhaps abridged for the non-specialist audience.

BERTRAM M. GORDON
Mills College

PAUL JANKOWSKI. *Shades of Indignation: Political Scandals in France, Past and Present*. (Berghahn Monographs in French Studies, number 8.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2008. Pp. 228. \$75.00.

Misdeeds rise to the level of “scandal” when they offend the public conscience and to “political scandal” when they threaten the basis of the state. In this book, Paul Jankowski argues that the perception of political scandal has changed over time in France and especially so in the last half century. The cause is, he insists, the in-

creased emphasis on individualism, thus diminishing deference to the nation.

Treason was once the ultimate crime, betraying not only the government and the people but the reality and the ideals of the state. The archetypal example for France was, of course, the Dreyfus Affair, when for half a decade in the late 1890s xenophobia and antisemitism ripped the fabric of society. Some twenty years after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the accusation that a Jewish captain in the French army had sold secrets to the Germans was a serious charge indeed. For Jankowski, such social rending is unimaginable in the present day: because France is enmeshed in the European Union and NATO, any betrayal is indirect. He cites the case of Army Commandant Pierre-Henri Bunel, who in 1998 revealed NATO bombing plans in Kosovo to the Yugoslavian enemy. Bunel's conviction attracted little attention, and he served a mere two years in prison.

By contrast, great public outcry now arises from cases involving "crimes against humanity," variously defined. The preoccupation since the 1980s with the Vichy years and collaboration has combined with revived conflict over the use of torture in Algeria. Accusations against René Bousquet, Maurice Papon, and Paul Aussaresses were a sensation. Their defense of having acted in the best interests of the state, even if true, has been rejected by the courts and public opinion alike in favor of condemnation for having betrayed a higher authority than the nation.

Attitudes toward "corruption"—meaning peculation and self-enrichment by government officials—have changed in a different fashion. Financial scandal plagued the Old Regime, the Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, the July Monarchy, the Second Republic, and the Second Empire. Jankowski argues that it is unfair to label the Third Republic as even worse, but the Wilson, Panama, Humbert, Banque Industrielle de Chine, Oustric, and Stavisky "affairs" persuade otherwise. During the Fourth Republic and the first decade and a half of the Fifth Republic, the incidence seemed to lessen, but scandals since under Presidents Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, François Mitterrand, and Jacques Chirac have become commonplace.

Beginning with the 1789 Revolution, every French regime has adopted the rhetoric of virtue, while their opponents have used the issue of "corruption" with good cause. In 1971, when he still could only hope to lead his leftist followers to victory, Mitterrand claimed, "A socialist society would not open the field to speculation, would not surrender it to the jungle of interest" (p. 90). Once, allegations of financial impropriety against a political leader were shocking, and the ministerial links to Serge Alexandre Stavisky in the early 1930s shook the Third Republic. Now, although public opinion polls suggest that the French have no faith in the honesty of their politicians, they reelected both Mitterrand and Chirac. As an explanation, Jankowski suggests both cynicism and equanimity. Decentralization, privatiza-

tion, and the ubiquity of money offer a greater range for corruption while lessening its impact.

Jankowski's third class of scandals, "injustice," balances between positive law and natural law. For long, the French state could be ferocious while imposing its justice against enemies. The police and their spies, the magistrates and their courts repressed the opposition, as in the *lois scélérates* (villainous laws) against anarchists. When they were insufficient, the recourse was to special procedure. Under the Third Republic, dangerous but popular men were hailed before the Senate, acting as the High Court, because juries might not comprehend the necessity to convict them. Vichy did so at Riom, as did the Liberation against collaborators. Popular opinion accepted, even when it did not applaud, the use of political justice as a tool of *raison d'état*.

Early in the Fifth Republic, this same popular opinion became less willing to accept the unexplained deaths of "inconvenient" men or the wiretapping of journalists by the security services. Courts and juries shifted away from strict interpretation of the law toward proportional justice. The "contaminated blood affair" of the 1980s and 1990s revealed a public eagerly bending justice to suit the needs of sympathetic victims.

As globalization and internationalization erode the boundaries of the nation state, individuals look to broader entities and ideals. Jankowski knows well that the most famous and disruptive scandals are *sui generis*. He has to sand off their rough edges to make them fit the argument, but he does effectively demonstrate that the changing perception of scandal in France derives from this fundamental shift in the relationship of the state to its citizens.

BENJAMIN F. MARTIN
Louisiana State University

DEREK PHILLIPS. *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2008. Pp. 264. €34.50.

The measurement of economic prosperity has become for the contemporary world almost as great an obsession as was the assessment of the state of one's soul for more religious generations. We take the pulse of our regional, national, and global economic health with dizzying frequency. Monthly, quarterly, and annual reports churn out estimates of the growth (or decline) of GDP, real wages, labor productivity, investment, and household savings. We measure our longevity, our morbidity, our literacy, our capital stock, our consumption, and our leisure time, all with a view to linking these markers to the economic status we deem so important. We even try to measure our happiness and are either disappointed or smugly reassured (depending on our ideological preferences) by the often large gaps between it and the economic prosperity so prized by our society at large. Derek Phillips's new book is a true reflection of this modern obsession. Yet it ultimately rejects the faith placed in the tools of aggregate quantification that have been at the core of the global

statistical project, the most visible manifestation of the obsession with prosperity.

The setting for Phillips's project of historical reconstruction of well-being is Amsterdam during its "Golden Age" in the seventeenth century. His central premise—that such an era need not have been equally glittering for all who lived through it—is an often overlooked point in works of broad synthesis; but while true, it is not a particularly original observation. The problem for the historian (or the sociologist or the economist, for that matter) is finding the best way to slice the population to most accurately identify those differential experiences. What we find depends critically on how we decide to search. The only accurate division is the one that evaluates well-being at the level of every individual, as every lived experience is by definition different from every other. But this is hardly a solution; broader group aggregations are necessary if we are to practically describe our world. But how do we know which category boundaries are the most salient? Is gender more important than citizenship, or social class? Or does economic inequality trump various other distinctions? Are the most determinant characteristics those we inherit at birth, or do constraints and opportunities vary over the life course? These are the questions that Phillips seeks to answer for his seventeenth-century subjects, assessing the differential quality of the lived experience for each relevant group. And this is a worthwhile goal, even if it might elude a complete solution.

Phillips takes it for granted that the kind of systematic quantitative data usually relied on by demographers, economists, and statisticians are scarce for historical populations. So his approach, he claims, will be different than that of the normative social sciences that address the same broad questions. He "casts his net wide" (p. 20) in search of evidence not normally considered for such a project, evaluating it for relevance to the five criteria he establishes for evaluating well-being. The broad categories of his survey are survival, access to economic resources, strong (or perhaps just stable) relationships with others, self-esteem, and autonomy. While few would argue with the importance of this list for modern Western notions of well-being, or with the fundamental nature of the first dimension, and perhaps even the second, there is a legitimate concern to be raised about the last three. Phillips asserts, for example, that "autonomy is a . . . dimension of well-being that everyone cares about" (p. 19). But it seems to this reviewer that this is a value deeply embedded in a cultural context. Although Phillips acknowledges that it is virtually impossible to tap into the emotional lives of those long dead, he nonetheless does not hesitate to assume that the attributes that contribute to modern psychological health have been constant for all time. His primary goal, which he states is "to remind readers of the extraordinary sameness of human beings throughout the ages" (p. 23), rests on a fundamentally tautological framework. Surely we cannot demonstrate the continuity of human experience if we must also assume sameness in order to evaluate the evidence.

Putting this concern about logical framing aside, however, the book nevertheless offers a valuable contribution to a more nuanced understanding of Amsterdam's Golden Age. Regardless of how we evaluate the relative merits of the different attributes of the good life, it is a real service to have pulled together in one place such an exhaustive collection of sources for the study of well-being, especially as Phillips is so careful to highlight whenever possible the experiences of different groups living at the same time. Thus, his evidence speaks to the varied experiences of men and women, rich, poor, and in-between, citizens and transient migrants, the young, the old, and those in the prime of adulthood. All of this offers a richer texture and wider range of hues to a palette that has too often been limited by the broad strokes evoked by the term "Golden Age."

ANNE E. C. McCANTS

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

JAMES E. BJORK. *Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 290. \$75.00.

The scholarly study of nationalism has been dominated for decades by the "modernist" paradigm. As societies have modernized, the argument runs, traditional modes of social ordering inexorably have given way to the novel construct of the nation. In this case study of Upper Silesia from the end of the *Kulturkampf* to the early 1920s, James E. Bjork puts the modernist paradigm to the test and finds it wanting. Located on the eastern edge of the German Empire, Upper Silesia was subject to modernizing pressures that, according to Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, and others, should have transformed its population into reliable German nationals. This did not happen. While some Upper Silesians came to identify as Germans, others were drawn to Polish nationalism, and many vacillated somewhere in between. Bjork offers a chronological account of these evolving patterns of identity, focusing in particular on the capacity of religion in this intensely Catholic region to "complicate the process of national polarization" (p. 7).

Bjork begins by describing the effects of the *Kulturkampf* in Upper Silesia, when memories of state persecution reinforced a high degree of Catholic solidarity and facilitated the Center Party's dominance at the ballot box. That dynamic began breaking down in the 1890s as Polish activists like Adam Napieralski combined economic populism with appeals to Catholic and Polish identity in an effective challenge to the influence of Center Party leaders in Breslau.

Ethnic and economic fissures among Catholics widened notably in the years 1898–1907. Bjork describes how a more aggressive generation of Polish leaders like Wojciech Korfanty rallied the Polish-speaking working classes to vote for pro-Polish candidates at the polls.

Many German-oriented Catholics responded by supporting German nationalist parties. The Center Party, which emphasized confessional concerns and downplayed ethnic differences, lost ground.

Ethnic polarization subsided in the years following the 1907 elections. The Center Party regained some of its former political dominance at the expense of overtly nationalist parties. Bjork attributes this development to the success of Catholic initiatives to "reassert the primacy of confession" (p. 161) in identity formation, the repressive policies of the Bülow Bloc, and the capacity of competing Polish and German nationalist movements to cancel each other out and increase the ranks of the "nationally uncertain" (p. 172).

The Great War led to further shifts in identity. While many Upper Silesians initially rallied around the German cause, the unrelenting demand for sacrifice led to growing discontent. When the German state finally collapsed, the fate of Upper Silesia was drawn into question as never before. Some called for linking the region with a resurrected Poland, while others dreamed of Upper Silesia becoming an autonomous country.

To help determine whether Upper Silesia should be united with Germany or Poland, Allied leaders organized a local plebiscite. Partisans of the Polish and German causes campaigned vigorously to win over the nationally ambivalent. While a majority ultimately voted to remain with Germany, Upper Silesians were divided and conflicted on the issue. Bjork underscores how non-national understandings of community coexisted with national ones deep into the modern era, thanks in no small part to the influence of the church.

Written with confidence and dash, Bjork's work is both entertaining and remarkably erudite. He blends sympathy for his subjects with incisive analysis of their actions into an account that is rich in nuance, pathos, and irony. While accessible to a wide audience, non-specialists would have benefited from more background information concerning Upper Silesia and better maps.

Bjork displays a solid command of the scholarly literature related to his project and draws on an impressive array of archival materials and newspapers. His decision to concentrate on one small segment of the region—the deanery of Myslowitz—lends texture to his argument, but the deanery is hardly representative of the region as a whole. The analysis of soundings from multiple locations, including the more pro-German left bank, would have supplied a welcome balance. Still, the trenchant analysis he brings to his data yields many fresh conclusions. This valuable study fills a significant void in the English-language literature on Upper Silesia and deserves careful consideration from Polish and German scholars working in the field.

Bjork succeeds in complicating reigning assumptions about nationalism by offering ample evidence of national indifference and the enduring relevance of religion in one corner of modern Europe. Historians of nationalism would be well advised to remember that border regions have not necessarily behaved like core territories and that religion has retained the capacity to

shape social identity in powerful ways. But Bjork also oversells his argument by not fully acknowledging the impressive results of state-sponsored efforts to germanize the region up to 1945. Had this process not been derailed by Germany's successive defeats in the world wars, I suspect Upper Silesia would have conformed nicely, albeit belatedly, to the modernist paradigm.

ROBERT E. ALVIS

Saint Meinrad School of Theology

ROBERT J. RICHARDS. *The Tragic Sense of Life: Ernst Haeckel and the Struggle over Evolutionary Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 551. \$39.00.

Among the many mavericks in German academia who intellectually shaped Germany's transition from a pre-nation-state assembly of territories into an expansionist empire, Ernst Haeckel certainly figures very prominently. Those intellectuals present interesting examples of how science and politics became intertwined in the course of the nineteenth century. Haeckel has been recognized for many of his activities in both the sciences and politics, but he has probably been best remembered as the popularizer of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory in Germany. Thus Robert J. Richards's biography of Haeckel fits nicely into the general trend during this "Darwin year" of publications that deal not only with Darwin but also with his impact throughout the world. But the book does more than reflect on the adamant propagandist of evolution. In fact, this work tries to capture all of the ramifications of Haeckel's professional and private life in order to rehabilitate him as a serious figure in German academic life, not merely the precursor of Nazi ideology as some authors have suggested in the past. As indicated by the title, which echoes Miguel de Unamuno's *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* (1913), Richards's vantage point to understand Haeckel's work is to interpret him as a "tragic" figure—a split soul torn between modern science and the constant quasi-religious quest for transcendence.

Richards leads the reader through Haeckel's life in eleven chronologically ordered chapters and two appendixes. One appendix deals with eminent figures in the field of biological morphology, because biological forms were Haeckel's own scientific approach to the analysis of the living world; the second appendix discusses interpretations of Haeckel's work that have linked it to Nazi biologism. The account of Haeckel's professional and private life is very detailed, and it pulls the reader into the universe of German life sciences and also into the peculiar world of late-nineteenth-century German academia. Richards stresses Haeckel's many scientific achievements and the numerous intellectual and political controversies he instigated. Certainly one of the best parts of the book deals with Haeckel as an artist. Perhaps the connection Haeckel established between the morphological characteristics of the living world and its aesthetic representation remains his most

original and pertinent contribution in both the sciences and the arts.

Despite its many achievements in portraying such a complex and rich life, the book nevertheless has quite a few problems. Though not openly hagiographic in outlook, Richards sums up Haeckel's importance as being "undeniably, a scientific and even artistic genius" (p. 439). Such qualifications—and the heuristic perspectives behind them—do not permit the best use of biography as a historical method. This becomes all the more evident in parts of the book that read in essence as an effort to rescue Haeckel's scientific work from misinterpretations, in particular with regard to Nazi biologism. Though Richards contextualizes events and developments in Haeckel's life in their broader historical settings, he fails to develop a sense of Haeckel's politics. Haeckel was a staunch biologist who interpreted the world through the lenses of the life sciences with all the known consequences of such an approach. In this regard he was at the forefront of the German bourgeoisie, who revered biology as *the* key to better understanding the dynamics of society and to acting upon that knowledge for the "betterment" of the social body. Richards's book is a step behind many works published over the past three decades or so that have painstakingly tried to capture the complexity of biological thinking in imperial Germany and its potential links to Nazi biologism.

It is further surprising that Nazi biologism serves as the only major point of historical reference in the book. Haeckel's endeavor to develop a highly ambivalent, semi-materialistic, non-Marxist philosophy called "monism" in order to overcome any kind of dualism between bodies and souls should have been more fully explored. Richards seems to be reluctant to do so, despite the fact that such an exploration would have brought Haeckel into the midst of current discussions on such compelling matters as the relationship between science and religion or questions related to the philosophy of mind. In these fields Haeckel's philosophy and politics would add important historical perspectives and perhaps show that the sciences have long been political, a nexus that cannot be easily disentangled. As a thorough study of Haeckel's life, this book will be a valuable resource to scholars in the history of the life sciences in general and the history of evolutionary thought in particular. But Haeckel's life and work also serve as a reminder that it is not possible to save the sciences without accepting the politics they imply.

PASCAL GROSSE

University of Michigan and Charité

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN. *Streikgeschichten: Die Augsburger Textilarbeiterstreiks 1868–1934*. (Studien zur Geschichte des bayerischen Schwaben, number 38.) Augsburg: Wissner. 2008. Pp. xii, 332. €24.80.

Basing his account on a diligent examination of state and local archives and newspaper reports, Claus-Peter Clasen offers his readers a detailed chronicle of strikes

by Augsburg textile workers between 1868 and 1934. Most of the activity he describes was clustered in 1868–1870, 1882–1883, 1903–1912, and 1919–1924. Developments during less strike-prone years receive limited attention. Clasen seeks to fill narrative gaps in earlier accounts of individual strikes and recapture the drama of these clashes. As far as his sources allow, he attempts to present a balanced account, weighing the competing concerns of both employers and employees. He regretfully notes, however, that he found sources inadequate for an in-depth probe of the thoughts and experiences of ordinary workers or for relating how strikes, once initiated, were organized and conducted.

Clasen presents his narrative neither as a challenge to the work of other scholars nor as a model for rethinking our approach to labor history. He offers little in the way of an introduction to his study. About Augsburg and its inhabitants he provides scant information. He leaves his readers to draw on local histories, the most relevant of which he lists in his forward, for political, social, economic, and cultural background. Concerning business cycles and developments beyond Augsburg, Clasen has even less to say. He resists suggesting to any great extent how his findings fit within the broader context of scholarly literature on German workers and their collective struggles for more equitable treatment. His bibliography of secondary sources is narrowly focused and limited to works in German.

Following a brief survey of the number and size of Augsburg's pre-World War I textile firms, Clasen plunges immediately into a strike-by-strike account, beginning with clashes of the mid-1860s and concluding with a one-day strike in 1934 launched in spite of National Socialist prohibition. The author offers as complete a description of each strike, large or small, as his evidence allows. For some strikes, especially the earliest, Clasen is able to do little more than note that a workplace confrontation was mentioned in the sources consulted. Later strikes, especially those that took place in the turbulent aftermath of World War I, he describes at considerable length. As evidence permits, he reports for each strike the number of participants (male and female), the strikers' demands (with emphasis on wage issues), management's response, and the duration and outcome of the confrontation. Two appendixes summarize this information in tabular form. Most interesting are Clasen's accounts, gathered from newspaper and police reports, of workplace incidents initiating open conflict between workers and their supervisors, along with summaries of speeches and proclamations made during strike meetings and demonstrations.

Clasen gives only limited consideration to the organizations representing the opposing interests of employers and workers in Augsburg's textile industry. Before World War I, south German cotton manufacturers numbered among the empire's determined opponents of union recognition and collective bargaining. More often than not, the strikes Clasen describes were wildcat walkouts, undertaken without union sanction, although union support in the form of financial contri-

butions or provision of spokesmen might follow. Before World War I, Augsburg's organized textile workers were divided among the social democratic Deutscher Textilarbeiter Verband, the Catholic Verband Christlicher Textilarbeiter, the liberal Gewerkverein der Textilarbeiter Hirsch-Duncker, and employer-sponsored yellow unions. After the war, communists joined the mix. Given the location of biconfessional Augsburg within predominantly Catholic Bavaria, Clasen might profitably have paid more attention to religion and its role in the city's labor relations. The role of women, notable for their large—at times majority—share of the textile workforce and strike participation, also deserves more attention.

In the final three paragraphs of his conclusion, Clasen raises two important questions to which he gives only the briefest of answers. What, he asks, was the significance of the Augsburg textile strikes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Unlike many authors who seek to inflate the importance of their chosen subjects, Clasen concludes modestly that the strikes he examined had only a local, transitory impact, lacking substantial reverberations at the state or national level. He then asks whether the job actions in question were instrumental in improving the living standards of the strikers. In answer, he points to the post-World War I achievement of union recognition and collective bargaining agreements, citing this as evidence that in the long run only sustained union organizational efforts paid significant dividends for the workers.

Given its combination of diligent research and limited ambitions, Clasen's volume will likely be of interest primarily to specialists investigating the particular region and industry covered.

ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER
Northern Illinois University

CORNELIE USBORNE. *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany*. (Monographs in German History, number 17.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2007. Pp. xii, 284. \$90.00.

When it came to abortion, as so much else, the Weimar Republic combined striking modernity with notable traditionalism. In this companion volume to her book *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties* (1992), Cornelia Usborne explores the proposition from a cultural standpoint. The book leaves aside not only the politics of abortion but also cultures of anti-abortion. It examines tensions, inconsistencies, and differences among individuals and social groups who in practice and/or position adopted a liberal or at least pragmatic approach to the regulation of abortion. The book defines "cultures of abortion" broadly to include representations of abortion in film and fiction, on the one hand, and the everyday practice and experience of abortion and state repression of it, on the other. Most unusual is the book's detailed qualitative consideration of cultures of abortion "on the ground," including medical practitioners, lay practitioners, and their working-class and agrarian clients.

Elements of modernity and tradition, science and custom, nonconformity and conventionality coexisted, Usborne argues, within each type of abortion culture, whether literary or anthropological, and at all levels of practice and understanding, whether professional or lay, practitioner or client. In film and fiction, for example, the representation of abortion and sexual mores was "modern" in its candor, compassion for pregnant women, critique of prudery and repression, and advocacy for scientific rationality. Yet sympathetic dramas and novels simultaneously portrayed "wise women" and other female "quacks" as incompetent and exploitative, doctors as male and trustworthy, and ordinary women as passive and doomed. Cooperative physicians were often modern in their medical techniques, appreciation for the social context of abortion, commitment to desperate women, and contempt for state control (legal constraints and penalties were prohibitive in Germany before 1926–1927; from 1927–1932, they allowed for therapeutic abortion within strict limits). Yet the same doctors demonized all lay practitioners as dangerous quacks and often treated their clients paternalistically. Aborting women were savvy about reproduction and quite matter-of-fact in their view of abortion and female sexuality, kept careful account of missed periods, and actively worked with friends, boyfriend, or husband to locate a capable wise woman. Yet many of them concurrently held customary somatic beliefs. In particular, they often insisted that blocked menstruation was the malady for which they had sought treatment.

The most original chapters in the book examine the meaning and experience of abortion for lay practitioners, female clients and their partners, and the lower-class communities in which they lived. Usborne creatively constructs a popular perspective on abortion from a range of sources: the press, private letters, practitioners' account books, police interrogations, legal depositions, and trial transcripts. Much of this material was collected during government investigations and prosecutions of commercial practitioners, aborting women, and abettors. Against the claims of contemporary discourse and many historians, Usborne argues that the so-called quacks, many of them women, were often competent and careful abortionists who used technical skills, gynecological knowledge, and community ties to build networks of loyal clients. She discusses in detail the abortion business of a woman and her husband who, along with a large number of clients and helpers, were tried in Hesse in 1925. The chapter firmly situates abortion in the seventeen affected villages within the economic and social context of World War I, postwar hyperinflation, declining agriculture, and the increasing tendency of villagers to work in chemical factories on the outskirts of Frankfurt. This case shows, Usborne concludes, that the divide between rural and urban abortion, on the one hand, and between Protestant and Catholic abortion practices, on the other, was not as wide as is often assumed. She demonstrates that unhappily pregnant village women were neither passive nor alone; they rapidly sought help and very of-

ten did so in cooperation with the man who had gotten them pregnant. Due to costs and social connections, poorer women were most likely to turn to a lay practitioner—and, above all, to the women among them.

The chapter devoted to cultural representations provides a useful survey of the many films, plays, and novels that dealt with abortion in the Weimar Republic. It made sense to include such an overview, although insightful interpretations of the cultural discourse can be found in existing historical and, especially, literary-critical studies. The chapter entitled “Medical Termination: Theory and Practice” reveals the shortcomings of Osborne’s exclusively qualitative approach. Here, she considers two legal cases involving physicians. Two cases provide a narrow base for general conclusions about physicians’ motives, medical techniques, and clientele. Moreover, one of the trials occurred during World War I. The analysis of the woman doctor’s practices and attitudes is astute, but its value for understanding Weimar medical practices seems limited. The book also includes introductory and concluding chapters that effectively place the story in the historiography of modern Germany and of modern abortion and, more broadly, the female body. Osborne’s monograph contains much of worth and interest for scholars and students of modern Germany, gender relations, sexuality, medicine, and, certainly, abortion.

DONNA HARSCH
Carnegie Mellon University

MARTIN DEAN. *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press, with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2008. Pp. x, 437. \$60.00.

Martin Dean’s book reveals the centrality of naked greed, and the resulting impoverishment of European Jewry, in the conception and perpetration of the Holocaust. “For the Jews,” Dean asserts, “deprivation of property reduced considerably their chances for survival,” substantially abetting “the terrifying effectiveness of genocide” (p. 221). Situating his study in a context encompassing political and legal developments, Dean states that “until the 1990s, most historians treated the issue of property confiscation as an abstruse and largely secondary aspect of the Holocaust” (p. 7). Scholars such as Hans Safrian, Frank Bajohr, Harold James, Peter Hayes, Jonathan Steinberg, Christian Gerlach, and Götz Aly then confronted this gross misapprehension. Dean synthesizes their work and incorporates his own copious research. He is too modest to claim that this book should displace the interpretations focused on racial ideology per se. But his work ought to facilitate a paradigm shift in the Holocaust master narrative specifying that along with the attempted annihilation of European Jewry there was a deliberate effort to steal their money and possessions, which renders the matrix of collaboration larger and murkier than previously imagined.

Much of the book deals with the relationship between

the denaturalization and despoiling of the Jews. The fact that the Nazis were intent on fleecing Germany’s Jews made it less likely that they could emigrate while flight remained legally possible. Increasingly arcane “currency regulations,” “enormous paperwork,” and outright “corruption and bribery” ensnared many of those seeking safety abroad (pp. 73, 77–79, 5, 65–66, 81). Despite Adolf Hitler’s efforts to streamline property confiscation procedures, “individual files were opened for each [German] Jewish victim, as debts still had to be paid off up to the value of the remaining property collected” (p. 228).

An important dimension of the book is Dean’s analysis of Jewish reactions to Nazi asset and property stripping. “It is no longer tenable to describe Jewish responses to mounting persecution solely in terms of passivity and their alleged failure to act effectively” (p. 12). Dean also recognizes that a Jew’s fate may have depended on having money or not—an element many scholars overlook in discussing prospects for survival. With great sensitivity, Dean relates that “no amount of restitution or compensation, which in any case would be quite modest, could make up for the wrenching effects of uprooting oneself and having to make a fresh start, usually with only a fraction of the capital that had been built up over years, decades, or even generations. Consequently, those few items that were packed up and sent abroad often became a most invaluable link with a world that was lost” (p. 83).

Along with dissecting the vast national, regional, and local aspects of the subject, Dean explains how cumulative experience, in particular, “[t]wo key events in 1938, the Anschluss with Austria in March and the Kristallnacht pogrom in November, radically accelerated the Nazi expropriation of Jewish property” (p. 84). Pressure was applied from both above and below, establishing “models” for officials. As also found by Robert L. Koehl, Christopher Browning, and Karin Orth, power struggles between various factions strongly influenced the anti-Jewish actions. Dean’s deft disentangling of the convoluted events in Serbia, Lithuania, and Latvia is noteworthy. Disposal of stocks and bonds, “real estate, life insurance, pensions, valuables, and cultural property” and even “the widespread auctions of household items” embroiled thousands—including the Swiss (p. 244). Enthusiasm for buying “former Jewish businesses and other property” was at its peak when the Nazis seemed invincible (pp. 312–313).

Dean’s command of the historiography and his expert ability at mining evidence is impressive. A rare misstep is the brief treatment of the Belgian and Dutch diamond industry (pp. 278, 295). Recent research by David DeVries shows the extent to which the Jews in this sector were transplanted to Palestine before 1939 as part of an effort by the British—in control of Mandate Palestine—to wrest the industry from German hands. In exploring the continuity between Nazi policies and earlier antisemitic thought (pp. 354–355), Dean could have turned to mid-nineteenth-century France. Alphonse Toussenel espoused “national socialism”—im-

ploring his countrymen to seize Jewish wealth and redistribute it on a "national" basis, i.e., among those he deemed legitimate members of the community. In framing the larger picture—to ascertain what the theft of Jewish property meant to the Nazi economy overall—it would have helped to consult Adam Tooze's *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (2006). According to Tooze, all of the supposed riches of the Jews were "by any count, a small proportion of the total assets at work in the German economy. Aryanization undoubtedly changed the complexion of major shopping streets in cities like Berlin and Hamburg, and it also changed the structure of property ownership in some highly visible residential neighborhoods. But its wider impact was limited" (p. 276). Despite the chimerical nature of the economic assault against the Jews, Dean argues convincingly that "the seizure of Jewish property was not just a byproduct of Nazi genocidal policies, but an integral part of the murder process, reinforcing and accelerating the intended destruction" (p. 221).

This book, itself an extraordinary achievement, also comprises a tribute to two recently deceased historians Dean acknowledges as among his most important predecessors: Raul Hilberg and Gerald D. Feldman. Reminiscent of Hilberg, Dean has an eye for stark detail, such as recounting "the task of clearing the emptied Jewish apartments" in Warsaw and Vienna (p. 241). "Dutch police," we learn, "were especially interested in stealing coffee, tea, tobacco, and cash while accosting Jews" (p. 283). In numerous instances Dean's unraveling of Nazi and collaborationist bureaucracies recalls Feldman's painstaking reconstruction of German economic instruments in his magisterial *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914–1924* (1993). With precision and eloquence Dean knits together the legacy of Hilberg and Feldman, yet in a voice that is distinctly his own: "The transactions in stolen Jewish shares conducted by stockbrokers in the Netherlands were as intimately connected to the Holocaust as the theft of rickety furniture from desolated ghettos by former neighbors. The motive of greed, applied by states and individuals, fed off and contributed to widespread indifference to the victims." Dean's impassioned plea that "greed . . . be integrated into the narrative of the Holocaust" (p. 395) could scarcely be more convincing.

MICHAEL BERKOWITZ
University College London

ANDREW STUART BERGERSON. *Ordinary Germans in Extraordinary Times: The Nazi Revolution in Hildesheim*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 312. \$35.00.

Andrew Stuart Bergerson's main argument is an innovative and important one: "[This book] shows that the Nazi revolution from above depended to a large degree on a parallel, relatively independent revolution from below, a transformation in everyday habits that simul-

taneously disguised its historic traces. In the hallways of the regime, as on the streets of the neighborhood, not-so-ordinary people struggled to colonize everyday life through tactics of *eigensinn* and strategies for *herrschaft* . . . The point is that the formal institutions of Nazi society and its informal customs shared essential similarities" (p. 253).

The historiography of the Third Reich in recent decades has sparked a number of debates. Among the most heated of these concerns the roles played by ordinary German citizens during the Nazi era. Whether most Germans constantly trembled in fear under Nazi rule; whether they harbored deep antisemitism; whether they knew about the mass murder of the Jews as it was taking place; whether they freely supported Adolf Hitler and his regime; and whether they resisted the regime commonly or rarely have been among the major issues. Probably no work of scholarship will ever resolve these issues even though much new evidence (e.g., Gestapo, police, prison, and court files; diaries; trial testimonies and investigations; oral histories; and memoirs) has been sifted and scrutinized by diligent historians from many countries. Nevertheless, Bergerson's new volume sheds light on several important questions, especially the question about popular support for Nazism. In particular, he analyzes in-depth interviews he has carried out with approximately thirty-five "ordinary Germans" from the more or less "ordinary city" of Hildesheim. He focuses on the small and common though significant behaviors that changed over time in Germany and thereby helped greatly to make the Third Reich eventually seem absolutely normal to most of its citizens.

Bergerson proceeds in an anthropological fashion to reveal changes in, for example, how Germans doffed their hats, strolled down city streets, addressed each other with the formal or the informal form of "you," greeted each other with "good day," "praise the Lord," or "Heil Hitler," and even went to the bathroom. All of this is at times instructive. Still some scholars and probably more laymen might quibble a bit with his occasionally jargon-laden verbiage. What is more, not everyone would agree fully with Bergerson's manner of conducting interviews. Providing interviewees with uninterrupted freedom to tell their stories in their own manner is a well-accepted type of oral history research. It runs the danger, however, of allowing people to rehash well-rehearsed tales that seldom reveal much of a truly sensitive nature (like what they thought of Adolf Hitler and his regime, what they knew about the atrocities the regime committed, and especially what part they might have played in such atrocities). This reviewer believes that Bergerson gets it about right in his answers to these questions. But Bergerson's evidence might be even more convincing had he interrogated his interviewees more forcefully, included more Jewish interview subjects than he did, interviewed even more subjects in total, and dealt more with the later years of the war instead of focusing so much on earlier periods when his interviewees were so young that they could not have

known very much about many important things that were happening around them.

It would be incorrect, however, to let preferences concerning methodology, writing style, and focus convey a negative impression of this work. Increasingly historians such as Bergerson are demonstrating how much new anthropological, ethnographic approaches can add to historical debates. His carefully crafted volume, divided into two major sections dealing with pre-Nazi and Nazi Germany and providing "thick descriptions" of a number of the interviewees he so patiently worked with, is both insightful and fair-minded. He does not press his subjects to provide the answers he believes they really should have given had they been fully truthful. Still he is not fooled by those who refused to admit to antisemitic bias or strong support for Hitler and his regime. Neither condemning nor overlooking the antisemitism of ordinary Germans or their awareness of and even participation in crimes against humanity, Bergerson convincingly argues that ordinary Germans "showed various degrees of support for different elements of national socialism, and took part in the regime's policies on an active basis in keeping with his or her convictions" (p. 251). And, most importantly, he demonstrates how most Germans coordinated their own minor habits, manners, customs, and daily behaviors to jibe comfortably with the Nazi spirit and society without any need for Nazi officials to force these upon them.

ERIC A. JOHNSON
Central Michigan University

JONATHAN R. ZATLIN. *The Currency of Socialism: Money and Political Culture in East Germany*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press, with the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C. 2007. Pp. xx, 377. \$75.00.

For a couple of decades now all historical accounts of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) have been written with the benefit of hindsight; its ultimate collapse is a foregone conclusion. In this regard, and similarly in its emphasis on economic failure, Jonathan R. Zatlin's book has much in common with a large body of historiography in both English and German. Yet the author nonetheless manages to offer a distinctive view of the GDR and its demise. He does so by looking, as the title suggests, through the prism of money.

The central point that money and the Marxist understanding of it are central to an understanding of the GDR's economic history is indeed well made. Zatlin lays theoretical foundations by looking to Marxist writings on the topic, noting above all the overwhelming tendency to abhor money as an instrument of exploitation. If money were morally questionable, as Marxist theorists and their Socialist Unity Party (SED) heirs maintained, then the GDR's goal of achieving "real existing socialism" must have been to do away with it. Only with such a radical measure could the exploitation, alienation, and "commodity fetishism" that money engendered be done away with. The currency of

socialism would ideally, as Zatlin contests, "recast the relation between economy and society, between desire and need" (p. 6).

Given those theoretical foundations, Zatlin proceeds to record most convincingly just how the GDR's economic practice—with an emphasis on the two decades under Erich Honecker's leadership—departed from theory. Distortions became all the more egregious over the years. Not only did money fail to disappear, but in many regards the GDR's economic system and performance increasingly acquired the character of a profoundly flawed and inadequate response to the much more dynamic consumer capitalism of its western neighbor. The distortion of theory was accompanied by declining performance and rising dissatisfaction among the populace, culminating in total collapse and finally German unification. By 1990 the very coinage of the GDR was detested, or at least mocked, by its users, who gladly exchanged it for the "hard" marks of the Federal Republic in preparation for unification.

The recording of this seemingly inexorable decline is thorough and meticulous and draws on a rich array of official East German sources. On one hand, Zatlin establishes the tangible, empirical reality of economic decline hidden behind the government's increasingly implausible efforts to persuade citizens that all was well. On the other, he points to severe differences in approaches at the very top levels of government. By doing so, Zatlin discredits any notion of coherent socialist economic management, which in reality was incoherent even in its incompetence. The prevailing image is one of fundamental division, above all between the economic profligacy of Honecker's efforts to "buy" political support and the parsimony of his rival Günter Mittag, who was desperate to pull back on the reins of an economy drifting out of control.

Zatlin uses two very helpful case studies to illustrate contradictions in the GDR's economy. The automobile industry, for one, proved hopelessly incapable of meeting either the quantitative or the qualitative demands of the East German consumer. In the year of the GDR's collapse, for each person receiving a long-awaited car there were forty-three others still waiting (p. 228), and all of them knew how risibly deficient Trabant and Wartburgs were as examples of modern engineering. As a way of meeting consumer desire and curbing unrest, the government introduced a system of so-called Intershops, the subject of Zatlin's second case study. Intershops offered Western goods to be purchased in Western currency. The logic was simple enough: Intershops helped meet a desperate need for hard currency and assuaged a growing clamor for consumer goods. Yet the practice ran against the theoretical grain in pandering to consumerism and to the West's reviled "commodity fetishism"; moreover it weakened the state's claim to legitimacy, feeding the belief that answers to consumer needs were found in Western commodities and Western means of exchange.

A great strength of this work is Zatlin's use of extensive data to illustrate his case studies and trace

broader trends. As a piece of economic history it is distinctive, because it places consumer sentiment and behavior at the center of attention, as these human factors did so much to drive economic policy. Thus among the range of sources are examples of humor, anecdotes, and a rich collection of petitions. What is both surprising and enlightening is the extent to which policy makers were both attuned to mounting discontent and prepared to sacrifice fundamental Marxist precepts on the altar of economic and political expediency. Not only was this ultimately to no avail, but for Zatlin these very compromises prepared the ground for collapse and unification. Persuaded that the expectations the state itself had encouraged could not be met internally, GDR citizens all too readily opted to "test the West" when the opportunity arose. Zatlin discusses their justification for being disenchanted in the final chapter.

As a study of multiple factors that led to the GDR's demise, Zatlin's work is convincing. His sensitivity to the role of factors outside a strictly economic realm is highly original, and his synthesis of diverse sources is most impressive. There is perhaps a danger in reducing the source of the GDR's economic problems to its leaders' aversion to and misconception of money. The downward spiral of the GDR's planned economy, especially as it competed in a largely capitalist world order, was replicated many times over elsewhere; its structural flaws were by no means unique. Yet Zatlin does not overplay the "money" card. His analysis is multifaceted and elegantly presented.

PETER MONTEATH
Flinders University

KATHERINE PENCE and PAUL BETTS, editors. *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2008. Pp. 378. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$26.95.

In her thoughtful essay on socialist advertising in this volume, Ina Merkel mentions the remarkable and rich archival legacy of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), open to everyone with virtually no restrictions. Practically overnight, almost the entire written record of the regime from its inception in the aftermath of World War II until it ceased to exist in 1990 was made available. On the basis of this unprecedented treasure trove, historians and other social scientists began already in the early 1990s to explore aspects of the GDR's existence. Perhaps not surprisingly, politics and the economy formed an initial focus for research, but it was not long before GDR society and culture came under scholarly scrutiny. This collection presents some of the fruits of this more recent trend, showcasing a range of authors from Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, covering a wide variety of topics in essays that deploy a wide variety of approaches and types of evidence.

Editors Katherine Pence and Paul Betts start off by providing a useful and comprehensive overview of the

historiography of the GDR, situating the literature on this relatively small country in the broader context of Soviet-dominated Central and Eastern Europe, German history in the longer run, and debates about modernity. The essays that follow are grouped neither chronologically nor using conventional sociological categories but rather around three broad themes: selves, belonging, and desires. Many of the authors cover their subjects over the entire course of the GDR's existence.

The broad themes allow a lot of leeway. The "Selves" section starts with Greg Eghigian's consideration of how the discipline of psychology attempted to shape and define both the socialist person and the "deviant" in the GDR and the ways in which such definitions have persisted in the former East Germany in the aftermath of unification. Dagmar Herzog deals with East Germany's divergence from West Germany in the development of sexuality. She argues that "early liberal aspects of East German culture" (p. 71) helped shape a much more gradual (and non-commodified) sexual liberation in the GDR over the course of its existence compared to West Germany. Paul Betts turns to something completely different, the home, to make some similar points to Herzog's about the interplay between attempts from above to impose public policy and the possibility of private room for maneuver below. Alon Confino finishes this section with a consideration of one individual self, "Bettina Humpel," whose travels and complex relationship with the GDR regime are exhaustively documented in a Stasi file.

Section two, entitled "Belonging," differs from section one insofar as each of the essays in it deals with a particular sociological category rather than a broad theme. Dorothee Wierling analyzes youth and education in the 1960s, while Young-Sun Hong, taking a fresh and quite fruitful approach by looking at development aid in the context of training Third World healthcare workers in East Germany, examines the GDR's relationship with race and minorities. Thomas Lindenberger looks at another minority, the "asocial" dropouts (and often deliberately leftouts) of East German society. Alf Lüdtkke concludes the section with an essay on a much more typical group, addressing the self-image of the male worker in East and West Germany. It should be noted that, with the exception of the contribution by Hong, all of the articles in this section involve highly readable translations from the original by the editors (aided in two cases by Maria Arroyo) of pieces that were previously published, although all updated and/or revised.

Three of the four essays in the final section, "Desires," have also appeared in print before, although again they are all revised and updated. This is the most highly focused section of the book, with all four essays exploring aspects of consumerism as it applied to the GDR. Judd Stitzel uses fashion as a vehicle for exploring the limits of the GDR's ability to provide for some of the desires of ordinary citizens and the ways in which people attempted to overcome this limitation through making clothes themselves or by complaining. Pence

looks in particular at early patterns of GDR policy and practice in relation to women and consumption. Merkel, in an essay translated adeptly by the editors, then tackles a surprising topic, i.e. advertising and market research in the GDR. She also reflects on the longer-term effects of these practices in informing the nostalgia for the GDR in the "new federal states," which is often expressed through artifacts, something explored in more detail in the final contribution by Daphne Berdahl.

The editors try to provide overall unity to this rich and diverse collection of essays by deploying the concept of "alternative modernity." I do not find this conceptualization completely convincing since, as the editors themselves indicate, "modernity" is a highly ambiguous (perhaps even ill-defined) concept, and therefore the alternative to that must be at least as problematic. Still, one can only applaud one of their aims in trying to find such an overarching concept, which is to insist that the history of the GDR is not a simple story of backwardness and/or failure that can be told in direct counterpoint to the alleged progressiveness and success of West Germany. Instead, both countries, in tandem with other industrialized societies, grappled with changing technologies, long-term economic growth, changing gender relations, the advent of the consumer society, and a range of other issues in the decades after 1945. That each country did so differently is clear, but there are certainly elements of commonality alongside the clear evidence of difference. The editors and the authors are to be congratulated for making available to a broad readership essays that, while exploring diverse topics, consistently insist that East Germany was not a footnote in history but rather a fascinating and extremely well-documented example of participating in, shaping, and dealing with mainstream developments in the industrialized world after 1945.

RAYMOND STOKES
University of Glasgow

TESSA STOREY. *Carnal Commerce in Counter-Reformation Rome*. (New Studies in European History, number 24.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 296. \$99.00.

"On the night before Palm Sunday in 1559, the Bishop of Polignano was enjoying the delights of the flesh in the arms of a Jewish courtesan named Porzia." So begins Tessa Storey's fine study of prostitution in Rome between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Though this introduction slightly misrepresents the world of prostitution (no more bishops or Jews are referred to), it might be seen as expressing the hypocrisy of a church that, on the one hand, adopted policies to stigmatize prostitutes and, on the other hand, contained churchmen who used their services. Even cardinals consorted with courtesans (p. 106).

The sequence of nine chapters examine visual representations of courtesans in moralizing broadsheets; the specific demographic situation of Rome and of Ro-

man prostitution (a city overloaded with male migrants; the appearance of the figure of the courtesan); the pope's attempts in 1566 first to expel, then to confine prostitutes, and the reactions of the city government; the policing of prostitution (the numbers arrested, where and why); the prostitutes' geographical origins, their patterns of residence, and the ways that they contested the labels and categories imposed on them by police, courts, and church; their recruitment into the profession (economic hardship vs. pandering by parents or husbands); their earnings and levels of wealth; the variety of their domestic arrangements (numbers of rooms; type, quality, and quantity of furnishings); and, finally, the duration and emotional quality of their relations with clients.

As this summary suggests, Storey's source material allows her to go deep into the economic, social, and emotional lives of Roman prostitutes. She skillfully handles a variety of evidence from various state and ecclesiastical archives, sensitive to the particular interpretative challenges of each type of source, while also ably knitting them together. Law court testimonies of prostitutes, their clients, and others are used both to uncover the personal histories and working lives of these women and to show how they responded to arrest and interrogation. The police log-books are used to support the argument that the policing of prostitution was not a high priority and was full of intractable problems, as the police force was too small to control the large numbers of foreigners looking for sex and too underpowered to tackle the use of courtesans by the elite. The parish census is used to reveal the surprising economic well-being of many prostitutes in one district of Rome, and inventories and wills are used to throw light on their property, the furnishing of their rooms, and their religiosity (an important point to which Storey returns in the conclusion).

The story told is in many ways one of resistances. The author herself resists the existing scholarship on prostitution, advocating a historiography that does not simply rely on legislation and prescription but that excavates reception at elite and popular levels. She resists the assumption that, as a result of Counter-Reformation campaigns, prostitution in Rome was "profoundly modified" and that "the well-to-do courtesans . . . disappeared" (p. 7). Similarly, she resists histories of prostitution that remove the women's agency and choice, exploring instead the opportunities women had to choose, to negotiate, and to construct identities. And she foregrounds the resistance of lay elites and of the prostitutes themselves to papal policies to confine prostitution and to impose stigmatized identities on the women: the city government argues the case for prostitution in economic and social terms and opposes segregation on grounds of public order; in court, prostitutes present their activities as just another form of women's work, using secular, non-pejorative vocabulary to describe their transactions ("faccio qualche scappata" translated as "I get laid" [pp. 118–119]) and detaching themselves from their labor (when asked

what they do, saying "I work as a whore" in preference to "I am a whore" [p. 123]).

The book is well-paced, highly readable, and exemplary in its combination of salacious examples, historical explanation, and historiographical engagement. I do have a few minor quibbles: occasionally translations seem a little forced (e.g., "shameless hussy" for "donna di cattiva vita" [p. 153]); percentages are not always well-interpreted (pp. 100, 128); and the index is not as detailed as is needed (for example, one villain of the book is the *bargello*, Captain Valerio, whose use of prostitutes, including a fifteen-year-old girl, is mentioned in various chapters, but he is not listed in the index).

TREVOR DEAN
Roehampton University

PATrizia DELPIANO. *Il governo della lettura: Chiesa e libri nell'Italia del Settecento*. (Ricerca.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 321. €25.00.

This new volume from Patrizia Delpiano focuses on the period from the 1740s to 1789, during which Roman Catholic clergy feared the dissemination of Enlightenment ideologies and the effects of uncontrolled reading on impressionable minds and souls. Her effort to understand these concerns led Delpiano into a study of the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the *processi* of the Holy Office (Inquisition), which administered the Index of Prohibited Books. The substantial extant documentation reveals an energetic group of elite clergy whose desire to protect Catholic readers from atheism and libertinage drove a campaign of censorship that reflected traditional papal concerns: conflicts with secular authorities, variegated commitment from local clergy, and a desire to maintain the papacy as the arbiter of a common Catholic morality and intellectualism. Delpiano shows that the church never fully resolved these issues, resulting in censorship that was patchy and results that are difficult to quantify or judge as successful.

The book is comprised of four weighty chapters that lay out the church's target audience, its literary "enemies," and its evolving battle plan. The first chapter describes the initial target audience and frames the issue as fundamental to the cultivation of a morally responsible Catholic society. Early measures were directed at the weaker members of society (youth, women, and the uneducated) whose appetite for "romances" was the beginning of a slide into a libidinous lifestyle, religious toleration, and anticlericalism. Pastoral letters, preaching, and an increased interest in catechism established a custodial culture that worked to marshal priests, bishops, local inquisitors, and parents as intellectual censors.

In the following chapter Delpiano examines the particular ideas and literary works that Catholic censors attacked. Delpiano argues that from the 1760s, the decade of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), there was a conflation of heresy with deism and materialism. Censors considered novellas and romances to be the

most dangerous conduit for these moral plagues, since these works played on the reader's emotions and thus infiltrated the soul. While this chapter broaches the topic of self-censorship with few tangible signs of its effect (silence being the strongest), the chapter also notes the censor's final recourse of confiscating prohibited books and burning them. Delpiano concludes that through this period Catholic censorship was too slow to effectively end the circulation of banned books in Italy, but it did maintain the Index of Prohibited Books as the public arbiter of Italian intellectualism.

Delpiano then proceeds to a discussion of the personal efforts of the clergy who acted as inquisitors and examiners of suspicious texts and their relations with communities outside of Rome. This focus on the periphery intensified as the power of the Inquisition's local tribunals slackened, and the local bishop's *imprimatur* became necessary for publication. While papal encyclicals identifying prohibited works communicated directly with readers (both ecclesiastical and lay), from 1773 local censors demanded that booksellers produce inventory lists and cross-reference them with their stock on demand. Revisiting this topic in further depth could provide an important practical understanding of relationships between local clergy, booksellers, and the "aristocracy of free readers" who were allowed access to prohibited books.

The final chapter examines the campaign through the 1760s and 1770s to combat books with books. Rather than positioning an orthodox author against a prohibited author, the censors sought out authors whose books would reveal the dangers of the new ideologies and inspire self-censorship in Catholic readers. Although Delpiano provides few examples, she notes that the success of many Italian literary careers depended on authors' readiness to write in defense of the ecclesiastical status quo. At the same time, new seminary presses produced hagiographical and devotional works that urged religious and literary orthodoxy, while new literary journals cautioned the public about recently prohibited texts and reinforced the Index's work. The actual effect of these measures was a decline in the number of texts placed on the Index from the 1750s through the 1770s, although the continued posting of decrees of prohibition ensured that the Index still garnered significant publicity.

Delpiano's discussion rests upon a large amount of archival support in addition to substantial contemporary and modern printed sources. Periodically, the use of copious quotations draws the reader's attention away from the wider discussion of censorship. Further biographical information about particular censors could profitably illuminate the censorship process, but Delpiano provides few background details, preferring instead pungent quotes asserting the righteousness of censorship. With so great a quantity of documents available, perhaps the next study could further investigate the relationships and conflicts between the individual censors and clergy, further qualifying the ties between the center and the periphery through case

studies. In sum, Delpiano presents a well-researched and interesting view into ecclesiastical censorship, a topic that historians too frequently generalize and dismiss as sensational.

JENNIFER MARA DESILVA
Eastern Connecticut State University

SUZANNE STEWART-STEINBERG. *The Pinocchio Effect: On Making Italians (1860–1920)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xv, 431. \$45.00.

It is hard not to feel jerked around by this book; the text's moves appear to have been carefully planned by an author alive to the productive possibilities of blending pleasure and pain. Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg's book is by turns indulgent and frustrating, evocative and insistent, lucid and opaque, playful and serious. It is, for all that, an often brilliant and very important work, and not just for scholars of modern Italy. It offers nothing less than a new way of writing the messy history of the late nineteenth century and, more broadly, a new way of mobilizing the past for the present.

The focus of Stewart-Steinberg's book is the political and social-scientific project, which she identifies as "eminently modern," of "making Italians"—inventing new national subjects in the years between the unification of Italy and the rise of fascism. The author points to a complex anxiety at the very center of this project. A crisis of liberalism as a political rationality, challenges to the social power of Catholic identity, and a transformed order of gender and sexuality "coalesced in an anxiety about the possible lack of interiority that seemingly described the modern Italian" (p. 4). The figure of Pinocchio—that puppet cut loose from its strings—is the book's governing metaphor. The questions that this story raises about autonomy, interiority, and the social bond organize a dizzying journey that crosses boundaries of discipline and genre.

Beginning with a discussion of the surprisingly high-stakes field of "Pinocchiology," Stewart-Steinberg's chapters stage lively encounters—sometimes collisions—of turn-of-the-century discourses and practices: Donato's public displays of hypnotized (or "fascinated") men and Scipio Sighele's work on the criminal couple; the visual rhetorics of "Magheritism" and Matilde Serao's *La conquista di Roma*; Étienne-Jules Marey's studies of human movement, Edmondo De Amicis's fiction, and the micropolitics of the Italian gymnastics movement; infanticide legislation and the invention of "gynecological criminology"; Cesare Lombroso's work on handwriting and tattooing and experiments in spirit photography; Maria Montessori's scientific feminism and the Montessori method.

The author has read widely and deeply (her rich bibliography will inspire her readers to do the same), and each of the chapters can stand well enough on its own. Indeed, the chapters speak only sparingly to each other, vary somewhat in their feel (their pace, tone, and use of humor) and take different approaches to their material: some are rich in biographical detail, some offer

close readings of texts, some nuanced discursive analysis. And while the author makes productive use of Sigmund Freud, Michel Foucault, Slavoj Žižek, and the political philosopher Roberto Esposito, she does not insist on tying up everything in a neat theoretical package. Rather, she is content to let the book be held loosely together by cross-cutting themes and objects: the disciplined body, the practice of writing, technologies of visualization, and constructions of interior selves.

And in this way the book is much more than its parts. While few of the chapters break entirely new ground (the two chapters on Montessori perhaps push the farthest), their juxtaposition certainly does. Indeed, the book succeeds in part by mirroring the productive eclecticism of the late-nineteenth-century human sciences: the willful extension and transgression of boundaries, the irreverent comparisons, the slippery vocabularies that characterize the formation of new ways of knowing and seeing. And it makes visible, even palpable, the anxiety at the heart of Italian modernity, in the past as well as the present.

Perhaps the book's only disappointment is its brief conclusion, which begins by reassuring readers that there was nothing inevitable about fascism's rise to power. Perhaps this is a question that no book in modern Italian studies can escape, but it is certainly not a question that preoccupies an attentive reader of this book. Nor can such a reader continue to imagine that the relations of power, knowledge, and identity that characterize the making of modern Italians have much (interesting) to do with the political party affiliations of Lombroso, Montessori, or their followers.

The power of this study emerges when it takes away such comforting sign posts, replacing them with a state of energizing disorientation, so that by the end of the book we might just prefer to be left dangling.

DAVID G. HORN
Ohio State University

K. E. FLEMING. *Greece: A Jewish History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 271. \$35.00.

The relationship between Greeks and Jews stretches back in time, but that between the Greek state and the Jews within its territory is relatively short. It was not until the city of Thessaloniki, or Salonika, was incorporated within modern Greece in the early twentieth century that the Greek state acquired a large Jewish minority population. Until then, the modern Greek state, established in 1830, encompassed several small communities of a few thousand so-called Romaniote Jews—indigenous Greek-speaking Jews—on its mainland and its largest islands. The expansion of Greece that brought the lands of Epirus and Macedonia within its borders on the eve of World War I also brought with it several towns with Jewish populations. By far the largest was the community in Salonika, one of the most significant Sephardic Jewish communities in the eastern Mediterranean, established there after the expulsion of

the Jews from Spain in 1492. The community, which numbered roughly seventy thousand, had been the dominant ethnic group in Ottoman-controlled Salonika, and its wealth and culture had earned the city the description of the "Jerusalem of the Balkans."

Three decades after the Salonika Sephardim became Greek citizens and very slowly began to assimilate, Greece's occupation by Nazi Germany brought about the destruction of almost the entire Jewish population of Greece as part of the "Final Solution." One by one, the major communities—Sephardic and Romaniote in Salonika, Athens, Jannina, Corfu, Crete, and elsewhere—were deported and destroyed, with only that in Athens managing to survive partially. By the end of the 1940s, a decade that included a civil war in Greece following wartime occupation, the Jewish presence in Greece was reduced to only a few thousand, and many of those survivors chose to move to Israel.

K. E. Fleming has produced an insightful historical overview of the Jewish presence in Greece from the establishment of the Greek state in the early nineteenth century to the post-Holocaust era. The past three decades have witnessed an outpouring of monographs on the fate of the Greek Jews during the Holocaust, most of them published in Greek. (Several of the citations of the Greek sources could have avoided typographical errors had they been more carefully reviewed by the publisher's copyeditors.) There have also been several major studies on twentieth-century Greek history and on Salonika's history that have addressed the role of the Jews. But until the appearance of Fleming's work there was no overarching account of the Jewish experience in modern Greece, and this book fills that lacuna extremely well.

Fleming adopts a chronological approach that allows for a focus on each urban-based community as it became incorporated into Greece. It was a piecemeal process, because Greece reached its present borders only after World War II and expanded territorially in several phases that involved the inclusion of different Jewish communities, as for example that of Corfu in 1864; Volos in 1871; Crete, Jannina, and Salonika in 1913; and Rhodes in 1947. Fleming treats these phases in separate chapters with the greatest attention paid to the Salonika Jews. The account concludes with a discussion of the status of the five thousand or so Jews who remained or moved to Athens and form the bulk of the present-day Jewish presence in Greece. Until that concentration occurred in the post-Holocaust era, the Jews were not only divided culturally among Romaniote and Sephardic but also geographically and, moreover, in terms of how long their communities had come under the Greek state. As Fleming notes, "The Jewish history of Greece is really many histories of many places."

The strength of this study is not so much that it is comprehensive but that it is clear-eyed and analytically sophisticated in its treatment of the history of the Jews in Greece. Indeed, specialists may need to consult other studies if they wish to focus on the political roles the Jews played in the interwar period, to learn of the hor-

rible details of the Greek Holocaust, or to delve deeper into the story of how Greece faltered in pursuing those responsible for the roundups and in offering its Jewish citizens proper compensation or restitution of the property they lost in the 1940s. But in terms of understanding the status of the Jews in Greece, Fleming's study will surely become the standard reference point. She carefully situates the treatment of the Jews by the Greek states and the overwhelming Greek Orthodox Christian majority of the population in its historical context and does so consistently throughout this account. The author underlines the ways in which the Ottoman past produced a culturally and religiously defined identity in Greece that has persisted throughout its modern history and, by extension, made it very hard to accept non-Orthodox Christians and especially Jews as "Greeks." This structural obstacle was compounded by many instances of anti-Jewish government and church policies throughout Greece's history that Fleming discusses in a balanced way. She attributes the great extent of the destruction of Greek Jews during the Holocaust, for example, to a set of complex factors involving all sides. And in a particularly insightful identification of a great paradox, she notes that Greek Jews felt more Greek when they found themselves—involuntarily and voluntarily—outside Greece at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where they were identified quite clearly as Greeks; in New York City, where a Greek Jewish diaspora formed; and also in Israel/Palestine, where they acquired and were credited with an almost stereotypical Greekness.

The Jews currently in Greece have also adopted a self-consciously Greek identity, although as Fleming discusses unerringly in a strong concluding section, the Greek state, the church, and public opinion struggle with the idea that the Jews are Greeks. Beyond official rhetoric of acceptance, a strong antisemitic undercurrent persists, albeit mostly in terms of belief rather than action of any kind. Over the past few decades it has been compounded by the political kinship many Greeks feel toward the Palestinians, and there is a view that Greek Jews are really closer to Israel than to Greece. Ironically, as the author points out, the assumption that national identity is cultural is shared by both Greece and Israel, but that leaves the Jews in Greece in the type of ambiguous relationship that has characterized most of their history.

ALEXANDER KITROEFF
Haverford College

YESHAYAHU A. JELINEK. *The Carpathian Diaspora: The Jews of Subcarpathian Rus' and Mukachevo, 1848–1948*. Translated by JOEL A. LINSIDER. Assisted by PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI. (Classics of Carpatho-Rusyn Scholarship, number 13; East European Monographs, number 721.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs. 2007. Pp. xxi, 412. \$60.00.

Yeshayahu A. Jelinek's book is an excellent addition to the "Classics of Carpatho-Rusyn Scholarship" series, filling an important lacuna in English-language studies

with a balanced, scholarly account of the Jews of the region. Although the Hebrew original fits within the more popular genre of the *Yizkor-bukher*, memorial volumes dedicated to East European Jewish communities wiped out in the Holocaust, Jelinek's discriminating use of sources (principally secondary but also primary and archival sources where available) and detached analysis puts it at the more sophisticated end of that spectrum.

The book covers the Jewish population of Subcarpathian Rus', atypical of East European Jewry in so many respects: least literate, least urbanized, least politically active, most fervently Hasidic, and most impoverished. Jelinek analyzes the relatively late establishment of the several communities of the region through their destruction in the Holocaust with a very brief treatment of postwar developments. His economic analysis is especially strong: using archival sources from the American Joint Distribution Committee, Jelinek reveals that just over half of the approximately 125,000 Jews in the region in 1922 were classified as *Lufmensch*: that is, "people of air" who had no stable sources of income (rabbinical students, beggars, smugglers, and others).

The work also provides a detailed look into the nascent Jewish political movement, particularly regarding the establishment of a Zionist organization in Subcarpathian Rus'. Other movements, such as communism or the Czech assimilationist movement receive only passing mention. Jelinek's treatment of the Hasidic movement—without doubt the most significant expression of organized Jewish life in the area—seems somewhat cold and distant. He provides brief biographical descriptions of several of the principal Hasidic leaders and their courts, many of whom claim tens of thousands of followers even in the twenty-first century, but one is left wondering what the big attraction was in the first place. To a certain degree, this work is a corrective to the far less scholarly hagiographic literature published in Hebrew and Yiddish, but the reader would be well served with a more qualitative survey of the deep spiritual life of these Jews.

One of the more valuable features, particularly for students of that complex region, is Jelinek's evenhanded discussion of the relationships between Jews and non-Jews, an especially important question in the context of the bloody twentieth century. Jelinek negotiates through the myriad and conflicting political allegiances of the Jews—to Magyars, Czechs, Rusyns, and so on—and illuminates these questions with well-chosen vignettes that describe the Jewish dilemma. During the World War I, for example, the Hungarian secret services made much of the fact that the Jews were using prayer books that contained a blessing for the tsar of Russia, and the controversy was only quelled when it was revealed that these low-cost books were originally smuggled in from the Tsarist Empire before the war (similar prayers were found in Christian prayer books as well). In another example from the eve of World War II, when Hungarian troops took over southern parts of Subcarpathian Rus', a prominent rabbi elected to greet

them with a delegation bearing a Torah scroll, but this plan was abandoned when community leaders explained the negative consequences it might have for Jews living elsewhere.

The book could have been improved with a stronger editing hand, particularly in the adaptation of the original for an English-speaking readership. The title, for example, is misleading: to an anglophone reader, "the Carpathian diaspora" implies that the book is about people from the Carpathian mountain region who currently live elsewhere, a topic that is barely addressed at all in this work. The Hebrew title (*Ha-golah le-raglei ha-karpaticim*), on the other hand, correctly indicates that this book deals with the segment of the world Jewish population that, after the first-century diaspora from the land of Israel, ended up settling in Subcarpathian Rus'. The translation, while quite fluid and readable, often lacks key information that would make the work more accessible to readers without a strong background in Jewish history (for example, "Ashkenazi" is not synonymous with "anti-Hasidic," and the concept of "three-day Jews" only makes sense if one realizes that the Jewish New Year is celebrated for two days). The captions in the photo essay are incorrect in several places, simple errors that could have been corrected by more careful editing.

Jelinek's book is a signal contribution to the English-language scholarship of this region. Scholarly yet readable, it presents a vivid and detailed picture of the life of the Jews of Subcarpathian Rus' and is certain to maintain a strong place in the historiography of this short-lived but vibrant community.

HENRY ABRAMSON
Touro College South

ANDREW A. GENTES. *Exile to Siberia, 1590–1822*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008. Pp. xiii, 271. \$69.95.

In this book, Andrew A. Gentes sets out "to demonstrate how the modernizing Russian state incorporated penology into a larger systematizing process whose ultimate goal was universal discipline" (p. 11). Citing George L. Yaney on the systematization of Russian government, Michel Foucault on the imposition of social control, and Edward Said on exile as victimhood and empowerment, Gentes uses postmodern and post-colonial theory to frame what turns out to be a straightforward and informative history of Siberian exile in Muscovy and imperial Russia. Scholars are familiar with the broad outlines of the story Gentes relates, particularly his account of Siberia's dual role as a spur to economic development and a wilderness for the containment of undesirable subjects. Even so, it is helpful to have a concise, readable, and reliable account of the policies, people(s), institutions, and natural conditions that made Siberia into a penal colony and land of opportunity.

Russian "colonization" of Siberia began in the sixteenth century, when the monarchy expanded the land grants awarded to the Stroganov family in the fifteenth

century for the purpose of developing salt works. In 1586, Tiumen became the first Russian settlement in Siberia, and in 1590, at a time when peasants fleeing the imposition of serfdom in central Russia moved into the area, the first compulsory settlements arose. From the beginning of Russian colonization, Siberia served as a refuge for runaways and a place for the exile of criminals and political "opponents," including prisoners of war, rebellious subjects, and religious schismatics. Throughout the seventeenth century, most of the exiles were peasants and soldiers assigned to farming villages, to urban communities where they engaged in handicraft production and trade, or to the service classes responsible for subduing indigenes and collecting the fur tax. Based on an array of secondary and legal-administrative sources, Gentes concludes that seventeenth-century exile, whether to settlement or service, removed undesirables from Russia proper and helped to russify the Siberian population. Exile did not, however, ensure the establishment of effective administrative control or stable agricultural communities.

In both the Muscovite and imperial periods, exile was a substitute for imprisonment; Russia did not build prisons on a significant scale. The availability of Siberian exile thus slowed the development of the Russian judicial system. Be that as it may, the penal role of exile turned out to be less important than its economic contribution to state power. From the time that Tsar Peter I introduced penal labor (*katorga*), the monarchy systematically exploited the human and material resources of Siberia (and the rest of the empire). Although Peter applied penal labor primarily in European Russia, the practice showed how adept the monarchy had become at subordinating society to its own economic, military, and administrative needs (what Gentes calls the commodification of subjects' bodies). Peter's successors added administrative exile to the formula, allowing seigniors, peasant villages, and urban communities to receive recruit quittances in return for exiled individuals. The number of exiles thus increased, and administrative exile became a form of "social cleansing" (p. 134). At the same time, widespread insecurity caused by administrative confusion, official corruption, and uncontrolled banditry also exposed the fragility of Russian statecraft.

Gentes ends his study with a discussion of official policies designed to bring regularized governance to the Siberian exile system, a process that began with Empress Elizabeth I's codification of penal categories and punishments. Reform reached a highpoint in 1822 under the leadership of the enlightened serviceman Mikhail Speranskii, described by Gentes as a precursor to "those twentieth-century technocrats who imagined people as machines serving the high purposes of the Fatherland, the Motherland—in other words, the state" (p. 201). Despite the good (or not so good) faith efforts of Speranskii, the history of Siberian exile remained one of chronic suffering and administrative failure, a sobering reminder that, while scholars may relish

the cultural glories of imperial Russia, they also should remember the human cost of Russian greatness.

Gentes demonstrates mastery of a topic as vast and elusive as the Siberian territories he seeks to understand. Although the archival records he consulted in Irkutsk seem relatively sparse, it should be noted that for the period studied, local archives, even in Moscow, tend to be fragmentary and incomplete. Nor is there reason to believe that the broad outlines of Gentes's account would be substantially altered by better knowledge of concrete conditions in the penal system. As so often happens in the history of Muscovy, and of imperial Russia before the later nineteenth century, scholars are left with a state perspective on ephemeral social realities. Gentes should be congratulated for providing a coherent overview of these realities and for drawing attention to the importance of regional perspectives on the history of Russia.

ELISE KIMERLING WIRTSCHAFTER
California State Polytechnic University,
Pomona

LEONARD G. FRIESEN. *Rural Revolutions in Southern Ukraine: Peasants, Nobles, and Colonists, 1774–1905*. (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 2008. Pp. viii, 325. \$39.95.

Leonard G. Friesen's book will be a disappointment for those who want something new, original, and fresh from his study of rural revolutions in southern Ukraine, which still reflects the historiographical situation of 1990–1994, when Friesen published his major articles about the same topic. With a few exceptions he ignores literature that appeared after 1994. Friesen promises that he will explore "convergent paths" and "the ambiguities and revolutionary transformations associated with agricultural change" in southern Ukraine, the region of the Russian Empire "north of the Black and Azov seas known as 'New Russia'" (p. 1). He sets out to study "rural New Russia's transformations from a sparsely settled frontier with relatively discrete communities in the late eighteenth century to a region of dense settlement, multifaceted societal intercourse, and even prosperity in 1900." In this effort, he promised to "keep with recent publications" and to favor "a conceptual paradigm that errs on the side of flexibility." According to Friesen, his "conceptual paradigm" has been "influenced by Fernand Braudel, Immanuel Wallerstein and Boris Mironov" (p. 3). As it turns out, all his major theoretical influences also came from the late 1980s when the most "fashionable" theories among both Western and Soviet historians were Braudel's conception of the *longue durée*, Wallerstein's world-system analysis, and ideas of "cliometrics," or mathematical approaches in historical research popularized by Mironov.

From the start, Friesen rejects the existing problems of ethnic identity, especially "between Ukrainian and

Russian peasant communities." According to him, "the lack of importance attributed to ethnicity in understanding rural developments in New Russia was explicitly addressed by Shcherbina, though I recall seeing no other source where the question was addressed in any detail" (p. 3). Ironically, Friesen referred to F. P. Shcherbina, a Russian liberal journalist, who shared the very pro-Russian stereotypes of the populist intellectuals in the magazine *Russkaia mysl'* in the 1880s, and who was preoccupied with the problems of social progress and exploitation rather than the problems of ethnicity. Non-Russian ethnicities were never a major topic in this Russian prerevolutionary magazine in 1880, when Shcherbina's article was published. But Friesen ignores the article's historical context, a typical error. In many cases he takes a citation out of historical context without any explanation or comment and, as a result, his conclusions sometimes mislead and confuse his readers.

Friesen begins his study with historical background of New Russia's settlement, which he covers in the first two chapters. He analyzes the role of Ukrainian and Russian peasants, former Cossacks, Nogai Tatars, and foreign colonists (especially Germans and Mennonites) in agricultural transformations of southern Ukraine. In chapter three Friesen discusses the rise and fall of extensive sheep breeding in the region. In the next chapter he explores economic and social results of the "increased involvement" of the estate owners in capitalist "grain cultivation" that replaced sheep breeding and led to the growth of exploitation of the serf laborers by local land owners. Paradoxically, Friesen—who rejects Marxist legacies of Soviet historiography—supports in this chapter the old thesis of Soviet historians about connections among Russian serfdom, growing exploitation of the serfs, and the beginning of capitalism in the Russian Empire. Chapter five discusses problems of urbanization, railroad construction, and "the emergence of a thriving implement industry" during the period after 1850 (p. 5). In chapter six Friesen explores the economic results of the peasants' adaptation to the growing market economy and industrialization during the post-Emancipation period; in chapter seven he discusses the social results of this process, especially how the new capitalist realities affected the social order within communes of former state peasants and those of former serfs. In the final chapter, Friesen examines connections between the revolutionary unrest of 1905 and agricultural transformations in southern Ukraine. In his main conclusion Friesen again rejects the idea that "ethnicity played a significant factor in the 1905 peasant uprisings." According to him, "the struggle in 1905 was clearly between locals and outsiders over local economic privileges, and not between Ukrainians and Mennonites, unless the latter had recently and aggressively entered a new district" (pp. 250–251).

Friesen completely ignores the recent studies by American scholars like Willard Sunderland, Nicholas Breyfogle, and myself, and by a new generation of post-Soviet historians like Anatolii Boiko, Oleksandr

Mykhailiuk, and Natalia Venger (Ostasheva), who not only explored similar problems but also interpreted and published the documents that were used in Friesen's book. His book also needs more editorial attention: on page 179 he refers to a 1990 book as a recent study; on page 295 he mentioned the archival documents from Dnipropetrovsk, which he never used.

Despite my criticism, Friesen's study still could be used as a reference book (although a little bit outdated and obsolete) for research on agricultural transformations in the southern Ukrainian provinces of the late Russian Empire.

SERGEI IVANOVICH ZHUK
Ball State University

HEATHER J. COLEMAN. *Russian Baptists and Spiritual Revolution, 1905–1929*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 304. \$45.00.

This meticulously researched book is the first national history of the Russian Baptists. Breaking with traditional periodization, it focuses approximately on the decade before and the decade after the 1917 Revolution. Through the lens of this sectarian group, Heather J. Coleman is able to touch on a broad range of topics in Russian history and beyond. As an institutional history, her work examines how the Baptists were able to emerge as a legal entity after religious toleration was encoded in 1905, and how and why first the imperial government, and then the early Soviet state, viewed this small group as particularly dangerous. Because religion and nationality were conceived of as inseparable in imperial Russia, Russian Baptists—as opposed to their German brethren in Russia—were a threat to Russian national identity.

Hostility toward Russian Baptists indicates the degree to which Russians, including the Orthodox villagers who lived alongside or were the relatives of many Baptists, were wary of values associated with the West. Coleman portrays Baptists as inherently modern and symptomatic of the emergence of civil society. Yet because so many Russian Baptists were peasants and workers, this civil society was not dominated by the intelligentsia. Since Baptists transcended class, this study offers a more vibrant view of Russian civil society than the dominant historiography on the emergence of class in revolutionary Russia. Favored by the early Soviet state (albeit not without controversy) due to its more pressing campaign to eradicate Russian Orthodoxy, Baptists and other sectarians were the last legal independent organizations in the U.S.S.R. by the second half of the 1920s. Coleman explains how the early Bolsheviks at first copied Baptist organizational models and how this parallelism was later used as ammunition against the Baptists, ironically the only group in Soviet Russia that ran successful agricultural collectives.

Besides problematizing the complex yet seemingly universal relationship between religion and revolutionary politics, this book adds to the small but growing

body of scholarship on religion in modern Europe that underscores the false dichotomy between religion and modernity. It illustrates how the process of "secularization," whereby religious affiliation became an individual choice, led to greater religiosity.

Coleman paints a portrait of Russian Baptists as passionate, energetic, and incredibly adept at missionary work. She also describes the Russian Orthodox Church in largely negative terms. Yet why then did so few Orthodox believers convert? While the number of converts to evangelicalism grew substantially in the early-twentieth century, the figures she cites of 114,652 Baptists in the Russian Empire in 1912 and up to 500,000 in the mid-1920s are still a minute percentage of the population, a point that Coleman does not address. The sole chapter devoted to believers—focusing on their conversion narratives—does not answer why certain individuals converted and others did not. She describes Orthodoxy as failing to meet modern urban needs but does not mention the pastoral care movement that emerged within the Orthodox Church in the late imperial period. This movement, partially inspired by the use of German pietistic texts in seminaries, also emphasized personal salvation and included paraliturgical discussion groups.

At times Coleman describes the Baptist faith as externally compelled rather than the result of voluntary choice. Persecution by the state and Orthodox Church, for example, in part "continually pushed these communities to clarify who they were and what they believed, transforming them from informal sectarian groups into Baptists" (p. 14). There may or may not be a contradiction here, depending on Coleman's stance toward modernity, which is not explicitly stated. If Baptists are a sign of Russia becoming modern, would they not have developed internally?

The author is well versed in theoretical literature on religion and Baptist theology, yet the book would have benefitted from a greater comparative focus between Russian and German Baptists in Russia, and Baptists in Western Europe and the United States. Many of the issues that Coleman discusses—such as Socialism, pacifism, and gender roles—left this reader wondering if Russian Baptists' attitudes and practices concerning these issues were shared by other Baptists at the time. For example, did all Baptist women cover their heads in church, or is this an instance where Russian Baptists drew on Russian Orthodoxy, an indication of a Russian national culture that transcended faith? Russian Baptists' theology on political activity also appears muddled (which it may very well have been, but this point could have been emphasized). If a group is committed to building heaven on earth, then how can it be ambivalent about involvement with the temporal world? Lastly, this reviewer would have welcomed a discussion longer than three paragraphs on the fate of Baptists in the Soviet Union after 1929, when the Soviet state declared war on all religions. The criticisms voiced here reflect how engaging and thought-provoking this

book is and should not in any way dissuade readers from this most welcome addition to the historiography.

LAURIE MANCHESTER
Arizona State University

LAURIE MANCHESTER. *Holy Fathers, Secular Sons: Clergy, Intelligentsia, and the Modern Self in Revolutionary Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 288. \$43.00.

JENNIFER HEDDA. *His Kingdom Come: Orthodox Pastoralism and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2008. Pp. ix, 297. \$43.00.

Although studies of religion have increased exponentially in a wide range of contexts, attention to its impact in nineteenth and twentieth-century Russia has been less extensive. These studies by Laurie Manchester and Jennifer Hedda are welcome not least because they break into this area. They are very different from each other in terms of focus and structure, but the overall pictures that emerge from each of them are, by and large, compatible. At the heart of Manchester's book is an analysis of the small—maybe one percent of the population (p. 12)—group of sons of priests (*popovichi*). Traditionally, scholars have dismissed them as *raznochintsy* (people of miscellaneous ranks). Instead, Manchester presents them as a relatively clearly defined class with its own ethos and with an influence extending well beyond the church and well beyond its numerical strength. It is already well known, thanks especially to Gregory Freeze, that the lower, married clergy found themselves largely isolated from the rest of society and, in his depiction, often had a fairly miserable time of it. Manchester's account tends to be more positive. She bases it on a study of 207 "identifiable *popovichi*" (p. 12) about whom detailed sources can be found. In a search focused on tracing above all their sense of self, Manchester suggests they contributed greatly to the Russian intelligentsia's parallel quest for modern selfhood. The chapters examine the *popovichi*'s attitudes toward other social estates, members of their own group, their childhoods, self-sacrifice and moral superiority, their secularization, and their continued search for salvation (albeit a secular kind). Manchester and, indeed, Hedda challenge simplistic assumptions about the *popovichi*'s transition from the clerical to the secular estate. These social orders were not, they argue, opposites: in Manchester's words, "*popovichi* did not repudiate the clerical traditions of the Russian Orthodox Church" but "they managed paradoxically to see themselves as leaving the clergy in order to preserve clerical traditions and impose them on secular society." This, she argues, is "the very opposite of traditional secularization theory and dechristianization" (p. 155). In many ways, this is the central assertion of Manchester's account. Her study shows how the specific *popovich* mentality was forged and then how it spread to society and influenced the intelligentsia to

think of itself as a self-sacrificing, self-conscious, utilitarian, ascetic, morally superior force devoted to popular liberation. Not surprisingly, Manchester on several occasions points out the similarity between this conception and S. L. Frank's denunciation of the intelligentsia's "ethic of nihilism" in *Vekhi* (1909). Within this framework, she presents a rich, colorful, and well-constructed picture of the *popovichi* from their childhoods to their adult mission. In particular, she illustrates many places, including the early Bolshevik Party, where *popovichi* exerted an influence, despite their small numbers. As recent a figure as the Soviet nuclear physicist and Noble Peace Prize-winner Andrei Sakharov is quoted as saying he was inspired by his *popovich* grandfather who, as a liberal lawyer, fought against the death penalty in the tsarist era. Among such fascinating insights, Manchester notes the way the *popovichi* identified themselves against the earlier, noble-descended intelligentsia, and how the attempt by Dmitrii Tolstoi to corral *popovichi* within the clerical estate by refusing to recognize their qualifications as valid for university entrance in fact ensured the values of the seminary would spread to society. There are also tantalizing glimpses of unusual attitudes among the *popovichi* toward sexuality. Aleksei Dmitrievskii failed to consummate his marriage because "romantic passion was satisfied by his work. 'Scholarship is the most charming of the women in the world . . . its embrace . . . takes care of all the afflictions and misfortunes of life,'" he wrote. Not surprisingly, his wife did not agree and left him (p. 185).

Hedda's book is focused on early-twentieth-century clerics who were attracted to the social gospel. It needs to be said from the outset that, although the book in some ways appears to be about the church in general, and its cover illustration is of a service in a rural church, the main focus is on cities and on St. Petersburg in particular. Within that context, the book's primary concern is with the fairly small number of Renovationist priests. However, despite its narrow scope, this is an excellent and illuminating study. While the chapter on Father Georgii Gapon is not especially new, and certain aspects of his life are treated unevenly—his death, for instance, being relegated to an endnote—the account is, on the whole, very fresh and original. Like Manchester, one of Hedda's main points is that secularizers often have it wrong. "The church," she argues, "has survived because Christians have found ways to combine tradition and modernity, rather than simply rejecting one and embracing the other" (pp. vii-viii). While this argument has been made about Western churches, the Russian Orthodox Church has been deemed to be more impervious to the modern. Indeed, its post-Soviet appeal has frequently been attributed to nostalgia and turning back the clock. In contrast, Hedda, after a brief survey of the development of the church after the Petrine reforms, focuses on church social initiatives beginning with movements in the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy after 1861. Partly in response to the spread of radical Protestantism, the church became more deeply involved in campaigns for sobriety, the

care of orphans, and preaching, occasionally but with increasing frequency, on moral and therefore social questions rather than doctrinal issues. The book's concentration, however, is on the early twentieth century and the prelude, experience, and consequences of the 1905 Revolution. In addition to the chapter on Gapon, there are excellent chapters on Gregorii Petrov, the small group of reform clerics, and the "decade of despair" of 1907 to 1917. In all these areas, Hedda makes great contributions to our knowledge. For example, the inadequacy of the parish infrastructure to accommodate the city's rapid increase in population is underscored. In 1900, each priest in the city was responsible for some 3,682 parishioners (p. 24). Nonetheless, certain parishes had a formidable record in social and community action. Hedda points to the charitable society at the Annunciation Church on Vasilevskii Island, which, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary in 1912, reported that "it maintained a shelter for girls, a pensioners' home with free housing, a day-care centre, a school, a library, a bookstore, a choir, and a temperance society that claimed 14,828 members" (p. 84).

While these works are most welcome additions to studies of the church in Russia, there are one or two unresolved questions. Both accounts are unremittingly positive about the church. Hedda assures us that even today "the Russian Orthodox Church continues to adapt and respond to the changing needs of society" (p. 203). But does it? Her contemporary examples are the priests Alexander Men and Gleb Yakunin. While Men's appalling death as a result of a street attack may well have been random, Yakunin's defrocking and excommunication, like Petrov's, was not. Where is the negative side of Orthodoxy? The church's close association with repressive regimes—tsarist and Stalinist—is mentioned but not investigated. Extreme right-wing clerics—like Antonii Khrapovitskii and John of Kronstadt—make occasional appearances, but there is no reference to antisemitism in the church or, except in passing, to the Union of Russian People. There are also a few contradictions within and between the volumes. For example, Manchester by and large records harmony between peasant boys and *popovichi*, while Petrov is quoted in Hedda's book as remembering hostility between them. Similarly, the condition of the clergy itself usually appears in a positive light, but in a number of places appears dire. While some of these lacunae are to be regretted, the two books are still essential reading for anyone wanting to deepen his or her knowledge of Russian Orthodoxy and particularly its minority modernizing wing.

CHRISTOPHER READ
University of Warwick

AARON J. COHEN. *Imagining the Unimaginable: World War, Modern Art, and the Politics of Public Culture in Russia, 1914–1917*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 232. \$45.00.

In 2007, the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg held an exhibition entitled "The Adventures of the Black Square," which focused on Kazimir Malevich's famous painting and how it has inspired artists over the years. Although the painting appeared in 1915, the museum display made no mention of World War I and how it may have affected the artist. Instead, the exhibit made a case that Malevich's square is best seen as an important milestone in world culture.

Aaron J. Cohen's book takes issue with this view and places Malevich's work squarely at the center of wartime cultural politics. Shortly after he finished *Black Square*, Malevich wrote: "The war has already passed a long time ago. Now there is horror, a nightmare has pierced through conscious reason. What is happening now is not like a war. It is a madness of the human brain" (p. 142). This view, Cohen concludes, meant that *Black Square* "restored order to a chaotic reality that in 1915 meant the world war" (p. 144). Without World War I, *Black Square* would not have been possible, for without the "madness of the human brain" the war caused, Malevich could not have imagined negating the war in his work.

Cohen's discussion of Malevich's painting highlights the central argument of this monograph, that World War I has "in many ways had a more profound influence on the politics and aesthetics of Russian visual culture than even the revolution" (p. 1). The war, Cohen writes, further mobilized an already existing civil society. Nikolai Punin, an avant-garde artist, remembered that "the war took its course, tearing from us pieces of the past that should have belonged to us. It shortened some things and drew others out . . . and having brought the world up to a new speed, the war placed an evil back-drop on all our lives, against which everything seemed at once tragic and meaningless" (p. 11). In many ways, Cohen's study fills in the details to Punin's claims, first by exploring the growing professionalization of the Russian art world before 1914, then by detailing how the war tore the pieces of this stable world apart. The state may not have attempted to mobilize citizens after 1914, Cohen argues, but civil society did. Russian artists in the early months of the war took part in a patriotic upsurge, launching a series of unprecedented charity expositions. The effect, as one critic wrote, was striking: "the war has pacified and united even the most irreconcilable: the most conservative Itinerants appear next to the most rebellious sectarians of cubism" (p. 75). Charity work did more than bring artistic opponents together in exhibitions, Cohen posits; it also led artists to seek greater public engagement and more outlets for their wartime art.

Russian artists increasingly sought to continue their public engagement in diverging ways. As Cohen describes it, "engagement with the war did not cease after 1915; its public contours and expressions shifted as Russians refocused their efforts away from public patriotism toward coping with war as a permanent problem in life" (p. 88). Charities, auctions, and special exhibitions did not disappear; they merely turned away

from the "hurrah patriotism" of 1914. Artists such as Marc Chagall (who was stranded in Russia during the war), Wasily Kandinsky (who returned from Germany to Russia, his homeland), and Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin began to focus more on death and narration and less on abstraction in their works in an effort to engage the new public environment created by war. It was this society-wide search for order within wartime chaos that created the non-objective movement in Russia. Vladimir Tatlin's *Corner Counter-Relief* and Malevich's *Black Square*, both finished in 1915, do not make sense as part of a centuries-long project to reach the absolute, as many art critics have viewed them. They only become comprehensible, Cohen writes, within the mobilized art culture the war created: "only in wartime did avant-garde artists in Russia suggest that art could represent nothing outside itself" (p. 146). Viewers of the square in early 1916 wrote that it produced a feeling of tranquility that served as welcome relief from the chaos in their lives.

In recent years, works by Hubertus F. Jahn, Peter Gatrell, Peter Holquist, Eric Lohr, Joshua A. Sanborn, Melissa K. Stockdale, and others have expanded our knowledge of World War I's impact in Russia. As a result of these explorations, we know a lot more about the dislocations and violence caused by the war and how they in turn shaped the early Soviet experience. Cohen's new book adds an important dimension to this historiography, demonstrating that wartime cultural mobilization was more pervasive and more complex than previously understood. The proof, as Cohen concludes, still hangs in Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery, a black square that testifies to the changes that World War I unleashed.

STEPHEN M. NORRIS
Miami University

GALINA RYLKOVA. *The Archaeology of Anxiety: The Russian Silver Age and Its Legacy*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 270. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$27.95.

The Russian Silver Age, roughly from 1890 to 1917 or 1921, was a period of creativity in all areas of art and thought. Galina Rylkova treats literature and poetry and argues that the Silver Age is "a cultural construct of retrospective origin [i.e., a myth] brought to life as a means of overcoming the existential anxieties unleashed by the Bolshevik Revolution, the civil war, and the Stalinist terror" and "a main source of anxieties that dominated the Russian cultural and political scene" for most of the twentieth century (pp. 6–7).

Rylkova traces the process of mythologization to the untimely death of Russia's greatest symbolist poet, Aleksandr Blok, in 1920. Some of Blok's contemporaries made him into an icon linking past and present, because he "accepted" the Bolshevik Revolution. Others regarded him as a symbol of decadence and degeneration

(due to his family history and his own pathologies) and viewed the entire Silver Age in the same light.

In the 1920s, Russian writers, émigrés included, rejected the immediate (pre-revolutionary) past. By the early 1930s, the Silver Age and all it stood for ("an unprecedented degree of experimentation in all spheres of art and life, individualism, and a determined rejection of traditional moralizing" [p. 59]) had been excluded from the accepted boundaries of Russian culture. In other words, it became a negative myth. But this very exclusion spurred certain writers to embrace the Silver Age and to idealize it as a period of freedom. Feeling a moral responsibility to preserve pre-revolutionary culture, these writers scrutinized it *ad infinitum*. Case studies of four of them follow.

The poet Anna Akhmatova was married (briefly) to the poet Nikolai Gumilev. After the Bolsheviks executed him in 1921, she made herself into his literary executor and the preserver of his memory and (in the next few years) of the memory of the Silver Age overall. Her own poems were banned by the state from 1925 to 1940, and her living conditions were awful. She vented her frustrations by attacking the widows or companions of "strong poets," because she considered it unethical to attack poets who had been persecuted or isolated. For the same reason, she attacked Marina Tsvetaeva's unkempt appearance and tragic love life and Mikhail Kuzmin's homosexuality. Surely, there are gender issues here. Akhmatova's attacks on Blok's widow were downright catty. Akhmatova wrote penetrating studies of Aleksandr Pushkin, but denied that his widow was beautiful.

Akhmatova's poetry was banned again from 1946 until the mid-1950s. In the last decade of her life, she was regarded as a "living link" to the Silver Age. Editors clamored for her poems, and she became an international celebrity. Her new status aroused new anxieties. Worried about the reception of her "Poem without a Hero" and her reputation in general, she rewrote the past, backdated some of her poems, and practiced an "obverse Stalinism" (p. 158). Akhmatova emerges as "human, all too human."

The émigré novelist Vladimir Nabokov wrote *The Eye* (1930) "in the shadow" of Kuzmin's novel *Wings* (1906), which treats same-sex love positively. *Wings* created a sensation when it was published and emboldened some young men to come out of the closet. Rylkova demonstrates Nabokov's debt to Kuzmin, but her claim that *Wings* was as influential as Nikolai Chernyshevskii's *What Is to Be Done?* (1863) is exaggerated (p. 113).

Boris Pasternak "translated" the Silver Age in *Doctor Zhivago* (1955), which started out as an article on Blok. The protagonist has Blokian characteristics as well as characteristics of other Silver Age authors. Pasternak himself was influenced by the "subjective criticism" practiced by the symbolist writer Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, which allowed intellectuals to interpret great writers of the past in terms of their own needs and the present historical and cultural situation.

Viktor Erofeev's novel, *Russian Beauty* (1982), was the last product of the Silver Age. Erofeev parodied the Russian institution of widowhood (exemplified by Akhmatova, among others) and spoofed the symbolists' apocalypticism and their ideal of Sophia (divine wisdom or the "eternal feminine"). The heroine is an anti-Sophia, promiscuous and materialistic.

Rylkova's study offers a fresh perspective on the Silver Age. I especially recommend it to scholars interested in the creation of historical memory. That said, non-Slavists may need more information on the political context. In the 1920s, rival literary groups struggled for hegemony over literature; unaffiliated writers were marginalized, and it was politically incorrect, indeed dangerous, to praise the Silver Age. Writers who made it into a positive myth in the 1930s and 1940s were responding not only to the Stalinist terror but also to curbs on authorial autonomy and the tendentious moralizing of socialist realism, the official aesthetic of Joseph Stalin's time from 1934 on. Akhmatova must have been terrified when Stalin's minister of culture publicly described her (in 1946) as half whore, half nun, but that episode is relegated to a footnote.

BERNICE GLATZER ROSENTHAL
Fordham University

NICK BARON. *Soviet Karelia: Politics, Planning and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1920–1939*. (BASEES/Routledge Series on Russian and East European Studies, number 43.) New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xix, 331. \$150.00.

In 1920, V. I. Lenin authorized a plan to transform Karelia, a territory bordering on Finland, into a showcase Soviet autonomous region that would serve the cause of world revolution, since it could form the kernel of a Scandinavian Soviet republic. He invited the author of the plan, the exiled Red Finn Edvard Gylling, to lead the autonomous Karelian republic. In this book, Nick Baron investigates how the Finnish leadership of Karelia tried to assert and maintain its economic autonomy, while the Stalin-led government, forced to give up Bolshevik expectations of a world revolution, gradually limited Karelia's freedom of action and finally annulled its autonomy. Another important factor in the loss of Karelia's autonomy was the republic's border situation: perceptions of increased danger from the West necessitated strengthening Soviet control over the area.

Soviet Karelia in the interwar period has recently been the subject of several important monographs, especially by Finnish scholars: Markku Kangaspuro has studied nationality policy in the region (2000), and Sari Autio-Sarasmao has examined Karelia's economic development (2002). Much remains, however, to be researched, and Baron's book is an important contribution to the field. It analyzes in detail political relations and controversies over the economy between Moscow and the regional leadership. The book is based on recently declassified party, state, and security police documents; its empirical base is exceptionally solid. There are about ninety pages of notes and bibliography. The

author is especially well oriented in Soviet Karelian history and center-local relations in the Soviet command economy.

In the 1920s, the Karelian leadership managed to secure itself considerable autonomy, in fact greater freedom of economic action than any other national territory. Gylling successfully negotiated an annual extension of Karelia's budget rights and was for a short time also able to control long-term planning. He envisioned a sustainable, balanced development of Karelia, including the area's diversified industrialization. In practice, according to the Soviet division of labor, Karelia was primarily responsible for providing raw materials (timber) for export and for domestic projects. The autonomous administration of Karelia's economy was constrained by several factors: arbitrary interventions from Moscow; the existence on its territory of numerous other organizations operating outside republican control (the Murmansk railway, the Gulag [the camp system of the Soviet political police], the Belomor Canal Company); and shortages of capital and labor. Measures taken to increase the workforce did not succeed, which led to the extensive use of forced labor. As a consequence, almost a third of the territory of the republic came under the jurisdiction of the Gulag by the late 1930s.

By the start of the Second Five-Year Plan in 1933, the republic had lost almost all control over its territorial economy. The nationality policy of the Karelian leadership had also come under fire. In the late 1930s, Gylling and his Red Finnish leadership fell victim to the Stalinist purges. The purges were particularly brutal for Karelia. Of those arrested in 1937–1938, one third were Finnish (although Finns constituted only 2.5 percent of the republic's population). Over eighty-three percent of those arrested were sentenced to death. "The Stalinist regime, as distinct from liberal democratic politics, prosecuted its strategy of centralisation with a coordinated intensity and concerted violence we may characterise as pathological" (p. 229), writes Baron.

Baron's book is a major contribution to the scholarly literature on Soviet Karelia and on center-periphery relations in the Soviet empire. In short, it is an impressive masterpiece in its own field.

SUNE JUNGAR

Abo Akademi University

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

KONRAD HIRSCHLER. *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors*. (SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. x, 181. £65.00.

Arabic historiography is a relative newcomer within Islamic studies as a whole. Two works in particular could be said to have inaugurated its study: Franz Rosenthal's *A History of Muslim Historiography* (1952) and Shakir Mustafa's *Al-Ta'rikh al-'Arabi wa'l Mu'arrikhun* (1978). Both are broad surveys of the field, not overly con-

cerned with grand theory nor with the social context of the historians, let alone close literary analysis of the texts themselves. Since their publication other works have appeared to rectify the situation, and we now possess quite a few publications on the subject, both general surveys and studies of individual historians, which employ methodologies derived largely from western intellectual history. Konrad Hirschler's book belongs to this new wave of work by scholars who seek to apply Western literary analysis theories to the field of pre-modern Arabic historiography. In Hirschler's case, the primary intellectual influences are clear and acknowledged: Hayden White and Northrop Frye. Hirschler admits that their methodologies have their limitations, but nevertheless he argues, and I would agree with him, that we have much to learn if we apply their methods to this field. His other interpretative strategy, quite distinct from the first, derives from what he calls the "concept of networks," which supposedly helps to clarify the social environment of the historians studied. This seems to me less fruitful as a strategy than the first.

The book's title is not wholly accurate. This is not a general survey of Arabic historiography but an examination of two thirteenth-century Syrian historians, Abu Shama (d. 1267) and Ibn Wasil (d. 1298), who, despite Hirschler's description of theirs as "rather minor texts" (p. 1) are in fact major sources of their period as well as of Crusader history. Although they are not assessed in this study for their "objectivity," the light shed on their writings is bright. There are, however, a number of issues that can be raised regarding the use of "network" analysis and the emplotment strategy. Hirschler borrows the concept of scholarly "networking" from George Makdisi to argue that scholars were more independent of the rulers than we had hitherto believed. But the evidence presented for this is tortuous, incomplete, and frequently conjectural. We cannot arrive at firm conclusions in this area unless far more work is done in the biographical dictionaries. Meanwhile, the implications of scholarly "independence" are not fully drawn out, and the relationship between scholars and men of power, which has a long history, is not investigated in depth.

More problematic is the emplotment strategy that Hirschler designates as Stasis, for Abu Shama, and Process, for Ibn Wasil. We come here to what Hirschler regards as the major contribution of his study. The first problem for the reader is organization. The two historians are analyzed in an interlinear fashion. This is confusing to the reader who often loses sight of the thread and cannot tell them apart. The eye flips back and forth between Abu Shama and Ibn Wasil so rapidly that each page must be read more than once and with very great care in order to follow the argument. Second, while Stasis and Process are interesting and original emplotments, neither term is very clear in contour. Stasis seems to imply a view of history as circular, in lumps, and harking back to an ideal time. Process represents the past as continuous. Neither emplotment can be regarded as very useful unless other historians of the pe-

riod are brought into the analysis, something that the author states is beyond the scope of his study. Third, it is difficult to see how Stasis can be applied as emplotment in the case of Abu Shama, whose work is essentially an anthology of earlier historical works. It is at least as likely that Stasis was inevitable in such a compilation, or was simply taken over from earlier historians. For Ibn Wasil, the Process historian, several interpretations of the term are offered which do not sit easily with each other or with the evidence presented. If Process is history-as-continuity, can it really be argued that "the present itself was an *ideal*" [my emphasis]? History is continuous, but is "good rule" a "perpetual reality" (p. 73)? This is too hard to swallow. It would make Ibn Wasil a moral idiot. In fact, Ibn Wasil's reader is often struck not so much by Process but by what one might call the "if only" supposition: if only this ruler had done this or that, he would have escaped his fate.

The reservations expressed above do not, however, detract from the merits of a work that is the fruit of a close, original, and thoughtful reading of two fascinating medieval texts.

TARIF KHALIDI
American University of Beirut

CHRISTOPHER HOUSTON. *Kurdistan: Crafting of National Selves*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 186. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$27.95.

Christopher Houston, an anthropologist, states his intention at the outset of this book: "Anthropologists rush in where historians fear to tread" he states, referring to the lack of scholarship on the transnational aspects of Kurds' evolution of a sense of identity, usually referred to as *Kurdayetî* by historians, a term that Houston does not use. The author is largely concerned with the crafting of Kurdish national selves in Turkey and within the authoritarianism, restrictions, and intolerance of Kemalism. Houston defines "Kemalism" as "a dual practice of chauvinist against ethnic minorities and modernist against non-authorized Islamic practice," especially Kurdish identity (p. 135). The author thinks that historians' accounts of the Kurds during the period of the Ottoman Empire ignore the degree to which the Kurds were codependent with other identities (dare one say nationalities?) in the empire. He argues that it was only in the twentieth century, with the advent of a nationalist Kurdish identity, that the geographical area now called Kurdistan in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, was imagined and then articulated: the emergence of Kurdistan resembles the Turkifying of the Ottoman Empire.

Houston uses the work of four prominent anthropologists—Edmund Leach, Fredrik Barth, İsmail Beşikci, and Martin van Bruinessen—to criticize their inability to define Kurdish identities and societies. He argues that Leach and Barth stress tribal solidarity and kinship and minimize the abilities of land magnates (*ağas*) to assert their authority. Beşikci by contrast, influenced by Marxism and a strong critic of the coercion

of Turkey's Kemalist government, thought the role of *ağas* significant. The four anthropologists also neglect Kurds' vital interest in the role and nature of religion in Kurdistan by approaching "religion via consideration of its political intent." This leaves women completely out of the picture and raises the question of what is the "true emancipator actor in Kurdistan: is it class or the nation or both? It is definitely not women" (p. 93). But Houston concludes that perhaps neither historical nor ethnographic accounts accurately describe the crafting of Kurdish national selves: "Both face the problem of writing about cultural and political differences constructed and maintained through people's connections with, not isolation from, each other. Indeed it is through this long history of encounter, both violent and peaceful, that Kurds and their others have co-constituted themselves as both the same and different" (p. 96).

Houston takes issue in chapter three with B. Sayyid and his definition of Kemalism as being "a political ideal type that denotes the mimetic project of *both* the new Turkish nationalist elite *and* their admiring counterparts in other Muslim states [Iran and Iraq] to forcibly Westernize their citizens, on the assumption of the progressive quality and universality of European civilization." To achieve this Islam must be inscribed as a negative and antagonistic other. But Houston dismisses Sayyid's binary opposition between Kemalism and Islamism as it ignores serious differences among Islamists and obscures serious similarities between Kemalism and Khomeinism, especially their violently assimilationist policies toward non-sovereign ethnic minorities in the name of their claim to different forms of universalism. "Their identical political extravagance, characterized by gratuitous invention of new social practices, florid polemics, rejection or rehabilitation of 'tradition' and the self-constituting re-narration of history demonstrate their politics to be inspired by an ideal of triumph of the will" (p. 104).

Houston concludes his study by analyzing the architecture of Istanbul and Tehran as being an accomplice in the violence shown toward non-sovereign minorities. The violence of this architecture can be defined as dictatorialization, sanctification, mandarinization, militarization, demographication, ceremonialization, and monumentalization in cities with their surfeit of national (Turkish) monuments, mausoleums, martyr memorials, libraries, and statuary; mandarinization as depicted by ubiquitous bureaucracies and banks exhibiting thesaurization; and the accumulation and centralization of national wealth.

In Turkey, Houston notes that sounds, music, TV, radio, and billboards are all in Turkish. The Kemalist city also smells differently to Kurds. In such a city an equivalent of a Kurdish national self is disallowed. But there is hope in Houston's pessimism, given the fact that in places such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Tehran, and Tabriz, "Kemalist" officials are unable to control all space, and in the nooks and crannies of these cities the crafting of Kurdish selves continues apace. Many of the current sounds, smells, and public spaces in Istanbul

are definitely Kurdish, and Kurdish identities are forged, sometimes in connection with the other and sometimes, as in southeastern Turkey, in isolation.

ROBERT OLSON
University of Kentucky

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

RICHARD REID. *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa: The Patterns and Meanings of State-Level Conflict in the Nineteenth Century*. (Eastern African Series.) London: The British Institute in Eastern Africa. 2007. Pp. xvi, 256. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

We finally have a comprehensive study of war and diplomacy in two large areas in East Africa during the nineteenth century. Richard Reid's new book exposes the historical trajectories of militarism in a region burdened with a weighty legacy of violence. British, German, Italian, and Belgian imperial hubris understood the violence of slavery in the region to flow from the moral shortcomings of "Arab" and "African" society. They intended the imposing force of their righteous arms to correct those failings. The region has struggled to shake both the label and the legacy ever since. Reid's path-breaking book takes up these big questions with a thematic focus on state-level conflict.

Reid finds states in central Uganda, central Tanzania, central Ethiopia, and Eritrea. Six "corridors of conflict" (p. 4)—zones of intense and cyclical conflict in the nineteenth century—subdivide the region. Geography is important in explaining warfare in East Africa, but Reid is sensitive to the obsession of "indigenous sources" of history with the role of warfare in creating states. He thus explores military process and practice in terms both geographically expansive and ideologically attentive. Reid argues that the violence of war created identities among both conquerors and the conquered "with alternate—and sometimes simultaneous—cultures of victory and defeat, expansion and suffering, emerging" (pp. 7, 102). War created new urban forms and reconfigured older ones. He asserts that political power grew militarized in the two areas during the second half of the nineteenth century but declines to explore the shifting moral and material aspirations of rank and file supporters. This omission perhaps accounts for a degree of misunderstanding in explaining people's motives for following military leaders. In the increasingly commodified corridors connecting the two oceans to central Uganda and northwestern Tanzania, followers engaged in multifaceted struggles for citizenship in a fractious, cosmopolitan world. The material expressions of that belonging often came to those at the margins by joining violence and consumerism in the labor of ivory and slave trading. Exploring their shifting aspirations would lend greater cultural heft to Reid's provocative conclusion that war democratized political culture, its role being "to place constraints on the state and engender an even greater degree of popular participation in society and politics" (p. 150).

Reid's work brings to light an irresistibly concrete political history, created by warfare and militarism, captured by a pithy conclusion: "statehood was often the institutionalization of violence" (p. 231). Cultural legacies of violence, cultivated by states, were "manifest in the creation of chieftaincies and collective memory, and in the articulation of struggle as cyclical and perpetual" (p. 232). Rather more controversially, Reid concludes that "war on the African continent did not lead to innovation or development; yet interaction with the outside world did, as African societies became involved—however unbalanced the relationship might have been—with cultures and civilizations capable of modernizing them" (p. 232). The unmarked spatial and temporal-conceptual boundaries in this claim beg vital questions bearing directly on the book's main themes. Where are the edges of East Africa in 1800, 1900, or 2000? In what ways does Reid's claim reify the modern? In what ways are the implicitly early modern or pre-modern contents of innovation and development invested with meaning? Warning readers away from nineteenth-century myths of primordial mayhem and violence in the region, Reid concludes that a great deal of the postcolonial violence in central Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea amounts to "unfinished business" (p. 235). With this observation, he argues that only a *longue durée* approach to African warfare reveals the degree to which "the colonial period represented an attempt to impose an armistice, a suspension of hostilities, from above and outside; and in many areas this has created its own tensions and dynamics, warping, breaking apart or reformulating pre-colonial identities and relationships" (p. 235).

Reid's focus on warfare keeps him from analyzing the moral divides between sanctioned and illegitimate modes of violence. Was warfare's violence *sui generis*, something people understood as legitimate solely in terms of the breadth of its effective scope (p. 146)? If so, how did that come about? If not, what other discourse and practice disciplined the material and experiential costs of war? For a book squarely focused on state-level conflict, we learn surprisingly little about the complex relationships among warfare, law, and sovereignty. Reid's nineteenth century raises questions about the precoloniality of the subject matter. In an influential volume on the effect of expanding imperial powers of all sorts, the authors concluded that the violent edge of empire ran well ahead of the warriors' warm bodies (R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, eds., *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare* [1992], p. 28). Disease, ecological transformation, technological and social change—all topics Reid treats in passing—mark the areas touched by the imperial phases of modern history, rendering them anything but pristine settings for colonialism. Reid's path-breaking book refutes the persistent popular images of Africa's nineteenth century as a time when the outside world peered in on a region of primordial violence. Do his principal conclusions reveal the early

chapters of modernity's violent origins, or do they chronicle the end of an African early modern?

DAVID LEE SCHOENBRUN
Northwestern University

HELENA POHLANDT-McCORMICK. *"I Saw a Nightmare . . .": Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976*. New York: Columbia University Press. (Gutenberg-e.) 2005.

Helena Pohlandt-McCormick's book is a comprehensive and intimate account of the revolt that broke the silence of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Pohlandt-McCormick reopens the evidence on the events of mid-1976 and brings in new evidence gleaned from interviews with participants conducted twenty-five years after the uprising. This review is of the e-book whose form, with clickable links to archives, photos, commission reports, and interview transcripts, makes for an incredibly rich reading experience.

The book starts with the photograph of a dying Hector Pieterse carried in the arms of a friend. Pieterse, a young African student, was widely believed to be first to die in the Soweto uprising, although Pohlandt-McCormick notes that a different student probably was killed before him. This photo "became an icon of history—constituent part and instrument of collective history and memory" (chapter one). The photo as an icon has been appropriated by the official narratives of what happened in Soweto in 1976.

Pohlandt-McCormick describes three different narratives as claiming official status or authority: the first was written by the commission convened by the apartheid state, the second by the African National Congress (ANC) leadership in exile at the time of the uprising, and the third by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the immediate post-apartheid era. The apartheid state had to create an official memory of the largely unforeseen political violence as part of its attempt to regain control. The resulting Report of the Cillie Commission, named for the judge who presided over it, reconstructed the state's power by reconciling the right to control with the apparent loss of control, and the right to exclude Africans politically with the inclusion of coerced African witnesses. The state's self-serving explanation of what happened in Soweto was that a small group of instigators among the protesters had initiated the violence and the state simply defended itself and justifiably clamped down on black political organizations.

The ANC also appropriated events for the burnishing of its own image as the preeminent anti-apartheid movement. The ANC had faced serious competition

from black consciousness organizations in the 1970s, particularly among African youth too young to remember the ANC from the period before it was legally banned in 1960. The organization wanted to reinstate its own authority. In a speech made in 1985, ANC President Oliver Tambo revealed what had become the dominant ANC narrative of the events of 1976: the uprising was a heroic movement that showed that "the people" were ready for revolution and it was only necessary for the leadership to educate and lead. ANC leaders believed that the students needed the discipline that the ANC could provide.

The third official narrative was that developed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. But Pohlandt-McCormick finds that account disappointing because it largely accepted the ANC version and did not take into account dissenting voices either about the details of the protest movement itself or about the overall meaning of the violence that broke out on June 16th.

Pohlandt-McCormick faults the official stories for lacking depth and nuance. She turns instead to interviews with eyewitnesses and participants to get to some of the grittier details. The individual memories, she notes, tend to be messy and fragmented: participants' "memories resonated with the outrage, exhilaration, fear, and fervor that the experience of this historical series of events still aroused. They also spoke to quotidian concerns—about, for example, a good pair of shoes left behind in a looted store" (chapter four). People joined the protest against apartheid education for many different reasons, ranging from deep political commitment to simply being swept along with a growing crowd of peers.

Ultimately, however, what interests Pohlandt-McCormick is the way that the violence that people experienced in the uprising as well as in their daily lives under the apartheid regime has left scars on their memories. The sharp pain of death and loss, of fear for oneself and for one's family members, and of the mind-numbing terror inflicted by the bureaucracy of apartheid have all altered people's memories of events and of their own actions. The sixth chapter, "Memory and Violence," is the most haunting and evocative part of the book. It draws on the literature on the intersection of personal and public memory, individual and collective history but again brings in the stories told by individuals about their own experiences. It is the ability of the book to negotiate both the broader historical questions and the intimate personal details of individual people's lives that makes it such a thoughtful and compelling work of history.

SEAN REDDING
Amherst College

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

A. L. BEIER and PAUL OCOBOCK, editors. *Cast Out: Vagrancy and Homelessness in Global and Historical Perspective*. (Research in International Studies Global and Comparative Studies Series, number 8.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2008. Pp. vii, 396. \$30.00.

PAUL OCOBOCK, *Vagrancy and Homelessness in Global and Historical Perspective*. A. L. BEIER, "A New Serfdom": Labor Laws, Vagrancy Statutes, and Labor Discipline in England, 1350–1800. LINDA WOODBRIDGE, *The Neglected Soldier as Vagrant, Revenger, Tyrant Slayer in Early Modern England*. A. L. BEIER, "Takin' It to the Streets": Henry Mayhew and the Language of the Underclass in Mid-Nineteenth-Century London. DAVID ARNOLD, *Vagrant India: Famine, Poverty, and Welfare under Colonial Rule*. RICHARD B. ALLEN, *Vagrancy in Mauritius and the Nineteenth-Century Colonial Plantation World*. THOMAS H. HOLLOWAY, *Doing Favors for Street People: Official Responses to Beggars and Vagrants in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. ANDREW A. GENTES, *Vagabondage and Siberia: Disciplinary Modernism in Tsarist Russia*. VINCENT DIGIROLAMO, "Tramps in the Making": The Troubling Itinerancy of America's News Peddlers. FRANK TOBIAS HIGBIE, *Between Romance and Degradation: Navigating the Meanings of Vagrancy in North America, 1870–1940*. ANDREW BURTON and PAUL OCOBOCK, *The "Travelling Native": Vagrancy and Colonial Control in British East Africa*. AMINDA M. SMITH, *Thought Reform: The Chinese Communists and the Reeducation of Beijing's Beggars, Vagrants, and Petty Thieves*. ROBERT GORDON, *Imposing Vagrancy Legislation in Contemporary Papua New Guinea*. ABBY MARGOLIS, *Subversive Accommodations: Doing Homeless in Tokyo's Ueno Park*.

EDMUND BURKE III and KENNETH POMERANZ, editors. *The Environment and World History*. (The California World History Library, number 9.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 361. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

KENNETH POMERANZ, *World History and Environmental History*. EDMUND BURKE III, *The Big Story: Human History, Energy Regimes, and the Environment*. JOHN F. RICHARDS, *Toward a Global System of Property Rights in Land*. EDMUND

BURKE III, *The Transformation of the Middle Eastern Environment, 1500 B.C.E.–2 C.E.* KENNETH POMERANZ, *The Transformation of China's Environment, 1500–2000*. MARK CIOC, *The Rhine as a World River*. MICHAEL ADAS, *Continuity and Transformation: Colonial Rice Frontiers and Their Environmental Impact on the Great River Deltas of Mainland Southeast Asia*. WILLIAM BEINART, *Beyond the Colonial Paradigm: African History and Environmental History in Large-Scale Perspective*. MAHESH RANGARAJAN, *Environmental Histories of India: Of States, Landscapes, and Ecologies*. LISE SEDREZ, *Latin American Environmental History: A Shifting Old/New Field*. DOUGLAS R. WEINER, *The Predatory Tribute-Taking State: A Framework for Understanding Russian Environmental History*.

FRITZ-HEINER MUTSCHLER and ACHIM MITTAG, editors. *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 481. \$175.00.

ALBRECHT DIHLE, *City and Empire*. ZHU WEIZHENG, *Interlude: Kingship and Empire*. MICHAEL NYLAN, *The Rhetoric of "Empire" in the Classical Era in China*. YURI PINES, *Imagining the Empire? Concepts of "Primeval Unity" in Pre-Imperial Historiographic Tradition*. HUANG YANG and FRITZ-HEINER MUTSCHLER, *The Emergence of Empire: Rome and the Surrounding World in Historical Narratives from the Late Third Century BC to the Early First Century AD*. FRITZ-HEINER MUTSCHLER, *The Problem of "Imperial Historiography" in Rome*. ACHIM MITTAG, *Forging Legacy: The Pact between Empire and Historiography in Ancient China*. HELWIG SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, *Diagram (tu) and Text (wen): Mapping the Chinese World*. KATHERINE CLARKE, *Text and Image: Mapping the Roman World*. MARTIN KERN, *Announcements from the Mountains: The Stele Inscriptions of the Qin First Emperor*. CHRISTIAN WITSCHEL, *The Res Gestae Divi Augusti and the Roman Empire*. ROLF MICHAEL SCHNEIDER, *Image and Empire: The Shaping of Augustan Rome*. MICHÈLE PIRAZZOLI-T'SERSTEVENS, *Imperial Aura and the Image of the Other in Han Art*. HANS ARMIN GÄRTNER and YE MIN, *The Impact of the Empire's Crises on Historiography and Historical Thinking in Late Antiquity*. ACHIM MITTAG and YE MIN, *Empire on the Brink: Chinese Historiography in the Post-Han Period*. GERARD O'DALY, *New Tendencies, Religious and Philosophical, in the Roman Empire of the Third to Early Fifth Centuries*. THOMAS JANSEN, *New Tendencies, Religious and Philosophical, in the Chinese World of the Third through Sixth Centuries*.

ASIA

ROSALIND C. MORRIS, editor *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*. (Objects/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. 313. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

ROSALIND C. MORRIS, *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*. JOHN PEMBERTON, *The Ghost in the Machine*. JAMES T. SIEGEL, *The Curse of the Photograph: Atjeh 1901*. JAMES L. HEVIA, *The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900–1901), Making Civilization*. ROSALIND C. MORRIS, *Photography and the Power of Images in the History of Power: Notes from Thailand*. PATRICIA SPYER, *In and Out of the Picture: Photography, Ritual and Modernity in Aru, Indonesia*. NICKOLA PAZDERIC, *Mysterious Photographs*. CARLOS ROJAS, *Abandoned Cities Seen Anew: Reflections on Spatial Specificity and Temporal Transience*. MARILYN IVY, *Dark Enlightenment: Naitō Masatoshi's Flash*. THOMAS LAMARRE, *Cine-Photography as Racial Technology: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's Close-Up on the New/Oriental Woman's Face*.

ALAN TANSMAN, editor. *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 477. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$27.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

Jeremi Suri, in "The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960–1975" (*AHR*, February 2009, 45–68), has defined the international counterculture in expansive terms. To him, Betty Friedan was in it, so were civil rights marchers, and so were SDS leaders like Todd Gitlin. Georgian workers in Novocherkassk during June 1962 also were in it, for Communist authorities were concerned about the "psychology of contemporary young people." Virtually anyone who opposed the Establishment was in it, so it is logical that on this topic (time out to take a toke) he writes about . . . Khrushchev and Kissinger and the Nixon Doctrine. Far Out.

Suri has taken such ideas from his award-winning book *Power and Protest*, but in that study he doesn't use the term and merge everyone into the counterculture. Certainly he is correct that within the baby boom generation "groups of young citizens articulated feelings of 'alienation.'" No one would disagree, but the connection weakens as he presents a counterculture loaded with every dissident in the 1960s, including street fightin' men like Rudi Dutschke and the Red Army Faction in Germany or the Weathermen in the USA. Supposedly, Mao's Cultural Revolution had something to do with the counterculture in the West. Man, that's Heavy.

Broadly defined? Yes, so broadly that his counterculture becomes meaningless, and there are more questions than answers. Where are the Heads and Fists? Those dope-smoking, laidback folks letting their freak

flags fly versus those aggressive ideologues who wanted to take over college buildings and Stop the Machine? There were great tensions between these very different youth, and they wouldn't want to be grouped together. Where are Sara Davidson and those women of the sixties who tired of being sex slaves of male campus leaders, or Sara Evans and her friends who got their feminist juices flowing by the behavior of male activists in the civil rights movement? Come on, feminist historians, are you really going to let this dude place your star—Ms. Friedan—in the counterculture? Lady Friedan a hippie? And you older guys with graying ponytails, get off your Harleys and read this article and then ask—where are . . . the hippies? In Suri's article they do not appear, no, not one H-word (went up in Cheech and Chong smoke).

No hippies, no freaks, no seekers need apply for Suri's counterculture: No Sex, Drugs, and Rock 'n' Roll here, no Tuli Kupferberg, no Ray Mungo or even Tim Leary. No communes or Woodstock, no Mary Jane or Purple Haze, no Wanderlust—and this is Front Page News—no underground newspapers.

The counterculture Suri draws is from the top down—presidential advisers and the "wise men"—and not from the bottom up. Kissinger is mentioned five times, but not one hippie, just one Yippie, Abbie Hoffman. Apparently, CIA director Richard Helms, along with President Johnson's assistant Walt Rostow and Kissinger, were experts on the counterculture. Groovy.

It seems that the problem with this acid dreams interpretation is the sources. The author does not employ the papers of the counterculture; by 1970 hippies and activists were printing up some 600 underground newspapers in the USA with a circulation of about 5 million, and lots of them were being printed up in Western Europe. Those are their documents, not a Soviet youth magazine or the *Port Huron Statement*. In the *Berkeley Barb*, *The Rag* (Austin), *Great Speckled Bird* (Atlanta), *Connections* (Madison), or the *Washington Free Press*, historians can find out how the counterculture described itself—their values, opinions, feelings, their friends and enemies.

Of course there was an international counterculture, and it arrived in local forms and took on local and global issues. Many dropped out, but by the late 1960s some also merged with various types of activists to con-

front those issues, from Washington to Paris, from Tokyo to Mexico City. This "Youthquake," as *Time* called it, was an attack on the status quo that resulted in the rise of a "sixties generation" after 1968 that significantly altered American and West European societies.

Perhaps "Youthquake" would be a more appropriate term, or as Suri uses in his book, "protesters." I don't know, but I do know that Suri has irritated some aging hippies. Sorry, you former communards from California's Morningstar Ranch to Denmark's Kana Commune. And I so foolishly thought that all of us, some 3 million mostly Western seekers, who were building communes or hitchhiking around America, Europe, and beyond—from Marrakech to Kathmandu—were on a personal search for meaning, for fulfillment, an attempt to escape the violent, destructive, and Puritanical behavior of the Establishment. Well, you former freaks, you'll be surprised to know: you weren't in the counterculture. Goodbye to all that. You no longer exist; you hippies have been tossed into the dustbin of History. Bummer.

TERRY H. ANDERSON
Texas A&M University

Jeremi Suri does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITORS:

James H. Sweet frames his article "Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Álvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora" (*AHR*, April 2009, 279–306) by caricaturing my position on the question of the identity of Olaudah Equiano raised by his baptismal and naval records. Sweet begins his distortion with the claim that "[a]ccording to Carretta, it was Equiano himself who provided that information"—i.e., the record that Equiano was born in "Carolina"—"to the Anglican priest" who baptized him (280). At first I thought that this statement was simply a misreading of my essay "Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity" (*Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 3 [1999]: 96–105) and other writings. But when Sweet later returns to the issue by saying, "[a]s Paul Lovejoy has pointed out, Equiano's godmother may well have been the one responsible for claiming [Equiano's] Carolina ancestry" (301), I realized that he was assessing my work through Lovejoy's hostile lens rather than reading it himself. Had he done the latter, he would have discovered the sentence "Vassa himself of course may not have been responsible for the information or misinformation regarding the place and date of his birth recorded at his baptism" (102). Faithfully following Lovejoy, Sweet repeats Lovejoy's confusion of Equiano's godmother with his godmother's sister, rather than checking my biography of Equiano to try to get his facts straight. Clearly Sweet knows his Lovejoy better than he does his Carretta.

Sweet's characterization of my *Equiano, the African*:

Biography of a Self-Made Man raises the question of how carefully he has actually read the book. He attributes to me a "desire to reconcile Equiano as either 'African' or 'American [sic]' " (281), rendering my biography a simple-minded attempt to link Equiano to a single, stable identity. Sweet should have noticed my comments in the Preface that "[a]ttempts to pin Equiano down to either an American or a British identity are doomed to failure" (xiii), and that "the various overlapping identities the author displays in *The Interesting Narrative* should warn us not to try to limit him to one nationality" (xix). Sweet ought to have later found me saying that "the evidence that Gustavus Vassa invented the African birth of Olaudah Equiano is indecisive," and addressing the issue of whether Equiano "was born an Igbo in Africa or raised as an Igbo in South Carolina" (320). Despite the ample evidence, none of which Sweet deals with, that I provide in my biography and elsewhere that Equiano had the means, motive, and opportunity to create a claim in the late 1780s to an African birthplace, Sweet imagines "that the burden of proof falls on Carretta to explain the situational contexts that might have inspired claims of a 'Carolina' birth" (301). Sweet, like Lovejoy before him, needs to offer a plausible explanation for why Equiano claimed an American birthplace when he had no apparent compelling reason to do so, other than the possibility that it may have been the truth.

Sweet continues to follow his leader in his discussion of the 1773 muster list, completely overlooking the evidence offered in my biography that others on the same voyage had no problem with identifying themselves as African-born. Somehow—Sweet does not reveal the methodology—he divines that Equiano was "fraught with self-reflexive anxiety" when asked for his birthplace (302). In publications that Sweet cites in footnote 4 but never engages, I have already addressed at some length what I see as the spurious evidence and specious arguments Sweet largely repeats here. Although Sweet elsewhere in his article rightly calls for contextualizing evidence, he fails to do so himself when he ignores the Royal Navy's policy on slavery, the implications of the 1772 Somerset decision, the naval status of an "able seaman," the distinction between a privately engaged servant and a slave, and the improbability that someone seeking to claim what Lovejoy and he call "British respectability" would choose a colonial rather than metropolitan birthplace to do so.

Of the six sentences Sweet devotes to the alleged linguistic evidence that Equiano was born in Africa, two simply assert that claim, while the others rush through the subject by inflating the very few instances of arguably Igbo terms into "simply too many Igbo language words in the narrative for Equiano to have invented them all" (302). Not surprisingly, Sweet does not mention that I devote much of one chapter in the biography to the complicated issue of Equiano's claim to an Igbo identity.

Sweet's last entry in his bill of particulars is his discovery of a logical conclusion. He correctly observes

that if Equiano had invented an African birthplace, he must also have invented the episodes in which he discusses his separation from his unnamed sister. I agree. Here Sweet should consider his own correct observation that "[i]n order to accommodate the Western genre of autobiographical narrativity, Equiano . . . had to adhere to particular literary patterns and plots for an English-speaking audience" (304), and take a look at my discussion of the sentimental literary trope of familial separation employed by Equiano.

Not only literary scholars believe that one should read documents carefully and describe them fairly before criticizing them. Should Sweet ever read my biography attentively, he will no doubt be pleased to discover that his call for a nuanced and contextualized treatment of Equiano's complex combination of imbricated identities has been anticipated and answered.

VIN CARRETTA
University of Maryland

JAMES H. SWEET RESPONDS:

I would never imply that Vincent Carretta's excellent biography can be reduced to a "simple-minded attempt to link Equiano to a single, stable identity." On the contrary, Carretta's book is a fine analysis of Equiano's many overlapping, shifting identities. Nevertheless, the overarching thrust of his work is that Equiano was "self made," implying a conscious, willful attempt to "invent" an African past in the name of a more authentic Atlantic creole identity. Carretta argues that this invented, African Equiano contradicts evidentiary elements from the earlier life of Gustavus Vassa, in particular the baptismal and ship's muster records that claim a "Carolina" birth. He suggests in his response here, as elsewhere, that these documents are the "truth," even as he leaves open the possibility that Equiano was born in Africa. Unfortunately, Carretta cannot have it both ways. While I agree that Equiano repeatedly remade himself, Carretta allows the baptismal and muster records to do his analytical work for him, reading "Carolina" backward through the lens of African "invention." For me, none of the identities expressed in these documents can be read as "truth." Rather, "Carolina" was one of many serialized, situational "inventions."

In his response, Carretta falsely accuses me of distorting his position on Equiano's birthplace. Citing his 1999 article, Carretta writes that "Vassa . . . may not have been responsible for the information . . . regarding the place and date of his birth recorded at his baptism." Carretta fails to note that the quote is part of a longer sentence in which he implies that Vassa provided the information. What Carretta actually wrote was: "Vassa . . . may not have been responsible for the . . . place . . . of . . . birth recorded at his baptism, but that information was presumably available to the future Mrs. Baynes, who Vassa later said first knew him as an African." Here, Vassa either conspired to lie about "Caro-

lina," along with the baptismal witness, Mrs. Baynes, or he later lied about her knowledge of him as an African. The implication is the latter, circling us back to Vassa's ownership of "Carolina." Either way, it is Carretta's emphasis on the alleged duplicity that I reject. The Carolina birth may be "true" to the metanarrative of later African "invention," however, Carretta does not fully consider the sociopolitical moment in which the claim was actually made, a moment heavily burdened by Equiano's subjectivities. For me, Equiano's "Carolina" was just as invented and situational as his later "Africa."

Similarly, Carretta would like us to believe that "the evidence that Gustavus Vassa invented the African birth of Olaudah Equiano is indecisive." First, it is important to recognize that Carretta distinguishes Vassa and Equiano as two different people—Vassa, the Atlantic author, "inventing" Equiano, the African. Second, Carretta again leaves off the crucial "but" that follows his sentence. In his book, the sentence reads: "The evidence that . . . Vassa invented the African birth of . . . Equiano is indecisive, but a compelling circumstantial case for self-invention can be made." Carretta's convenient neglect of so many qualifying "buts" is, by itself, revealing. More damning still, at the end of the second paragraph of his response, Carretta himself admits that "Equiano claimed an American birthplace." Contradictions aside, most important for our purposes, Carretta never fully explores the "indecisiveness" of the documents; nor does he consider that that very indecisiveness might be an accurate reflection of African Atlantic experiences.

Regarding the 1773 muster list, I did not overlook the other African-born crewmembers on the *Racehorse*. I simply do not see their importance in Equiano's self-presentation. Here, social context matters tremendously. Were any of the other Africans "personal servants" for white men? "Servants" for their former masters conducting scientific experiments? The keys here are not institutional markers like navy policy or British law, but rather, Equiano's contradictory consciousness in this *particular* social setting. In order to emphasize his elevated status as "able seaman" and scientific assistant, Equiano had every reason to distance himself from perceptions of African servitude. As I also suggest, the "Carolina" identity could have been interpolated by a lazy scribe. These explanations differ significantly from Lovejoy's "British respectability" thesis.

Finally, on the question of language, two observations: First, I use Carretta's own work to argue that there were roughly ten Igbo words in Equiano's *Narrative*. Carretta would like me to depend on his biography to elaborate on Igbo; however, my aim is not to repeat his arguments but rather to show that in those instances where Equiano invokes Igbo terms, he does so as a translator of an alternate epistemology. This is much more than mere word translation; it is the translation of someone deeply knowledgeable about a particular set of sociocultural ideas, far removed from Anglo sensibilities. Second, language is also crucial to my treatment of Equiano's lost sister. While Carretta em-

phasizes the “sentimental trope of familial separation,” suggesting that the Gibraltar episode was just another invention, I am much more interested in Equiano’s invocation of his would-be sister’s unintelligible African language, yet another strong documentary clue to his African birth. Equiano may have had the “motive” to invent his African past in the 1780s, but the evidence suggests he possessed epistemological and linguistic “means” that could only have been learned in Africa years earlier.

Ironically, Carretta’s emphasis on the “sentimentality” of familial separation is precisely the trope against which I argue in my article. There was nothing “sentimental” in Equiano’s descriptions of the profound “sorrows” that met his every break from patrons, friends, and kin (as opposed to Western notions of “family”). Just as with Domingos Álvares, something fundamental, deeply visceral, was destroyed each time Equiano was uprooted from communal succor. In this way, Equiano’s life story, like that of Domingos Álvares, was a quintessentially African-Atlantic story. The documents bear this out in a multitude of ways, but so do broader ontologies. Equiano could not have learned or “invented” the repeated anxieties of instability, fragmentation, and loss expressed in his *Narrative*. These were “ways of being” that could only emanate from the excruciating experiences of African slavery. Taken together, Equiano’s self-claims, his understandings of Igbo language and epistemology, and his deep metaphysical yearning for belonging all suggest an African birth. Just like Domingos Álvares’s claim to “Angola,” Equiano’s claims to “Carolina” were likely expressions of the barest social attachment in particularly difficult contexts. While I strongly endorse Carretta’s otherwise “nuanced and contextualized treatment of Equiano,” for me, the documentary evidence bears out not a “trope” or series of “inventions,” but a broken, fragmented African-Atlantic history.

JAMES H. SWEET
University of Wisconsin–Madison

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITORS:

I was pleasantly surprised to see that you chose to review my book *What the World Should Be: Woodrow Wilson and the Crafting of a Faith-Based Foreign Policy* (*AHR*, April 2009, 449–450). I was delighted to see that the reviewer was John Milton Cooper, a historian I admire and whose work I have found extremely helpful in the classroom. I did not expect a neutral review from him, and he did not disappoint. My book takes issue with a small part of his vast scholarship on Woodrow Wilson (2). Professor Cooper and I may simply have to disagree. His review, however, missed the point of my book.

My book agrees with John Maynard Keynes (1–4),

rather than disagreeing as the review implied. I argue that the *manner* of religious thought could be detected in Wilson even when the specifics of his religion were absent. Cooper argues for a clear separation between sacred and “worldly” in Wilson’s thought. Having made that separation, he argues that Wilson is more worldly than I seem to grasp. This is a misunderstanding of how Wilson’s Reformed and Presbyterian background worked. It is not that easily separated.

My second disagreement with the review flows from the first. Cooper is looking for the “what” of Wilson’s religion when I am writing about “how” Wilson’s religion made him think (1). The president’s contemporaries documented this manner of thought (Keynes being the most vocal). Wilson’s pattern of thinking, I argue, can be traced to his youth. It was reinforced by his association with Presbyterian institutions throughout his life.

Cooper says that my evidence fails to convince him. I am not sure what would. The review states that I use the article “Christ’s Army” (Appendix I), written when Wilson was 20, as a “Rosetta Stone,” which “this piece of juvenilia cannot bear.” In the book, however, this document is part of an evidentiary case of a youthful starting point for a fully formed approach to the world that changes little in its *manner* as Wilson ages. The “Inaugural Address” (Appendix IV) is a collaboration between Wilson and his father, written when the latter was installed as president of Southwestern Seminary in 1885. Wilson was then nearing age 30 and beginning his teaching at Bryn Mawr. The correspondence showing their collaboration is in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, edited by Arthur Link. An embarrassing typographical error wrongly dates this to 1876, which has led Cooper to mistake it as a disconnected artifact from Wilson’s youth. Elsewhere in the book, the date and connection are correct. This collaborative speech highlights Calvinist ideas shared by father and son. I then note Wilson’s Bryn Mawr lecture notes written around the same time. Together, the address and notes present Calvin’s Geneva in holistic “worldly” and political, as well as “religious,” terms. Wilson’s 1905 address “Youth and Christian Progress” is cited by Cooper (*The Warrior and the Priest*) to show the lack of specific Calvinist influence on Wilson. I cite it to show the opposite. Wilson’s 1909 speech “The Present Task of the Ministry,” delivered at age 53, his address to Free Church leaders in London in 1918, at age 62, and comments made to his daughter at the end of his life further exemplify a life-long pattern. Collectively this cannot be categorized as “juvenilia.” In fundamental approaches to life and policy, Wilson’s thinking retained patterns formed by his religion and changed little from his youth.

I have always wanted to ask how Cooper can argue, in *The Warrior and the Priest*, that the 1905 address is evidence of Wilson’s disregard of religion rather than his awareness of it, as my book argues (12). Wilson comments with approval on the exclusion of some Unitarian ministers from a conference. It is here he says that a focus on character for salvation is priggish. Nineteenth-

century Unitarians were considered by Wilson's Presbyterian comrades to teach salvation through imitating the character of Christ. The future president's remarks in this context demonstrate a full awareness of his church's doctrine of unmerited favor and salvation through Christ rather than character. Cooper argues that this shows neutrality toward religion. I feel the burden of proof lies with Cooper.

On many issues related to Wilson and foreign policy,

I would defer to Professor Cooper. In regard to the books he cites as better than mine, I would have little disagreement. On this issue, however, I wonder if he has simply made up his mind and cannot be convinced.

MALCOLM D. MAGEE

Michigan State University

John Milton Cooper does not wish to respond.

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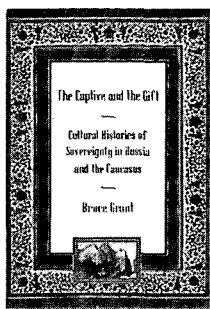
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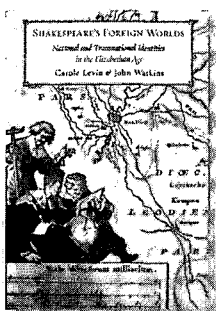
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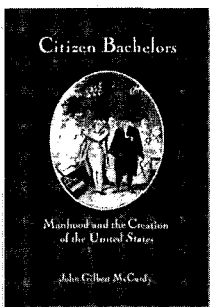
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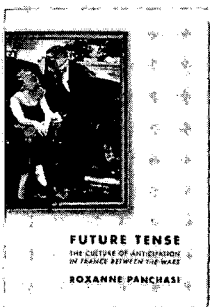
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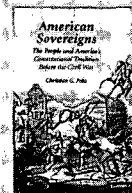
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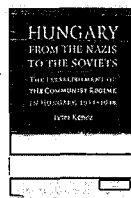


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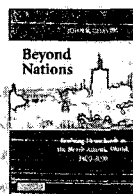
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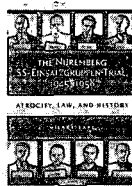
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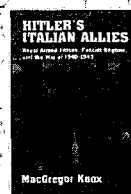


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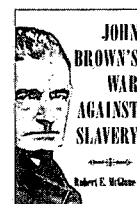
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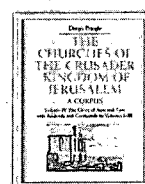
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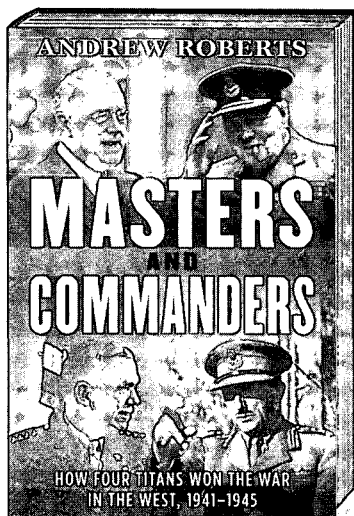
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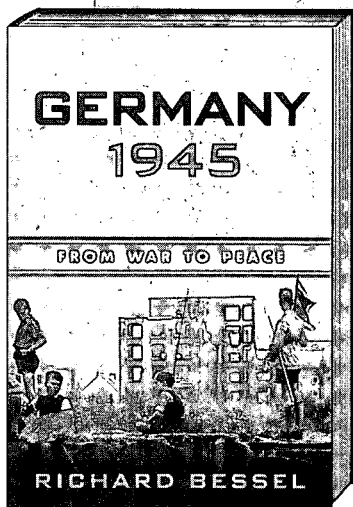
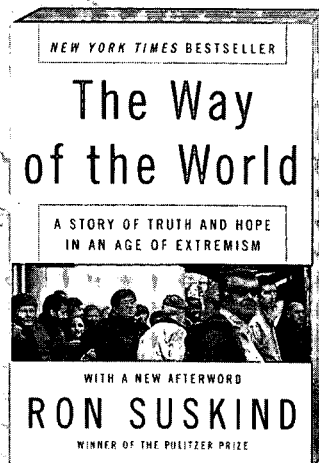
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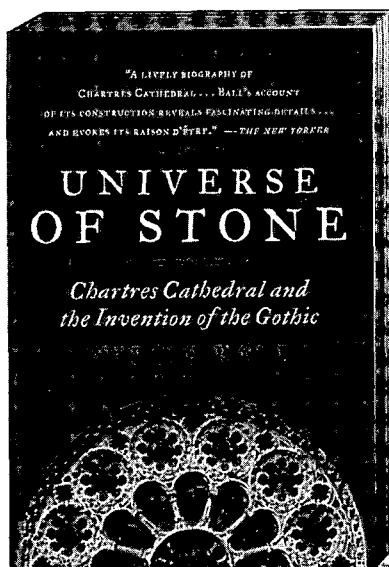
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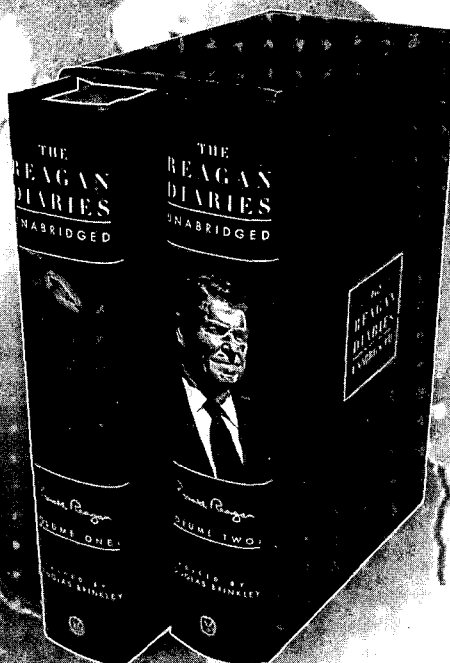
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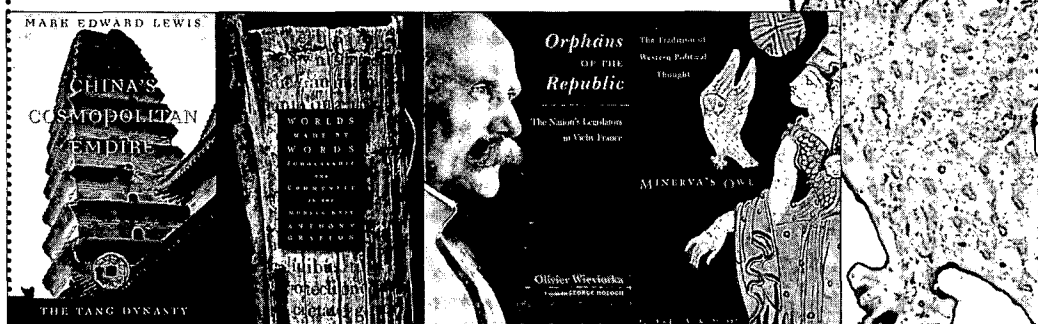
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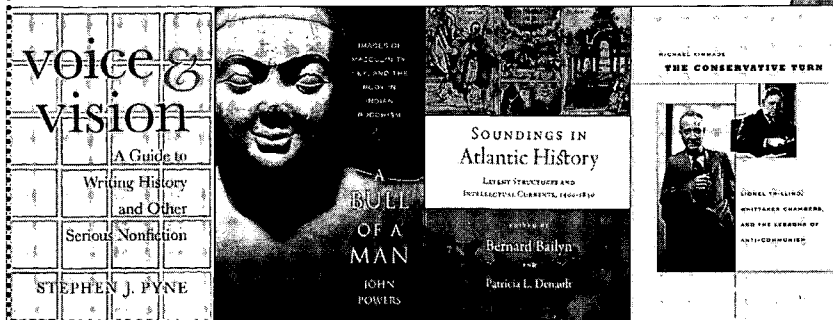
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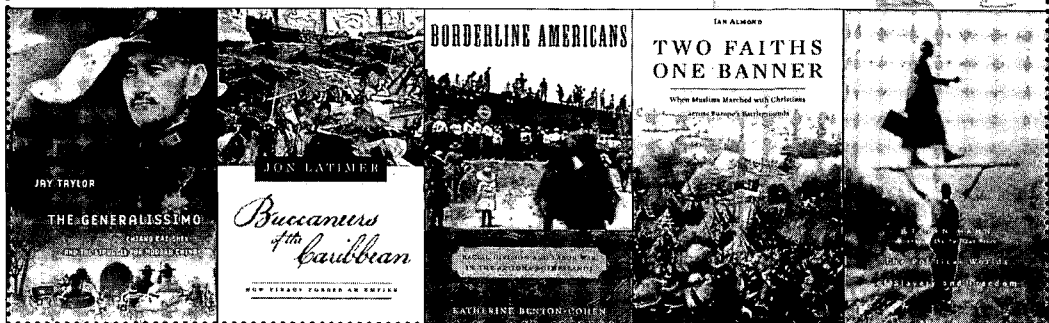
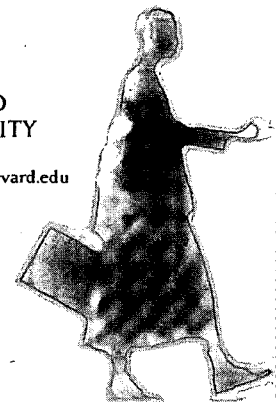
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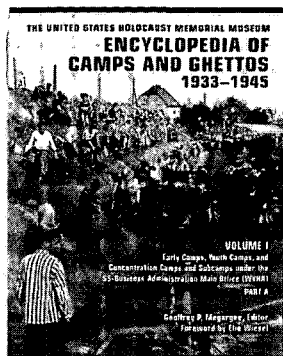
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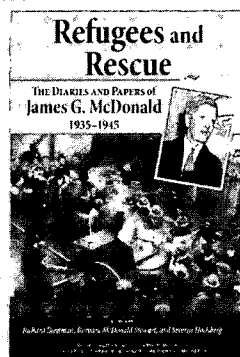
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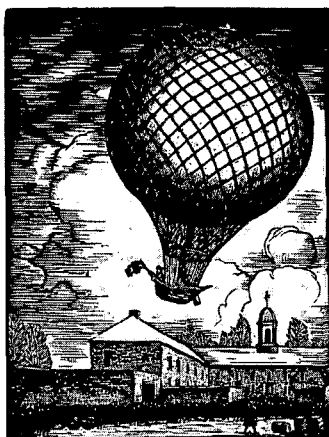
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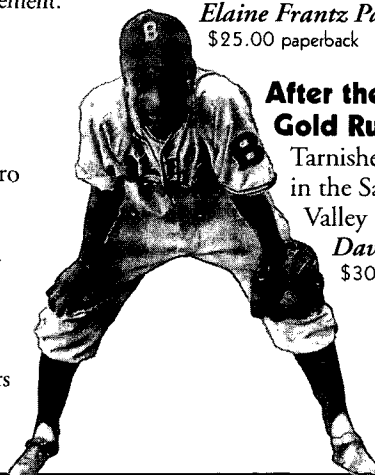
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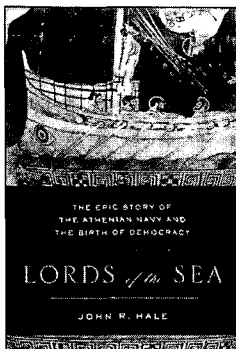
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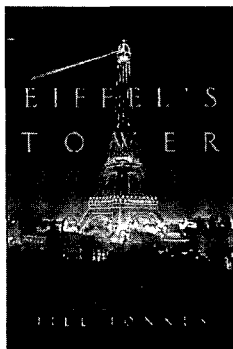
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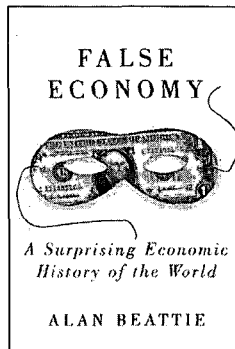
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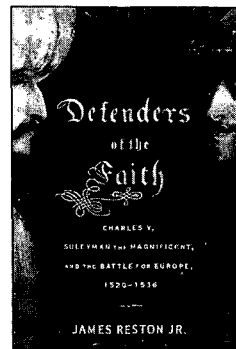
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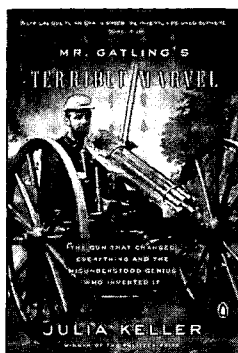
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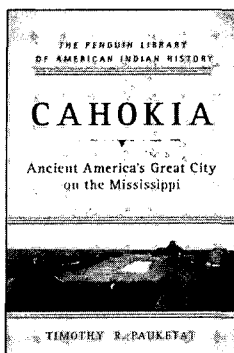
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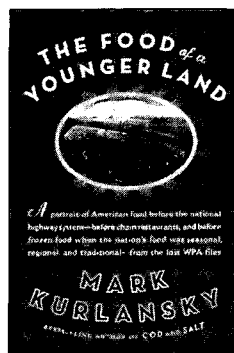
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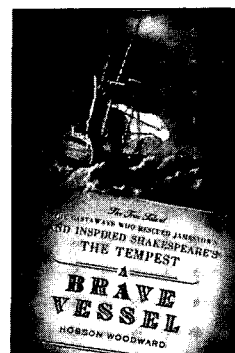
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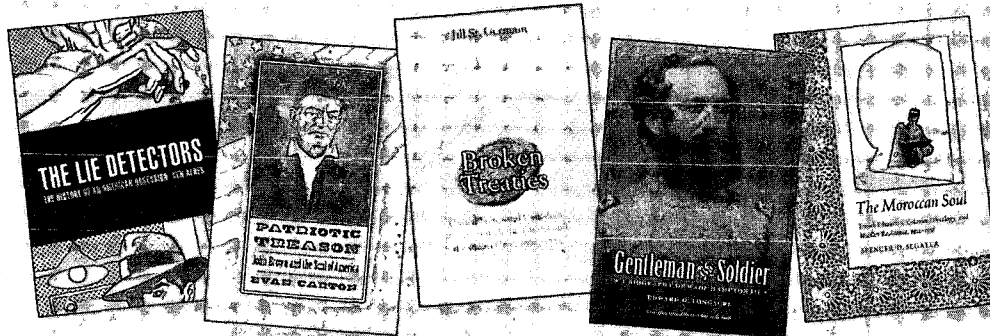
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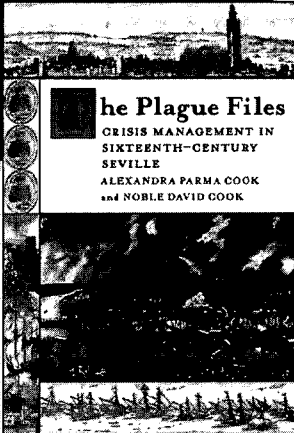
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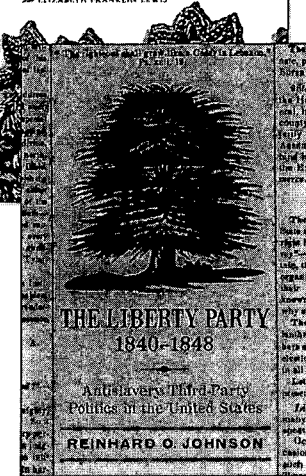
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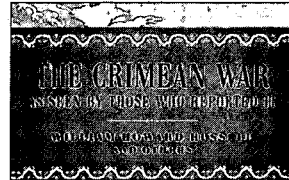
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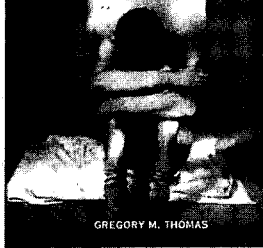
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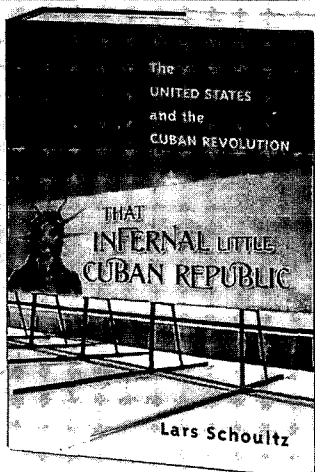
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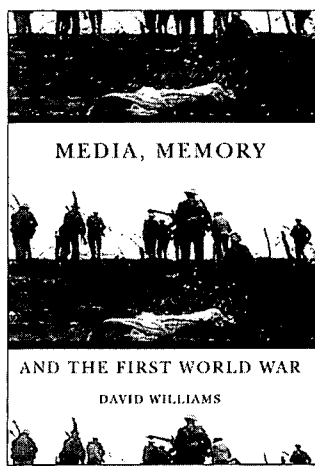
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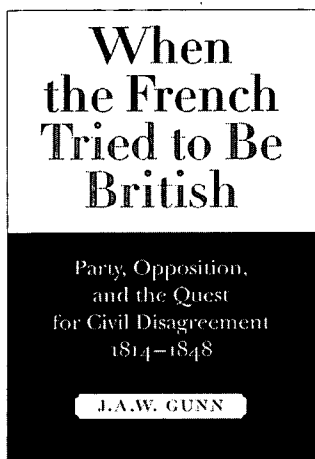
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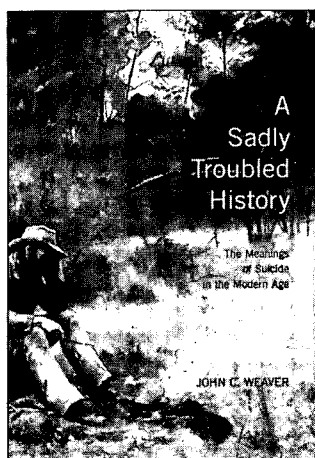
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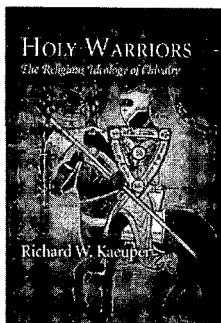
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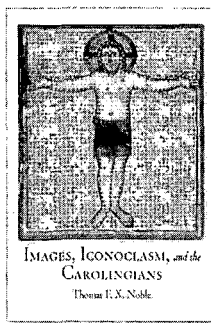
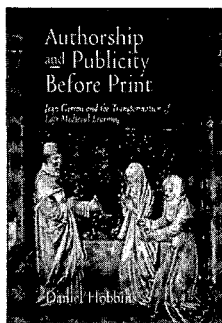
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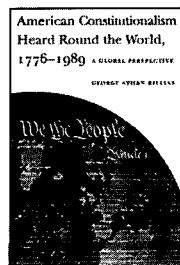
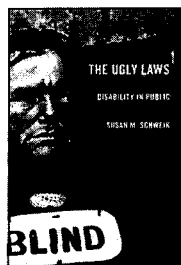
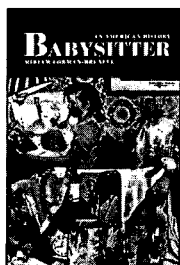
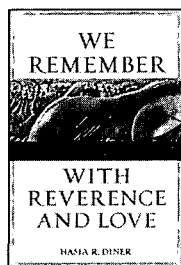
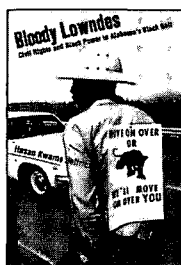
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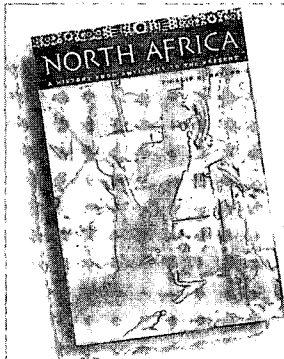
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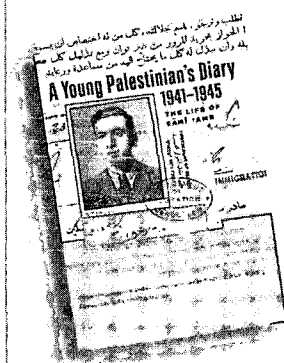
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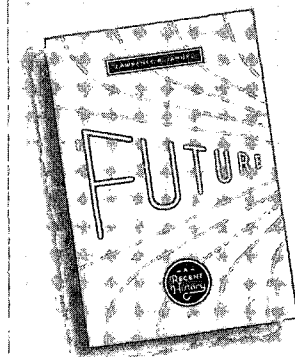


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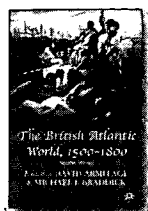
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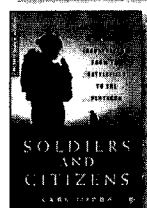
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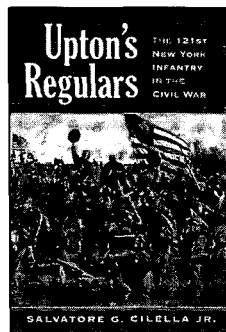
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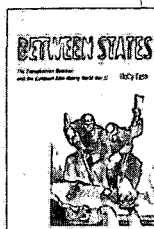
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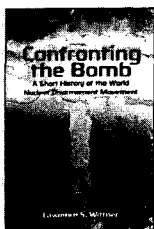


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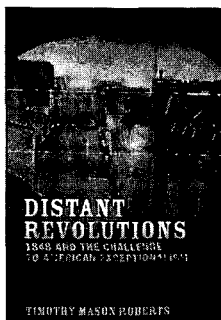
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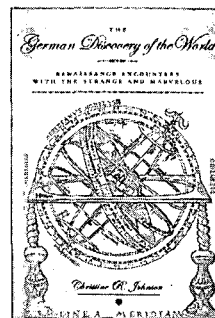
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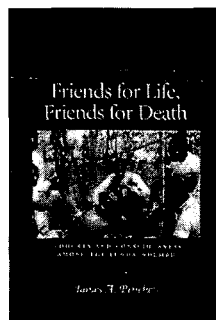
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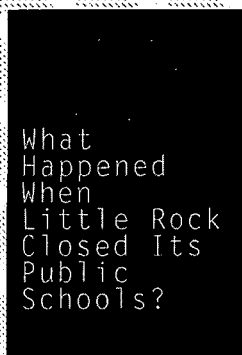
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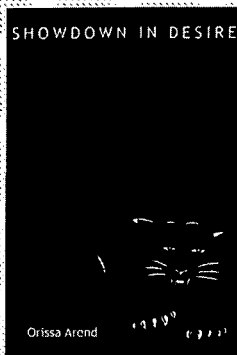
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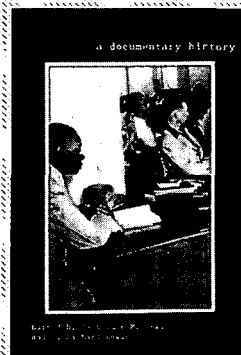
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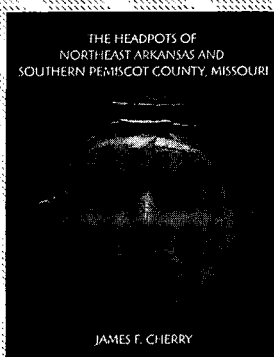
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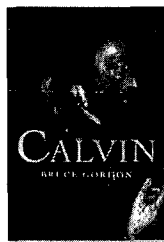
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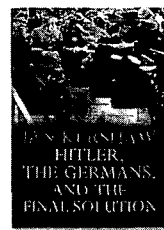
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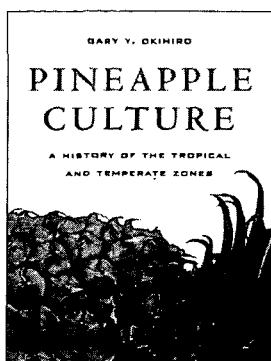
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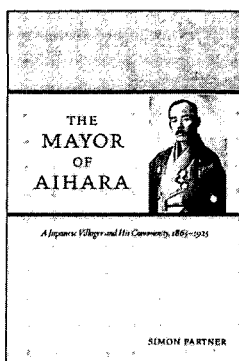
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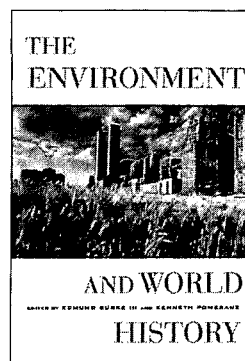
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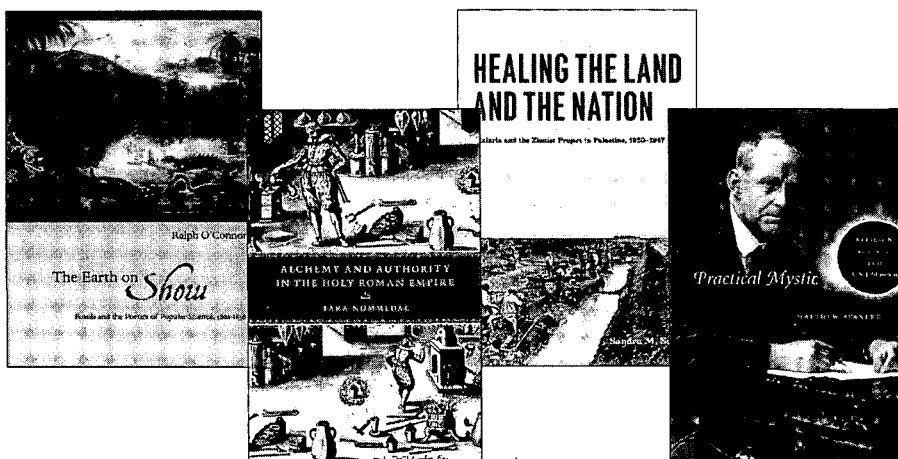
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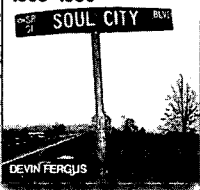
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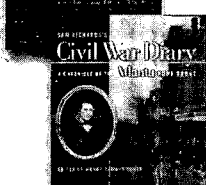
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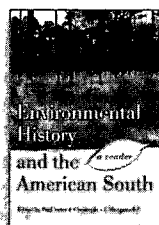


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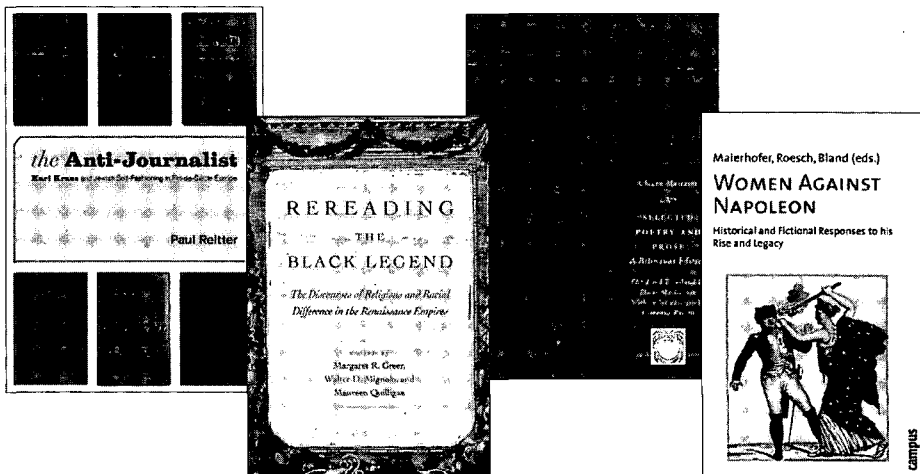


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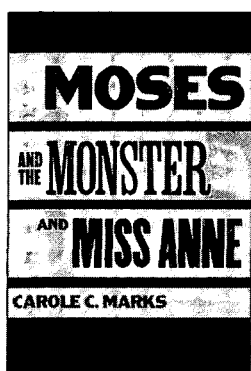
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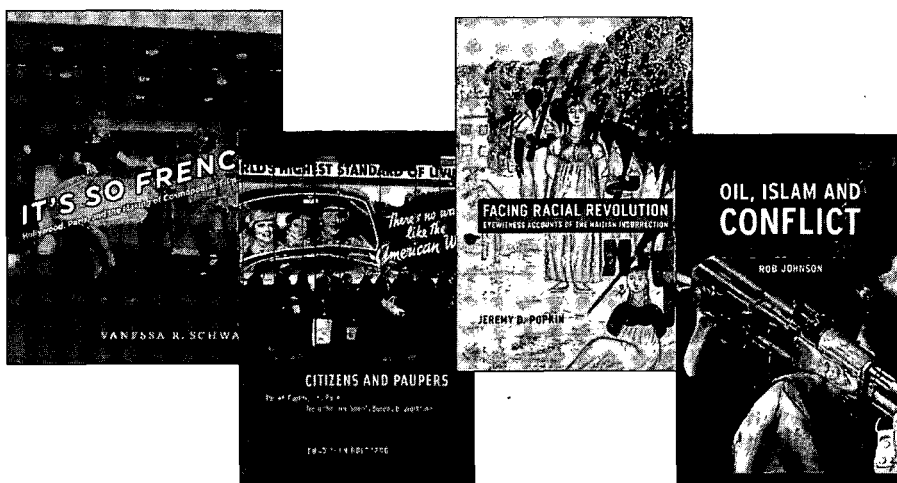


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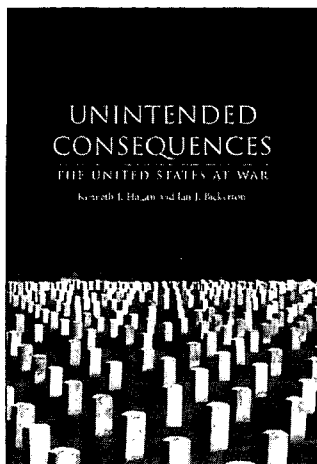
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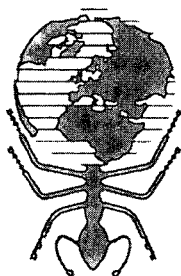
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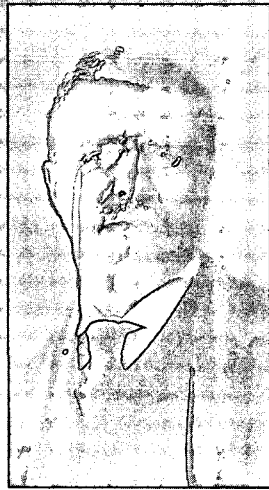
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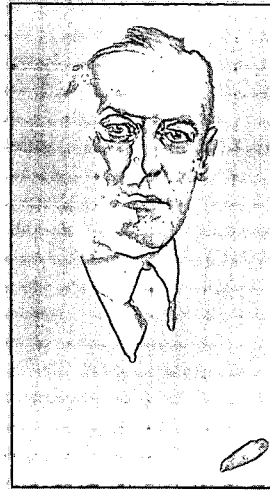
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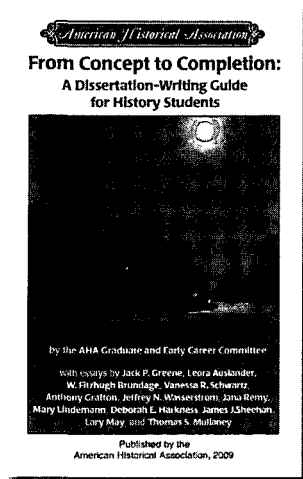
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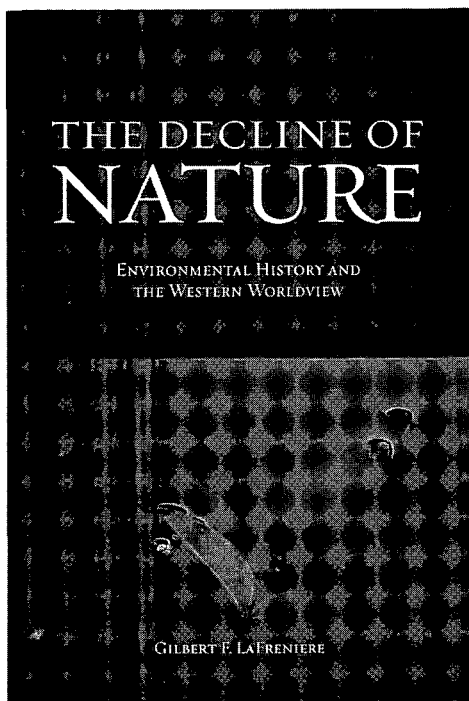
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The Decline of Nature

Environmental History and the Western Worldview

by Gilbert F. LaFreniere

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The Decline of Nature is an environmental history of ideas embedded in a compact account of Western civilization's ecological impact upon the planet, particularly in Europe and its former colonies. The major thesis presented is the idea that two speculative philosophies of history (attempts to understand the meaning of history) and their associated worldviews have been largely responsible for destructive attitudes and behaviors towards nature. They include the idea of providence (i.e. the Christian worldview) and the idea of progress (the science and technology-based vision of unrestrained economic development and material accumulation since the 17th century). The evidence of environmental history supports a cyclical pattern in the history of Western and other civilizations over the Western models of providence and progress. Professor LaFreniere's research has been acknowledged as cutting edge and his work has been praised by a number of leading historians in the field.

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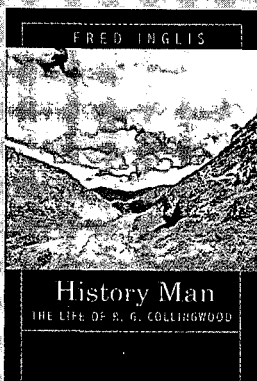
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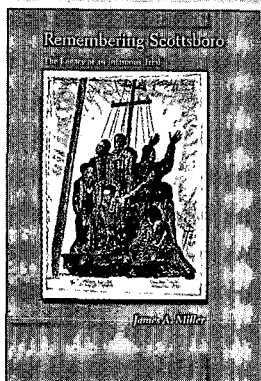
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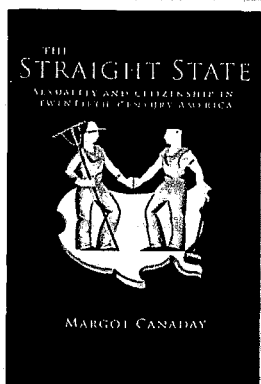
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